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The politics of multicultural and intercultural education: A cross-cultural analysis with implications for art education

Homan, Hanneke Didi, Ph.D.

The Ohio State University, 1994
THE POLITICS OF MULTICULTURAL AND INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION:
A CROSS-CULTURAL ANALYSIS WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR ART EDUCATION

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of
Ohio State University

by

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The Ohio State University
1994

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TO MY FAMILY
WITH LOVE
I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Dr. Kenneth Marantz for his guidance and for sharing his knowledge and wisdom in the process of preparing this dissertation. I thank Dr. Marjorie Schiller for her encouragement and uplifting suggestions pertaining to teacher training. Dr. Chanda proved to be a great help in understanding the magnitude of living in a foreign country. I thank my husband Jan for his support and his patience.
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FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Art Education
   Multicultural education
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The unification of Europe and the growing percentage of alien inhabitants in Western-Europe have consequences for education. Political developments leading to the unification of West and East Germany and the collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe have changed the conception of Europe. Ongoing struggles in Eastern Europe, specifically in the former Yugoslavia, but also in Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and the Czech and Slovak Republics exemplify the importance of ethnic-based values within the political arena. Currently, intolerance and xenophobia in Europe are on the rise, along with dissatisfaction of second generation migrants caused by their own cultural alienation and high unemployment rates.

The educational field in Europe is responding to these challenges on three levels: internationally, European centered, and within national contexts. International concerns typically deal with the education of migrant students; European cooperation focuses on exchange. Teacher training programs and curriculum development are currently being debated at national and international levels (ATEE,
1992). According to Dr. Ir. J. M. M. Ritzen, the Dutch Minister of Education, in 1991, existing programs need to be revised to better prepare prospective teachers for new challenges.

Background of the study: a personal perspective

The school where I used to teach in the Netherlands was a school community for secondary education, encompassing all levels from vocational to college preparatory. This school, "De Meergronden," had been built on the virgin soil of the former Zuiderzee (Southern Sea). Cities in these so-called "polders" provide relatively inexpensive housing and attract many low income families, welfare recipients, guest-workers, and political refugees. This diversity was eventually reflected in the student population. The teaching staff of "De Meergronden" was sensitive to students' individual needs but teachers had no sound theoretical basis for working with allochthonous students. Cultural diversity of this magnitude was a relatively new phenomenon in the Netherlands that had not yet been incorporated into teacher training programs. My personal experiences concerning diversity included: 1) teaching art to girls from Turkey and Morocco in so-called "bridge classes," 2) teaching 3-D to severe behaviorally handicapped students, and, 3) teaching
textile arts and 3-D to a culturally diverse student body in all grades of secondary education. Over the years I often craved for guidance regarding multicultural concerns. The best way to gather knowledge and strategies was not in teacher training institutes, but to talk with allochthonous colleagues and friends.

In contrast to the situation in the United States, teaching at elementary and secondary levels is perceived as a non-academic vocation in most European countries. Consequently, teacher preparation does not take place at universities, but at institutions for higher education comparable to colleges without research facilities. Educational researchers with extensive teaching experience at the elementary or secondary level are scarce. This situation has caused a schism between teachers and academics who study teaching practice (Ritzen, 1991).

Art-academies and polytechnics offer preparation for art education and both institutions strongly emphasize studio experience. This results in an even greater separation between practitioners and theorists. In my own study in the early 1980s at the academy in Amsterdam I enjoyed elaborate studio hours and engaged only marginally in the theoretical underpinnings of the profession. Having the opportunity to study at an American university was therefore a chance of a lifetime. My objective for study
was, besides exploring a profound curiosity about "life in America," to find out what art educators in the Netherlands can learn and gain from already existing knowledge and experience with respect to multicultural issues.

During the first year of my stay in the United States I gathered knowledge about different aspects of the profession, ranging from theories and policies about the arts and art education, multicultural art education, DBAE, to curriculum development. My thesis research focused on three publications considered to be significant in current developments in the field (Hutchens, 1990). These writings expressed the concerns of a private foundation, the Federal Government, and an arts advocacy institution. The study was to look for possible guidelines for multicultural art education. The publications under scrutiny were:

1. *Beyond Creating: A Place for Art in America's Schools* (1985), by The Getty Center for Education. This publication was breaking the ground for a discipline-based, sequential curriculum, combining art history, aesthetics, art criticism, and studio.

2. *Toward Civilisation, A Report on Arts Education* (1988), by the NEA, mandated by Congress in 1985 to provide information on "the state of the arts" in education.

3. *Can We Rescue The Arts for America's Children? Coming to Our Senses -10 years later* (1988), by the ACA
(American Council for the Arts). This publication responded to *Coming to Our Senses* (1977) that proposed to de-school the arts and caused considerable turmoil in the field of art education (Chapman, 1982). The publication of 1988 is an inventory of what is left of the arts in schools.

I found that these three policies all reflect a distinct preference for a disciplinary approach with emphasis on Western-based art and cultural values. The demand for inclusion (Fowler, 1988) of non-Western curriculum content as a means for empowering disenfranchised groups was only identified in the third policy (pp. 47-52) and did not re-appear in the conclusions or recommendations. No support or much interest was expressed by any of these three institutions. In itself, this did not really come as a surprise since most institutions are or become inherently conservative in order to safeguard their assigned power and survival. According to Chubb & Moe (1990):

> All social institutions are protected and stabilized in much the same way. Through their structures and the normal course of their operations, they generate all manner of benefits - for their leaders and members, the recipients of their services, the suppliers of their inputs, among others - and these beneficiaries naturally resist any fundamental change in the structural arrangement that are the source of their benefits. (p. 12)

National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (1979) recognized the importance of multicultural education and included the following definition in its
standards; Multicultural education is:

...preparation for the social, political, and economic realities individuals experience in culturally diverse and complex human encounters. These realities have both national and international dimensions. This preparation provides a process by which an individual develops competencies for perceiving, believing, evaluating and behaving in a different cultural setting. Thus multicultural education is viewed as an intervention and an ongoing assessment process to help institutions and individuals become more responsive to the human condition, individual, cultural integrity, and cultural pluralism in society. (p. 14)

Some institutions reluctantly followed the lead of the NCATE. In 1991 three professional art education associations - The American Alliance for Theater and Education, The Music Educators National Conference, and the National Art Education Association bonded together and published the National Arts Education Accord. In the address to Governors and State Legislators the associations called attention to the place of the arts in education, and explicitly mentioned that arts programs should Reflect the multicultural nature of our pluralistic society. (p.5) The Getty Center for Education in the Arts also changed its Western-based focus to an approach that included non-Western art. The Curriculum Sampler (Getty, 1991) and the seminar on DBAE and cultural diversity sponsored by the Getty in 1992, both bring attention to multicultural issues. Numerous publications in art educational magazines, the incorporation in the NAEA's newsletter of Educating Urban Minority Youth: Research on
Effective Practices compiled by the Northwest Regional Education Laboratory in Portland (1992), and Art, Culture and Ethnicity (Young, 1990), all signify actual interest in multicultural art education. In view of this perceived interest and change in institutional focus, questions come up regarding the underlying aims and goals of multicultural education. Who wants it and for what reasons? And why now and not say ten years ago?

The relationship between education and politics, the ultimate provider of legitimacy to educational institutions, is an entangling alliance. Cremin (1990) argues that Americans try to solve certain social problems indirectly through education rather than directly through politics. (p. ix) Polls predicting voters' confidence are no doubt a major factor in politicians' reluctance to take on social issues that may be unpopular, expensive, or of little interest to their constituency. The question remains whether education is at all in a position to solve the ills of society. An investigation of the aims and goals to be achieved through multicultural education seemed necessary to procure a basis for the proposed comparison.
Background of the study: political cooperation in Europe

In 1944 three small European countries - Belgium, The Netherlands and Luxembourg - agreed on the establishment of a customs-union called the BENELUX. The purpose of this triumvirate was to secure economic and political cooperation. The willingness to cooperate after World War II, born out of necessity to prevent yet another disaster, was widespread. The creation of NATO and The Council of Europe in 1949, the European Community for Coal and Steel in 1952, and EURATOM in 1956 all testify to this spirit of the time.

Recognizing that fragmentation and competition would hinder growth of national economies, the BENELUX, West Germany, France, and Italy ratified the Treaty of Rome in 1957, establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) on January 1, 1958. Members of the Community agreed on one external tariff and a common agricultural policy. The United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark, Spain, Portugal and Greece joined the initial six members over the years. This merging of interests ultimately converged on the passing of the Single European Act in 1987, calling the European Community, (the EC), into existence.

This Single European Act provided members of the EC access to an undivided, growing, and flexible market of 320
million consumers. Different from the Rome Treaty that guaranteed free trade within the European Economic Community, the Single European Act also included a free flow of services, as performed for example in health care and education. From its inception until well into the 1970s the EEC/EC did not attend to educational issues. Rather, it was increasingly perceived as an important tool in the building of the caring society. (EC, 1992) Currently, programs are in place for reinforcing primary education, increasing student and teacher mobility, enhancing collaboration in the development of newer media, and promoting foreign language studies.

These developments are expected to generate positive, stimulating, and intellectually challenging influences on study in general and on the teaching profession in particular. Teaching in an other European country implies working in a different culture and practicing another language which would certainly qualify for an intercultural encounter.

The education of students living in the European community whose background is other than Western-European is closely related to these international concerns. The total number of allochthonous people is estimated at 17 million. In 1991, 11% of the total population in France was born abroad, 7.5% in Germany, and 6.3% in Britain have come from
other countries (LaFranchi, 1991). Most of these allochthonous persons fall into the following categories:

a. Inhabitants of independent nations, formerly colonized by members of the European Community. Political independence of nations in Northern Africa caused, for example, many Algerians and Tunisians to move to France. The dissolution of the British Empire drove many people from East-Africa and the West-Indies to Great Britain and quite a few citizens from Indonesia and Surinam went to the Netherlands when these countries gained independence.

b. A second category comprises political refugees asking for asylum. Their countries of origin obviously change according to changes in political power structures all over the world. The actual situation in former Yugoslavia is a poignant example of human disruption that has caused many citizens to flee their country.

c. The third group that caused a considerable rearrangement of the cultural patterns in highly industrialized countries in Europe, is that of the guest-workers. In the early 1960s guest-workers were recruited from Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece, often legislated by governmental treaties. Over the last twenty years most guest-workers are coming from Northern-Africa and Turkey. Initially these guest-workers were supposed to return to their homeland, but most all of them choose to stay in "the
West." Within the legislative context for family-reunion, guest-workers earned the right to also bring their family members to Europe, which many of them did.

In view of these changing demographics and the call for internationalization in Europe, it became clear that educators needed to expand their knowledge concerning cultural diversity.

The problem

In 1991 the Dutch Ministry of Education required by law that intercultural education should become an integral part of the Dutch educational system. However, the educational field does not yet possess adequate knowledge and strategies to implement this type of education (Kloprogge, 1992; Oud, 1992).

Over the last twenty years, programs addressing intercultural concerns have been largely restricted to language instruction. Outcomes have been disappointing and do not adequately reflect provisions made (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992). Increasing diversity in the Netherlands has added a sense of urgency to the call for intercultural education. The situation requires serious exploration of current practices and possible avenues for improvement. Objectives for my study were: a) to investigate whether American approaches to multicultural education could
be potentially useful for meeting intercultural demands in Dutch educational settings; and b) in case transfer seemed possible how it could bear upon Dutch art education. The problem is outlined in four research questions.

Research questions

1. What are the aims and goals of the different strands of multicultural education in the United States of America and how are these strands represented in American art education and teacher training?

2. What are the aims and goals for intercultural education in Europe and more specifically in The Netherlands; and what are their implications for Dutch art education and teacher training?

3. Which American educational stake-holders promote or denounce implementation of multicultural education? Do these findings correlate with the European situation?

4. What American strategies are applicable in Dutch educational settings? How do these findings translate into art education and teacher preparation?

Definition of terms

In Multicultural Education in a Pluralistic Society, Gollnick & Chinn (1990) define the following classifications as being subjects of study in multicultural education:
class, ethnicity and race, gender, exceptionality, religion, language, and age. These authors see self-esteem, human rights, choice, equality, and equity as being significant subjects for study in a multicultural curriculum.

Banks (1991) in his *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies*, distinguishes four approaches for teaching a multicultural curriculum, a) contribution, b) addition, c) transformation, and, d) social action. By going through these four phases the student is expected to learn strategies to solve social problems. Banks considers education for social activism as the prime objective for multicultural education.

A more global approach proposed by Daniel (1991) would prepare students for a society that is going to be increasingly international because of the mass media and easy access to transportation. Mastering and understanding the technical and creative aspects of media should therefore become an essential part of a multicultural curriculum.

In this study I address the categories mentioned by Gollnick and Chinn (1991), except for age, gender, and exceptionality. This is not because these categories are less important but due to a distinctly different focus. The focus of this study will be on culture, race, and ethnicity. Language, religion, and class will be discussed as intricate parts of these three categories.
Therefore, in this study multicultural education is defined as education that values cultural diversity and promotes human rights, social justice, and equality regardless of cultural background, race, or ethnicity.

Intercultural education as proposed by the European Council for Cultural Cooperation (Rey, 1987) addresses the same categories:

The use of the word "intercultural" necessarily implies, if the prefix "inter" is given its full meaning, interaction, exchange, breaking down barriers, reciprocity and objective solidarity. If the term "culture" is given its full force, it also implies recognition of the values, lifestyles and symbolic representation .......(p. 17)

Rey points out that the concept "intercultural" is preferred because it refers to a dialectic process. For the purpose of this study I intend to use inter- in referring to the European situation even in those cases where researchers use multi-.

Design of the study

The study is of a descriptive nature and addresses the implications of a pluralist society for public education. I first looked at educational policies and practices in North America and Europe. In the next phase I focussed on art education on both continents and I finished with the comparison between multicultural and intercultural art.
education. I have examined art education developments over the last 30 years.

Cross-cultural studies require a rather elaborate context because educational practices are so closely interwoven with historical and cultural conditions (Husen, 1993). Both chapters' two and three, respectively, describe American and European contexts, beginning with an overview of socioeconomic and political developments that generated the call for multicultural and intercultural education. Multicultural education in this study is conceived as the process of educational changes following the passing of the Civil Rights Act in 1964. Intercultural education signifies a more recent concept but its foundations also date back to the 1960s. Growing percentages of ethnically diverse citizens on both continents have added to the demand for diversified instruction and curriculum content. These descriptions are followed by a brief historic overview of the role of the arts in school settings. The last part of both chapters inventories existing practices.

The survey of existing multicultural practices by Sleeter & Grant (1987) served as a point of departure. The period not covered by their research from 1986 to 1994, was given special attention to determine if their findings are still relevant. Tomhave's analysis (1992) of practices and practitioners of multicultural art education served as a
guideline for looking at the status of multicultural art education in the United States.

In Europe the focus was on intercultural education as envisioned by the Council of Europe and its working groups particularly the Council for Cultural Cooperation (CCDC). The Dutch Ministry of Education and the Dutch educational field are the other key players in shaping intercultural education.

Established in 1949, the Council of Europe was "set up to achieve greater unity between its members for the purpose of safeguarding and realizing the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and facilitating their economic and social progress" (Council of Europe Press, 1992). It is the European organization with the widest geographical representation. The CCDC is a working group that provides the International Parliament with recommendations concerning intercultural education.

Different European nations have distinct cultural groups that have traditionally received additional instruction in their own language and culture. This is educational practice that could lay a claim on being intercultural. In Spain, for example, the "national" language is Castillian Spanish, which is learned by all children. Because of increased local autonomy and subsequent recognition of local languages
Catalan, Basque, and Galician are now also declared "official." Smaller local languages such as Valencian and Asturian, are still seeking recognition. Public schools, funded directly by local government, automatically operate through the "official" local languages (Liegois, 1989). In the Netherlands, the national language is ABN, (algemeen beschaafd Nederlands = general, civilized Dutch). The natives of Friesland, a northern province of The Netherlands speak a different language - closely related to English. Elementary students can learn this language in school, but they also need to study ABN. The Friesian language is an elective in high schools and at college preparatory level but only in the province Friesland. Instruction of "smaller" languages is confined to certain regions and does not affect national curricula. It is therefore not considered in this study.

Methodology: The American component

Facing the fact that multicultural education has been around for some time now in the United States, and that intercultural education in Europe is still merely an abstract concept, I applied different research methods.

The five strands of multicultural education in the United States, as identified by Sleeter& Grant (1987), have been "updated" and scrutinized for underlying political and
socioeconomic interests through an ERIC search. I used the same method (Boolean logic) and the same descriptors as Sleeter and Grant, and added goals and policies. Once changes in the theoretical framework were discussed I looked at the key stake-holders in education. The method I applied was focused synthesis as defined by Majchrzak (1984):

Focused synthesis is somewhat akin to traditional literature reviews by involving the selective review of written materials and existing research findings relevant to the particular research questions. However, focused synthesis differs from traditional literature reviews by discussing information obtained from a variety of sources beyond published articles. For example a typical synthesis might include discussions with experts and stake-holders, anecdotal stories, congressional hearings, personal past experience of the researchers, unpublished documents, staff memoranda, and published materials. (p. 59)

The purpose of focused synthesis is a technical analysis. Majchrzak (1984) states that focused synthesis does not describe research studies in order to identify knowledge gaps or research areas, as is customary in traditional literature reviews. The results of the synthesis are the results of the policy research effort. The recommendations presented are derived exclusively from the synthesized information, with no primary data collected. (p. 60)

Educational stake-holders outlined by Kniep (1987) provided the frame of reference for the next phase of the study. Each stake-holder was assigned to five "score-cards"
matching the aforementioned five strands in multicultural education. These scorecards are used in "real politics" to determine strategies for political action at short notice (Mitchell, 1993). These scorecards featured the following categories: a. players - in this case the educational stakeholders; b. position - indicating either support, opposition, or neutrality; c. salience - which refers to the political will, advocacy, importance, and significance valued by high, medium, and low; d. power - and influence that speaks to knowledge, status, formal authority, and law; and, e. evidence. Once the 5 x 9 (strands x stakeholders) scorecards were filled out, proponents and opponents were identified and discussed. Analysis of socioeconomic and political interests was guided by critical theory primarily concerned with changing power relations.

Yet another survey (Tomhave, 1992) served as the starting point for identification of current practices and practitioners of multicultural art education in the United States. Discussions with university experts, cooperating teachers, and art education students provided valuable information about actual practice in teacher preparation. My observations as a supervisor in the Columbus Public Schools enabled me to translate theory into classroom applications.
The European/Dutch situation

In this section of the study I also applied focused synthesis although much information was obtained through documentary analysis. The outline for intercultural education dates back to 1986. It resulted from combined efforts of the CDCC's working party on the training of teachers (1977 - 1983) and Project No. 7 of the CDCC (1981 - 1986) on education and cultural development of migrants. An investigation of the proceedings of the Council over these years provided the background for the goals of intercultural education. Later changes and amendments were also included in this analysis.

On the national level, the Ministry of Education and Sciences is the "moving spirit" in education. The Ministry works in close cooperation in order to make innovations and improvements in education. Policies and studies of both institutions were examined for the Dutch interpretation of intercultural education, and for existing programs and practices in both general education and art education. A broad survey study by CSO (1993) and interviews with experts, provided information on the current state of affairs in Dutch art education.
Purpose of the study

My goal was essentially to find out if Dutch art educators could "borrow" knowledge about multicultural art education for use in their own classrooms. Clarifying the historical, political, and socioeconomic contexts became a major objective for reaching this goal since both educational systems operate under very different philosophies. Analyses of the relationships between education, art education, and pluralism in America provided the rationale for suggestions.
Developments on a global scale and changes at the national level have created a favorable Zeitgeist (time spirit) for explorations into differences among people. Multicultural education has emerged out of this spirit of speculation to challenge an educational system which in the main had been content to omit the achievements and experiences of non-mainstream peoples. Instructional materials most often reflected a single, Western-based perspective. A variety of terms are currently used in connection with education: cross-cultural, cultural diverse, ethnic-based, cultural pluralist, and intercultural. All of these terms address awareness of a culturally diverse student population. Authors' Lipsitz and Speak (1989) argue that cultural pluralism has become fashionable in the 1980's. They caution American citizens to stress the positive aspects of diversity. The current trend calling for confrontation and isolation is perceived as dangerous because it could disrupt the unity within the American population.
Cultural autonomy within the confinement of the United States is a subject of heated debate because it tends to undermine the idealistic theory of the "Melting Pot." Melting together different cultures had procured assimilation, or Americanization, of immigrants for a long time. By abandoning one's ethnic and cultural heritage and sometimes by changing names, immigrants lived up to the image of true Americans. No wonder that this resurgence of interest in cultural and ethnic heritage caused commotion among some groups.

To better understand why the Zeitgeist (the spirit of the times) was so favorable for exploring cultural diversity, I looked at cultural, social, and political antecedents. Five factors were frequently mentioned in this context: the collapse of Europe as a colonial power; the achievements of the Civil Rights movement in the United States; the limitations of the Melting Pot ideal; changing demographic patterns in the United States; and the rise of Postmodernism. A more in-depth look at these issues provide leads toward understanding the potency of these factors in influencing educational practices.

The declining colonial power of Europe

The urge of the Europeans to explore and conquer the world can be seen as the outcome of a desire for permanent
religious and economic expansion. Many countries, even small ones like Belgium and the Netherlands, occupied different parts of the world that far exceeded these colonizers' own territories. Governments and economic systems in these colonies were remodeled following Western directives. Local cultural interests and humanitarian considerations were most often subordinate to coerced conversion and trading interests of the colonizer. Educational systems were structured in a Western fashion and students were required to study the language, geography and customs of the ruling power. But not all countries followed exactly the same pattern. The Dutch for example favored instruction in Malay and Javanese languages instead of Dutch. This preserved the native cultures from Westernizing disintegration but at the same time meant that Western ideas of nationalism and democracy entered more slowly (Palmer & Colton, 1978). Participation of indigenous people in the civil service was not possible except for the natives who were willing to subscribe to the rules of the occupying countries.

The second World War exposed the vulnerability of Europe in terms of its internal political and military power. This war could only be stopped through intervention of allies from America, Australia, and Canada. The two superpowers emerging from this war, America and Soviet Russia, put pressure on European countries to withdraw from
their colonies. America stressed the (human) right for self determination, and the Soviet Union perceived decolonization as a logical step towards the destruction of the capitalist system. At the time many autochthonous peoples were already working towards national independence. The struggle for freedom in India led by Ghandi is probably best known. Opposition against British rule was put into action through peaceful resistance, a compelling strategy that was adopted in the United States in the 1960s in the struggle for Civil Rights. The Indian empire was divided into two dominions: India, predominantly Hindu with 350 million people; and Pakistan, mainly Muslim with a population of 75 million. Both countries became independent in 1947. The Netherlands Indies became an independent republic in 1949 after four years of warfare. In Africa the foundation of independent nations followed in rapid succession. Between 1950 and 1970 practically all countries had established independence. During this struggle for independence native populations looked upon their former colonizers with contempt. The successful freedom struggles on the African and Asian continents also elicited sympathy and pride in The United States of America, especially among African Americans (Palmer & Colton, 1978).
The struggle for Civil Rights

America had championed human rights and the right for self-determination in the former colonies but on the home front there was still room for improvement on these issues. Racial tension in the South and poverty in major cities challenged the notion that the "American dream" was within the reach of all American citizens.

The Carnegie Corporation had invited Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish social economist, in 1938 to conduct a comprehensive study of the Negro in the United States, to be undertaken in a wholly and dispassionate way as a social phenomenon (Myrdal, 1942, p.li). A foreigner was chosen to insure a fresh mind, uninfluenced by traditional attitudes or by earlier conclusions. The search was limited to countries of high intellectual and scholarly standards but with no background in traditions of imperialism (Keppel, 1942, xviii).

In The American Dilemma (1942), a comprehensive and voluminous account of the resulting research, Myrdal presented his theory of cumulative causation: Poverty breeding Poverty. This theory became the leading feature in his later writings. Myrdal argued that the economies of the rich and the poor countries were going to diverge rather than converge: the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer. The study took several years and during his stay in
America Myrdal was struck by the ambiguity of many Americans towards moral standards. He writes:

> the ever raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane which we shall call the "American Creed, where the American thinks, talks and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and on the other hand the valuations on specific planes of individual and group living, where personal and local interests, economic, social, and sexual jealousies; considerations of community prestige and conformity; groups prejudice against particular persons or types of people; and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses and habits dominate his outlook. (p. lxxi)

Racial discrimination did not seem to correlate with the observed characteristics of American society. Myrdal stated, America relative to other branches of Western civilization, is moralistic and morally conscious; the American is the opposite of a cynic, and a believer in and a defender of the faith in humanity. (p. lxx) The title of his book refers to these perceived contradictions in human behavior. He concluded that racial discrimination caused lasting damage to the lives of the oppressed. No evidence was found of concerted efforts to attack or eliminate racial discrimination.

Nevertheless, Myrdal prophesized in 1942: Not since Reconstruction has there been more reason to anticipate fundamental change in race relations, changes which will involve a development towards American ideals. (p. xxiii) He expected the ideals of freedom, equality, and the pursuit of happiness soon to be within the reach of all Americans.
But it would take more than ten years before the first major court decision changed the status quo.

Equal rights for African Americans were secured by the 14th Amendment that passed Congress in 1868, stating that freed slaves are considered to be citizens of the United States, protected by the law. That not all citizens were treated equally became evident in 1896 in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson. In this case the "separate but equal" doctrine was introduced that provided a legal basis for racial segregation. In 1954 this doctrine was overruled by the Supreme Court in the case of Brown v. Topeka Board of Education. The ruling stated that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal, depriving the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws (chapter 13 Brown v. Board of Education) and that segregated facilities generate in black children "a feeling of inferiority ... that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." (ibid.)

Reinforcement of this law was left to the lower courts. By introducing the notion of "freedom of choice," these courts transferred the responsibility for desegregation to the families concerned. Families could challenge the racial status quo by sending their children to all-white schools and accept the risks involved. This system slowed down the process of desegregation until 1955 when the Court (Brown v.
Board of Education II) ruled again, stating that desegregation of school systems must take place with all deliberate speed (Brown v. Board of Education II). However, federal intervention was required to safeguard the entrance of the first African American students into all-white schools.

The Birmingham city bus boycott, sparked by Rosa Parks' refusal to give up her for "whites only" seat, was the first in a long row of peaceful actions against racial segregation. The "sit-ins" at restaurant lunch counters in Greensborough and Birmingham exemplified civil disobedience as advocated by Martin Luther King Jr. Mass demonstrations ultimately resulted in the passing of the Civil Rights Act by the Congress in 1964. This act authorized the Federal Government to desegregate public accommodations, to file desegregation lawsuits, to outlaw job discrimination, and to withdraw funds from segregated schools.

The Civil Rights movement under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had brought the situation of African Americans to the forefront. Several interest groups - the SCLC, (Southern Christian Leadership Conference), the CORE, (Congress of Racial Equality) and the SNCC, (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) - had worked together in the peaceful demonstrations which were modeled after the Indian freedom struggle. Internal developments in the
academic disciplines of anthropology, biology, history, psychology and sociology to discredit notions of inherent racial differences or predispositions provided support for the Civil Rights Movement from the academic world as well (Sitkoff, 1991).

Another, more militant faction among African Americans (Ashante, 1993) was the Islamic-based Black Power movement, characterized as a carefully developed strategy that had its roots in the philosophy of cultural nationalists. (p.120) The Black Power movement promoted self-help, self-interested policies, no-nonsense politics and teaching of strong cultural values. Many perceived the movement as a segregationist call but the tenet was clear to all: it centered on increased frustration among African Americans fueled by remaining barriers to equality.

In education a new form of segregation was brought about in an indirect way - not by excluding African American students - but through busing. Busing was implemented to secure the racial balance in schools and created the unintentional byproduct of "white flight." The Supreme Court had affirmed the right of lower courts to order busing in 1971 but in 1974 in Miliken v. Bradley the Court ruled that lower courts could not order busing across school district boundaries. This ruling ended extensive school desegregation in the metropolitan areas. Janda et al. (1989) observed that
the inner cities were left with a predominantly African American student population and the suburbs with mostly Caucasian students.

Since the funding of public schools is primarily based on property taxes, and since the more affluent families tended to move to the suburbs, the comparatively old and poorly equipped facilities of the impoverished inner cities could not compete with schools in the suburbs. Equal access to facilities within districts was safeguarded, but equal opportunities and equal outcomes were not secured.

The struggle for Civil Rights was fought predominantly by African Americans, but the impact of the Act was not to be confined to this part of the population. In 1987 the Court ruled (Janda et al. 1989) that members of any ethnic group can recover money damages if they prove they have been denied jobs, excluded from rental housing or subjected to other forms of discrimination prohibited by law. (p.674) This ruling did not require strict procedures for filing suits as did the 1964 Civil Rights Act. It also allowed litigants to seek punitive damages in addition to reinstatement or compensation as covered under the Civil Rights Act. As a consequence, the ethnic identity of all Americans could become a potential ground for discrimination suits. This ruling caused the Government to pay punitive
damages to Japanese Americans who were held in captivity during World War II and to Native Americans who have filed suits to regain tribal lands. Some African Americans contend that inclusion of all peoples, diverts attention away from their efforts to achieve better living conditions (Daniel, 1993).

Greater emphasis on ethnicity, however, did not align very well with the ideals contained in "the Melting Pot."

The limitations of the "Melting Pot"

At the turn of this century Israel Zangwill wrote the theater play "Beyond the Melting Pot." It expressed the widely-held assumption that all immigrants would want to assimilate into the mainstream. Until the second half of the 19th century, immigrants had come predominantly from North and West Europe. Around 1860 the percentage of immigrants from South and East Europe began growing and peaked in the period between 1900 and 1920 when southern and eastern Europeans made up 44% of the total immigration. Despite reservations (Piatt, 1990) against European immigration, the first restrictionist immigration laws were not aimed at Europeans but at the Chinese and resulted in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The National Origins Act of 1924 limited immigration from Europe to 150,000 per year. The Act prohibited immigration from Japan and established quotas
based on the contributions of each nationality to the existing United States population. Although several attempts were made to weaken the restrictive policies, changes were not forthcoming until 1965. President Kennedy's proposal to change these regulations was eventually accepted after his death. Immigration preference was to be based upon the goals of family reunification and work skills rather than national origin.

At the beginning of this century, culture in the United States was firmly rooted in WASP values (White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant values). President Theodore Roosevelt used the campaign slogan "100 percent Americanism" and his successor, President Wilson, equated ethnic ties of any kind with moral treason (Wiley, 1993). By 1920 most states and local governments had Americanization laws that promoted classes for civics and English. Language instruction in German was seen as unpatriotic and the teaching of Japanese and Chinese language was outlawed. The WASP culture would in principle "melt" all immigrants from the European continent provided that they would break with their past. Hopeful expectations for a better future in a country of unlimited opportunities no doubt facilitated this process of assimilation. Despite centuries of conquest and recurrent attempts to force assimilation it never happened in Europe. The rigorous stance of the Americanization
movement towards the immigrants' ethnic background, however, turned off many initial participants and the movement faded away in the mid twenties (Wiley, 1993). Several proposals to establish "official English" failed to pass the U.S. Congress. Most recent are the two proposals of Senator Hayakawa in 1981 and 1984 and another proposal in 1988 by a group called U.S. English. The latest proposal recognized the continuing viability of educational instruction in language other than English to make students proficient in English. (Piatt, p.21) Current worries of these proponents concern especially the growing numbers of Spanish speaking citizens. Recent introduction of Spanish in some southern Florida's schools evoked, according to Crawford (1993), serious manifestations of "Hispanophobia."

Concerned Americans, mostly male offspring of European forefathers, argue that the nation needs to secure cohesion among its citizens and that a national language would be an important step in safeguarding America's unity. The only solution offered by these critics is to go back to the "old ways" when the dominance of Anglo culture was relatively unchallenged. A key question is whether cohesion was secured among all Americans before this era of ethnic upsurge. Did all inhabitants of the United States of America live in a similar, guarded circumstances? The Declaration of Independence states that:
all men are created equal; that they are endowed by
their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that
among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of
happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments
are instituted among men, deriving their just powers
from the consent of the governed......"

Nevertheless two groups of the society were excluded from
these rights for a long time: Native Americans and African
Americans. Both groups were not equally considered in the
Melting Pot theory and it was not until 1924 that Native
Americans were granted citizenship. It took 40 more years
before the Native American Rights Fund started to regain
some tribal territory. Several attempts were made to
Westernize Native American tribes by isolating their
children and educating them in Western boarding schools.
Punishments for opposing federal regulations are well
documented and consisted of taking away their tribal
identity. Removed from their homelands, the displaced Native
Americans were not allowed to wear their traditional
clothing or speak their own languages.

The history of cultural deprivation of African
Americans was also very cumbersome. Cut off from their
African roots, they were not allowed to keep their culture
alive through their beliefs, crafts, or musical instruments.
The so-called "compulsory ignorance laws" prohibited the
education of enslaved African Americans in southern states.
Relationships among races or ethnic groups have been
discussed throughout history but these discussions most often reflected perspective of the "white man."

In *The Rise of the Unmelttable Ethnics*, Novak (1972) questions whether a cultural minority can be true to itself without infringing on the liberties of others. He further questions if a person, belonging to a given ethnic group to the extent that he or she chooses, can be free to move into other ethnic groups. Issues concerning ethnic consciousness, although imminent for defining multicultural education, have not been resolved. What could be a rewarding and spiritual experience (Hernandes, 1993), is often cut off because of mistrust and fear for unknown cultural territories.

The metaphor of the "salad bowl" is often used to visualize the successor to the "melting pot." Clearly distinguishable parts that retain their own characteristics and all together make up the salad are thought to represent the American population. The "salad bowl," however, has lately been discounted in favor of "vegetable soup," signifying the necessity of a broth that keeps the parts in an unbreakable relation to each other.

Native American tribes, not so keen on being in this unbreakable relation with the American population, were able to establish and retain their own nations, governed by independent chiefs. Pushed into the reservations, the tribes
live according to their own tribal laws, they have their own educational systems, and they deal directly with the federal government.

Many African Americans envisioned separatism for improving their conditions. Malcolm X (1965), the well known spokesman for the Black Power movement, described the goals for black nationalism as *the idea that the black man should control the economy of his community, the politics of his community, and so forth.* (p. 159) The call for a separate nation within the jurisdiction of the United States of America, inhabited by predominantly African American Muslims, was not well received. Currently the *Nation of Islam* is still very active, but the establishment of a separate nation seems not to be a priority.

**Changing demographic patterns in the United States**

Ethnic representation in American society is shifting drastically. This shift is partly due to differences in birth rates and partly due to changing immigration patterns. The percentage of immigrants from North and West Europe, amounting to 95% in the middle of the 19th century, gradually declined to 5% in the period from 1981 to 1985. A reverse pattern can be seen in immigration from Asia. An average of 5% of the total immigration in 1960 has increased to 48% in the period from 1981 to 1985. New immigrants,
however, do not spread evenly over the country. In 1987 approximately 300,000 new immigrants entered the country. Out of these 300,000, almost 100,000 settled in New York, and 65,000 in Los Angeles and Long Beach causing an accumulation of educational challenges for these communities (Lipsitch & Speak, 1991). Population growth shows the biggest increase among Asian Americans (and others, not mentioned in the following categories), namely 55% over the last eight years. In the same period, the relative growth among the Hispanic Americans was 34%; among African Americans 11% and Caucasian Americans 4%. The current numerical majority of Caucasians is likely to become a numerical minority in the second half of the 20th century (Henry III, 1990). Such a situation requires a re-definition of American culture. A realistic re-examination must focus on the factors that contribute to the culture of the United States; the nation's priorities in terms of policy development and resources; and attempts to maintain, strengthen, or alter the definition of culture (Keller, 1990).

From Modernism to Postmodernism

The shift from Modernism to Postmodernism refers to a paradigm shift in theory, concepts, and philosophy. Postmodernism in this context, should be conceived as a
historic concept that opposes the formalist theories of Modernism. Postmodernism is inclusive; it heralds the perspectives of people that have traditionally had little or no influence in the Western-based societies: socially disenfranchised people, ethnic minorities, women, the handicapped, and homosexuals.

Postmodernism originally started in architecture as a counter reaction against rigid modernist buildings that were no longer visually interesting and challenging but exposed an endless repetition of predictable structures, forms, and elements. The term Postmodernism was introduced by Charles Jencks in *The Language of Post Modern Architecture*, published in 1977. Jencks perceived architecture as a communicative tool; he argued that an architect should try to transmit values by means of his visual language. The architect must learn to "speak" the languages of the local cultures and subcultures to facilitate meaningful communication, understandable for the architect, the user and the viewer of the building. The notion of postmodernity has spread like oil on water, transcending the field of architecture. It is now accepted by some academics in areas such as language studies, social studies, and education. Postmodern practitioners and critics seek ideological justification in meaning and content instead of function or structure (Trachtenberg, 1985). Postmodernism has created a
favorable climate for multicultural education. The voices and perspectives of "the other" currently find an open ear, no matter whether their stories pertain to other cultures, other races, sexual preferences, or gender issues.

Summary

Multicultural education is shaped by changes in world politics and social change and a rearrangement of demographics. When Europe had to give up the colonies it also lost its self-proclaimed credibility as a moral role model. African Americans were largely responsible for the passing of the Civil Rights Act that allowed for racial integration. The Act has recently been expanded to include ethnicity in general. Many people wanting to participate in the "American Dream," who were formerly excluded because of their ethnic background, have a legal instrument to combat discrimination. Postmodern theory has widened the framework for inclusion. Attention for an individuals' own history is growing at the expense of interest in the common experiences. What does this mean for education?

Multicultural education in the U.S.A.

Two decisive factors in the development of multicultural education were desegregation and attention for civil rights. In 1969 Congress extended support for civil
rights in education by passing the *Bilingual Education Act*. This act required adequate provisions for all students whose first language was not English. Three years later in 1972 Congress passed the *Ethnic Heritage Studies Act*. This Act provided funds for research and curriculum development for mainstreaming exceptional students. The funds were dispersed by the National Institute of education and the Office of Special Education. However, according to Gollnick (1992) support for ethnic heritage studies was withdrawn in the early 80's and by the 90's federal support for the extension of civil rights in education has been eroded. (p. 218) The emphasis is currently on recruiting minority youth for teaching careers.

Earlier attempts to promote intercultural education and ethnic rights did not have a lasting impact on education (Gollnick, 1992). Programs developed in the early twenties were rooted in pacifist ideals and counteracting the strong nativist sentiments aiming for "total Americanization" was initially a main objective. Later to be broadened, according to Wiley (1992) to fostering self and mutual respect through acknowledging the achievements and contributions of various groups. (p. 284) The Service Bureau for Intercultural Education developed curriculum materials and started to conduct inservice training programs. Despite some successes, the movement met resistance from those, concerned about the
"pluribus unum." The coming of World War II had a major impact on shifting attention away from these issues (Wiley, 1993).

After World War II renewed attention for intercultural and intergroup education brought several interest groups together: the ACE (American Council on Education), the American Jewish Committee, the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the National Education Association. Teaching materials and teacher training programs focused on overcoming prejudice and discrimination against racial and ethnic groups. This attempt was also short-lived and disappeared after about 10 years. Gollnick (1992) blames lack of organizational support for failing intercultural education. She argues that although some individual teachers and professors probably continued to incorporate these concepts into their own courses and programs, they were not institutionalized. (p. 219)

For an overview of existing multicultural practices in America's schools, I looked at an inventory of these practices by Sleeter and Grant (1987). Both authors support curriculum reform that seeks to overcome cultural bias and perceived misrepresentation in education. They have published extensively, both individually and together. The
authors summarized and interpreted written materials about this subject until 1986. In their 1987 inventory they noticed a lack of information on aims, goals, and purposes. Long term objectives were especially not addressed. Their research was limited to racial and cultural issues, omitting Postmodern "newcomers" such as age, gender, sexual preference, religion, and handicaps. Sleeter & Grant identified five categories: 1) Teaching the culturally different, 2) A human relations approach, 3) Single group studies, 4) Multicultural education, and, 5) Social reconstruction theory. These categories are discussed in relation to Tomhave's study (1992) who researched the relationships between art education and multicultural education.

History of art education

Art instruction was implemented in the second half of the 19th century. According to Horace Mann, at the time the secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education it would improve handwriting, because it was an essential industrial skill and a moral force. The universal, moral value of the arts in education was emphasized to create a feel of unity among the culturally divers immigrants (Efland, 1992). A possible "hidden curriculum" in the implementation of drawing is found in Mann's article in The Common School Journal quoted by Korzenik (1985):

> Drawing might help permitting as it did the active child more physical activity than any other school-work. Drawing could release the tension that otherwise might be directed toward shooting spitballs and might teach obedience and work skills that could be useful to future laborers. Drawing could prove useful to all students, even the most the most unwilling. (p. 46)

Cincinatti, Cleveland, Baltimore and Philadelphia were among the first cities to implement drawing. In 1847 a four year drawing course was proposed - years before cities on the East coast decided for implementation. German immigrants who had left their impoverished and bankrupt country after the revolution of 1848 are to be credited for pushing drawing instruction. English immigrants, living on the Eastcoast in Puritan and Quaker communities, regarded the arts with suspicion.
The poor quality of American industrial products presented at the 1867 exhibition in Paris evoked a call for better skilled industrial designers. Drawing instruction had improved the British textile industry and therefore set an example worthy to follow. The British turned to rigorous drawing instruction after their weak showing at the Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1851. Boston, the cultural capital at the time made the first moves toward implementation. Its designation encouraged the promotion of art education by wealthy Bostonian industrialists. Their call for drawing instruction in the schools resulted in the Drawing Act of 1870. The Act required that all cities over 10,000 inhabitants provide free instruction in industrial and mechanical drawing to persons over 15 years of age. Industrial art education was soon to be challenged by a new affluent middle class that questioned the righteousness of institutionalized predestination for industrial careers. The slogan "Every mother's son of our Yankee schoolboys is intended for the United States Senate" explains why industrial art education was perceived as un-American (Efland, 1990).

Rigid drawing methods from Prussian origin were "refined" by educator Walter Smith and counterbalanced with the romantic and idealistic approach incorporated in the
Kindergarten movement. The Kindergarten movement was based on the theory of the German Froebel which stated that any entity could differentiate itself while still retaining its unity. Through development of self, students were thought to both differentiate themselves from, and integrate themselves into, the community. Individual activity and play became major ingredients for this type of education. The Kindergarten movement was promoted by middle class white women with the Peabody sisters as pioneers. The social, economic, and political impact of this movement was not as powerful as industrial art education, but the movement survived emphasizing the expected benefits for vocational education. Romantic influences in the 19th century called attention to imagination and self activity, a trend that is considered to be the precursor of the expressionist movement in the 20th century.

The Arts and Crafts Movement was promoted to remedy the wrongs of advancing industrialization. The British leaders of this movement, Ruskin and Morris, sought to reestablish a holistic notion of the arts. They looked back to the Middle Ages when guilds were responsible for the whole range of creative production and in this they envisioned a similar role for the Arts and Crafts Movement. In their philosophy the production of handmade objects had to be the main focus of artistic production. The beauty of
these creations would then provide aesthetic joy and pleasure badly needed to counterbalance the impact of industrialization and the odious industrial products being produced. However, emphasis on "handmade" caused these products to be relatively expensive and therefore not much help in improving the daily life of industrial workers. Ruskin and Morris shared an aversion against mechanical production but Ruskin rejected it whereas Morris blamed society for misusing technique (Hauser, 1957). Consequently Morris thought it more important to make socialists instead of making good art. (ibid., p. 551). Amburgy (1990) points out that the ideas of Ruskin and Morris were modified in the United States of America by Addams and others, who saw art as: a way of helping workers tolerate the conditions of industrial labor, rather than a means of changing the nature of the work itself. (p. 106)

At the start of the 20th century, art education was no longer restricted to drawing instruction but also included crafts, design, and art appreciation. Industrial art education became part of vocational education and resulted in a decline of the overall importance of the arts (Efland, 1990). Both scientific rationalism and creative self-expression gained importance in education. The demand for social reform was exemplified by the women's struggle for voting rights, the establishment of trade unions, and the
rise of the Populist Movement - a movement that aimed at decentralization of political power. A way to deal with these different agendas was through Progressive education.

Progressive education, based on the philosophy of John Dewey, built on the "charter of childhood" developed by the Frenchman Rousseau in the late 18th century. Rousseau perceived the child as an unspoiled creature - a tabula rasa - eager to learn. Dewey envisioned education that would be beneficial for the individual student and for the society as a whole. He believed that education had to be grounded in real life experiences and should be organically linked to the social structure of a community. After World War I, the ideas of Progressive education were adapted and modified in three streams of influence (Cremin, 1964).

The first stream of influence, that began before World War I and gained importance after the war, was the scientific movement. This movement specifically addressed academic shortcomings in education. Research in child psychology and problem solving capacities, as espoused by Dewey, had provided a foundation for further exploration into the nature of human intelligence. Art and artistic abilities' issues were of minor concern in this type of educational research. The importance of the Scientific movement for art education lies in the focus on general curriculum development (Efland, p. 192).
The second stream that emerged before World War II and gained importance after the war dealt with "creative self expression." This was a child-centered approach based on Freudian theory that the unconscious mind is the real source of human motivation. By proposing release from social and psychological constraints, and by renouncing guidance or direction in creative processes, students were thought to develop their own creative capacities to the full. Since students were holding the key to their own learning process, teacher evaluations were difficult to justify.

In response to this "anarchy" of unrestrained freedom, the Reconstructionist movement attempted to develop art instruction into an integral learning component. This third stream, was built on Dewey's contention that a reconstruction of knowledge would ultimately lead to a reconstruction of social institutions. These changed institutions, in turn, would work towards better living conditions for all Americans. Alignment of educational and community goals to restore the mutual relationships had not been observed in the expressive practice (Cremin, 1964).

After World War II a modified form of expressive education enjoyed a growing popularity. Lowenfeld, who had fled from Austria to the United States in 1938, became the "spokesman" for expressive education through his 1947 book
Creative and Mental growth. Lowenfeld taught at Hampton Institute in Virginia until 1946, and later at Pennsylvania State University. It was his contention that the rigid, dogmatic, and disciplined German educational system was responsible for the rise of totalitarianism. Lowenfeld believed that students should be trained to explore their creative and sensitive abilities and could therefore resist external forces of power (Bruce, 1990).

In the midst of the cold war in 1965, the Soviet Union proved to be the leader in space technology by launching Sputnik. The "Sputnik syndrome" generated national attention to education and resulted in the joined efforts of scientists and educators to study cognitive learning processes. The research of the cognitive psychologist Bruner and his team, inspired art educators Barkan and Chapman to reconsider the structure of art education.

Barkan contended that art educators could very well appropriate strategies developed in scientific disciplines. Reference was made to physicians, geologists, and mathematicians as models for inquiry: a role that could be played by artists, art historians, and art critics in art education. The assumption that these methods are equally useful across all disciplines was later questioned. Concern was expressed (Spring, 1989) about the creation of a social elite of technocrats who would push forward the frontiers of
knowledge without regard for the social consequences of their actions. (p. 92)

Several programs were developed by Barkan and Chapman in pursuit of Bruner's original ideas. They were assigned to prepare guidelines for a project of the Central Mid-Western Regional Educational Labatory (CEMREL). Both art educators were also charged with preparing a television series in 1967 called Guidelines for Elementary Art Instruction. Ten years later the Southwest Regional Educational Labatory (SWRL) prepared an elementary art curriculum based on four disciplines: studio production, art history, art criticism, and aesthetics. The Getty Center for Education in the Arts pursued the development of disciplinary approaches to art education. In 1983 the Center commissioned Clark, Day, and Greer "to articulate a rationale for DBAE and elaborate the concept of DBAE for an academic audience." (Price, p. ix) Over the last ten years DBAE has been widely researched and discussed. The disciplinary approach was not readily accepted in the field. This was partly due to the emphasis on scientific reasoning and partly to the negligence to observe the role of feelings. Reducing the significance of studio production was a third factor for much criticism.

Competency-based programs in the 1970s and discipline-based art education in the late 1980s elicited ongoing and sometimes passionate discussions. The accountability thrust
of the 1980s can be seen as one result of the competency-based education movement in the 1970s. This movement coincided with the increased demand for measurable results. Testing acquired knowledge in art became as important as art production. The freedom of the learner as espoused in the romantic vision of art education seemed no longer justifiable; knowledge transmitted by the teacher was reestablished as the measuring stick for evaluating students' learning (Efland, 1992).

The Getty institute for Education in the Arts was a major player in the development of discipline-based art education. In 1985 the Getty published *Beyond Creating: The Place for Art in American Schools*. In this publication Eisner (1985) advocated visual arts instruction in schools based on the premise that the arts represent the highest of human achievement. (p. 64) Art instruction was divided in four separate entities: studio, history, aesthetics, and criticism. Many art educators were drawn to DBAE, (Discipline-Based Art Education) because it seemed to provide a "teacher proof" model for instruction. The emphasis of "the Getty" was initially on artistic "landmarks" - well-known artworks from mostly Western origin. Lately there has been more emphasis on inclusion as illustrated by the appointment of a special officer for
multicultural concerns, the publication of The Curriculum Sampler (1991) that contains culturally diverse content, and a conference on DBAE and cultural diversity in 1992.

While the field of art education was gradually working towards standardized instruction, the National Endowment for the Arts developed an arts program based on a different philosophy. AiS (Artists in Schools) started in the 1960s following the success of the "Poets in Schools" program. Artists were placed in school residencies to provide students with first-hand experiences in the artists' specialty. Eligible artists were recruited from all arts: music, dance, drama and the visual arts. In 1980 the name of this program was changed into Artists in Education (AiE), in an attempt to expand artists' access into the community. The grant system of the NEA provided the schools with a "cheaper solution" for art education. Schools did not have to hire an art specialist on a yearly basis; the artists were contracted for a limited period and at lower expenses. At a time of rising educational costs, the AiS could ease the financial pain of the schools without completely abolishing the arts. The AiS program was later heavily criticized because of the absence of established criteria for evaluation and assessment. In addition to this criticism it was rumored that the AiE program was more of an unemployment
relief work program for artists than a serious educational asset (Chapman, 1982).

Paradigm shifts

Throughout this century the paradigm for art education shifted several times. These shifts were always related to social, political, and economic concerns. Economic considerations triggered the promotion of industrial art education at the turn of the century. The scientific movement aimed for technical superiority and thus for economic competitiveness. But it was also a battle between political ideologies, between capitalism and communism, a battle that America could not afford to lose. Expressionist ideals flourished during periods that were not economically troubled and reconstructionist ideas gained strength in economically difficult periods.

Modernist thought, based in the Enlightenment ideals was central to all of these movements. The study of ideas and artifacts of non-Western societies was grounded in the same frame of reference. The concept of Modernism and the Enlightenment ideas of progress are currently is under siege. Authors' Suzi Gablik (1985) and Ellen Dissanayake (1988) conclude that Modernism is not going to survive in the arts. Advocates of multicultural art education want to
expand the field by requiring contextual information about all artifacts. An overhaul of the existing canon requires considerable investments in time, study, money and other resources. Do art teachers have any time left after a full day of teaching or must others initially pull the wagon?

Art education in a pluralist society

By calling for inclusion of cultural contexts and artifacts of many different societies, art educators draw on anthropological foundations and research. Anthropologists (Hatcher, 1985) have been gathering pertinent knowledge, based on the premise that cultural significance is not dependent on socioeconomic or political power.

Culture in the anthropological sense is conceived as the sum of all learned, shared behavior of human beings how they make their living, produce things organize their societies and use language and other symbolic forms. Culture is the distinctive human means of survival. (p. 8)

Ethnographic research provides the "building blocks" for anthropology. Ethnographers, according to Spindel & Spindel (1987) attempt to record, in an orderly manner, how natives behave and how they explain their behavior. (p. 17) Ethnography is an orderly report of this recording. Ethnographic research has expanded to different microcultures such as schools and corporations. Spindler and Spindler do not regard the ethnography of schooling as essentially different than ethnography anywhere. (p. 17)
While the focus of an ethnographer is often limited to certain aspects in one specific setting, the anthropologist is looking at the total situation. Kimball (1987) stated that the content of a traditional anthropological monograph includes sections on physical environment, technology, social organization and religious behavior. (p. 11) If anthropologists choose to emphasize certain aspects over others, they still have to provide broad contextual information because one cannot understand food, clothing, or housing characteristics [or the arts] except as one knows something about the raw materials available and requirements imposed by the environment for group survival. (ibid.) Anthropologists use the natural history approach combined with inductive methods of analysis. In trying to establish generalizations across cultures they draw from observation or informants accounts of human activity in meeting the tasks of daily life. (ibid. p. 12)

A relativist stance towards cultural phenomena has been a trademark of anthropology in the past, but the field is currently reconsidering this position. Proponents of "value free" inquiries claim that anthropology is an objective science that does not need to change while opponents argue that it never was value free. These critics say that the discipline has always provided lip service to colonial and economic interests of the Western world.
Anthropology, in their view, can only regain its credibility by becoming overtly partisan, politically and ethnically (Gabardino, 1977).

Professional anthropologists, nevertheless, complain that many proponents of multicultural education are currently reinventing the wheel by ignoring the bulk of already established anthropological research (Perry, 1992). Attention for diversity in educational settings, according to Perry, is often based on "superficial glimpses" that ironically preserve, or even heighten "the sense of fundamental differences" in contrast to the aims of anthropologists who seek to dispel "exotism and otherness." Perry argues that multiculturalists demonstrate a biased attitude towards anthropological research in confusing cultural relativism with moral relativism;

They may assume that refraining from negative value judgements for the purpose of understanding cultural phenomena means that they must make universally positive judgements, with the implication that anything anybody does anywhere is good. Not surprisingly many are troubled by this. Cultural relativism does not, however, mean that all human behavior merits approval. It only means that to understand what people do, it is more useful to ask why they do it than to decide whether or not they should. (p. 52)

Is transfer of anthropological data to education the best way to go? An educational project in the early seventies that included anthropological research was Man a Course of Study (1970). This curriculum contained the most complete
record of a (Netsilik) culture ever used in elementary education. It was designed to help students to begin to discover the meaning of man's humaneness by examining similarities and differences between themselves and a group whose lives appear so different from their own. Subsistence activities, childrearing practices, the structure of a family and the behavior of its members, the cooperative activities of a society, its values and beliefs were studied.

Teachers who worked with the program found that students had difficulty in making the transition from their own daily experiences to a Netsilik community in Canada. An evaluation of the program later on revealed that exposure to survival techniques of the Netsilik had caused anxiety and confusion in the K-11 student population.

Many questions are tied to the introduction of multicultural education. If an anthropological approach is going to be implemented in art education to further the multicultural aspects of the curriculum, should we, or should we not, deal with the Western canon in the same fashion? Should students study two cultures in depth as proposed in Man a course of study? Is knowledge about the Western-based culture a pre-requisite or can students learn about African and Japanese cultures. How can teachers be prepared for teaching a multicultural curriculum? Must they
know about the different value systems that exist in different cultures? Can they deal with different aesthetic systems and different perceptions of history? Should a teacher learn to apply indigenous terms to describe cultural phenomena as proposed by Hart (1991), or maybe model instruction after Chanda's (1992) alternative concepts and terminologies for teaching African art?

Many studies in art education are based on anthropological or ethnographic research. Rather than rely on older studies "contaminated" by colonial objectives or a narrow Western frame of reference, many art educators perform their own, on-site, research (Chanda, 1992, 1993; Hart, 1992; Stuhr, 1991, 1992; Congdon, 1987, 1991; Stockrocki, 1991, 1992, 1993;).

How art educators fit into the five streams of multicultural education is researched by Tomhave. His analysis is grounded in two previous survey studies, one by Gibson (1976), the other by Sleeter and Grant (1987). Tomhave preferred Gibsons' descriptive terminology:

1. Acculturation/Assimilation;
2. Bi-cultural/Cross-cultural;
3. Cultural separatism;
4. Multicultural Education theory;
5. Social Reconstruction;
6. Cultural understanding.

In view of the more recent date of Sleeter and Grant's publication and considering their extensive body of research that followed through on this subject, I opted for using
their terminology. Transfer from Gibson's categories to Sleeter & Grant's comes down to:

1. Acculturation/Assimilation in Gibson's text equates teaching the culturally different, used to assimilate students of color into the cultural mainstream and the existing school program. (Sleeter & Grant, 1987, p. 442) To improve academic performance special attention was demanded for differences in learning styles, for inclusion of students' experiential background, language, and skill level. In Turning on learning (1989) the authors also included exceptional students in this category.

2. Cultural understanding covers the same ground as the Human relations approach, used to help students of different backgrounds to get along and appreciate each other (ibid.). Most of the literature pertaining to this approach deals with practical situations stemming from desegregation and does not make connections with other research in education. A major assumption of this kind of education was that factual knowledge would develop respect and acceptance of various ethnic and racial groups.

3. Bi-cultural/Cross-cultural and Cultural Separatism are categorized under Single Group Studies that foster cultural pluralism by teaching courses about the experiences, contributions, and concerns of distinct ethnic, gender, and social class groups (ibid.). Sleeter and Grant
do not exclude separatist groups in their single group studies. Initially in the 1960s and 1970s participants in ethnic studies were primarily members of the group being studied. This approach takes the "insider" perspective seriously. Instead of outsiders talking about group experiences, the voices of group members who lived the experiences constitute the knowledge base. However, as Gollnick and Chinn (1990) pointed out; *With the growth of ethnic studies came the realization that those programs alone would not guarantee support for the promotion of cultural diversity in this country.* (p. 20)

4. Multicultural education is used in both studies to signify education that promotes cultural pluralism and social equality by reforming the school program to make it reflect diversity (ibid.). This type of education merges the previous three approaches in defining these major goals; value cultural diversity, value human rights, promote alternative life choices, social justice and equal opportunity.

5. Social reconstruction theory is also named identically in both studies; *it prepares students to challenge social structural inequality and to promote cultural diversity* (ibid.). This approach stretches multicultural education to the level of social action. To prepare students for responsible citizenship teachers would
democratize their classrooms and students would learn to use power for collective betterment, rather than learning mainly obedience. (Sleeter & Grant, p. 435)

Stuhr (1992) linked these five approaches to art education, resulting in approaches respective to the five streams that: 1) provide ethnic artistic role models and exemplars; 2) enhances mutual ethnic and cultural appreciation by means of "holiday art; 3) study art from specific groups that could for example include African American art, women's art, etc.; 4) reforms the art curriculum to reflect the national cultural and social diversity; and 5) challenges the dominant art canon and structures.

Having discussed different aspects that provided a context for multicultural art education in the United States, the next chapter will examine the European situation and the Dutch "workplace." The subjects are being discussed in the same order. The findings are compared and contrasted with the American context.

1. "America" is used to refer to the "United States of America." Whenever reference is made to other parts of North and South America it will be stated.
CHAPTER III
THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

The development of intercultural education in Europe is guided by the shared concerns of the Council of Europe, the European Community, and national Ministries of Education. These institutions work cooperatively in order to achieve equal access to education and equal opportunities in education for all students. The centralist regulation of education in Europe places national governments in a position of key stake-holders. This chapter examines successively: 1) the context for intercultural education; 2) key players who established the framework for intercultural education; and, 3) the state of affairs in Dutch art education and attitudes toward cultural differences.

The Council of Europe

The blueprint for the Council of Europe was designed in 1948 in The Hague and the actual ratification, calling the Council into existence, took place in 1949 in London. The Council's mission was to forge a closer union between European democracies, so that together they can guarantee peace, social progress, freedom and human rights.
The two main factions of the Council are the Committee of Ministers and the Parliamentary Assembly. Political aspects of cooperation and international problems of common concern are discussed in the Committee of Ministers. Minister's deputies meet every month and the Ministers at least twice a year.

The Parliamentary Assembly is a deliberative body that engages in planning for the future in a "bold and innovative way." It provides recommendations to the Committee of Ministers. The Assembly meets three times a year. Appointed delegates mirror the balance of national political parties and reflect pro rata the national populations. Relative to populations of member states, smaller countries are allowed more representatives. This procedure counteracts the risk of being outnumbered when it comes to voting. For example, out of 204 delegates, France and Germany have 81 representatives, The Netherlands has seven, and Luxembourg has six. Proportionally, an individual vote of the smaller Member States evidently carries more weight.

The Council is not a static institution with a fixed membership. Developments in Central and Eastern Europe, caused by wear and tear of the "Iron Curtain," have recently called for an expansion of the Council's role. Newly sovereign nations have expressed strong interest in the Council's projects on human rights education, modern
languages, and intercultural education. These educational programs are coordinated and dispersed under the name of DEMOSTHENES.

The Council of Europe should not be confused with the European Community (EC). The Council is primarily concerned with strengthening political, social, legal, and cultural co-operation and with promoting human rights. Only issues related to national defense are actually excluded from its agenda. The European Community, on the other hand, is working towards a political, economic, and monetary union among its twelve member states. The assembly of the European Community is the European Parliament. Its members are chosen by universal suffrage. Out of a total of 518 seats, Dutch representatives fill 25. Over the years the EC has displayed increased interest in education. Programs have been developed to increase the mobility of students and teachers within the EC (ERASMUS), to enhance collaboration between the corporate world and education (COMETT), and, to stimulate the study of foreign languages (LINGUA).

In 1993, the European Community and the United States of America acted on the Transatlantic Declaration of 1990, that expressed the need for closer cooperation at the university level. During the orientation phase in 1993 and 1994 consortia of three universities, at least two European
and one American, could submit collaborative projects that would 1) add a new dimension to already existing bilateral programs; 2) display efficiency in using available means; and, 3) work towards models that are widely applicable. Recommended subjects of study were: US studies; EC studies and their mutual relationships; milieu studies; a business oriented cluster that included economics, policy studies, foreign languages; and finally, physics and history (Commission of the EC, 1993).

Back to the Council of Europe

A high priority from the very beginning, right after World War II, was the notion that cultural cooperation "can bring the peoples and states of Europe closer together and achieve lasting understanding and peace" (Stobart, 1992). To broaden public support, an international treaty, the European Cultural Convention, was opened for signature as early as 1954. This treaty would enable European States that were not members of the Council of Europe to participate in programs on culture, education, sport, and youth. In addition to the regular 27 Member States, nine other countries have acceded to the Convention, including the former Yugoslavia. In October 1991, however, the Council of Europe decided to freeze its cooperation with the Yugoslav authorities. The Council's over-arching policy objectives
(Stobart, 1992) were stated as: - the protection and promotion of human rights, fundamental freedoms and pluralist democracy; - promotion of the awareness of European identity; - the search for common responses to the major challenges facing European society. (p. 693)

The Council for Cultural Cooperation (the CDCC), an intergovernmental committee, is the executive body of the Council with regard to matters of culture and education. Stobart (1992) listed several sub-committees work within the framework of the CDCC: - The Education Committee, that covers school and adult education as well as educational research; - The Standing Conference on University Problems; - The Culture and Cultural Heritage Committees. (pp. 693-694) Committee members are chosen for their skills and are expected not to display any political or national affiliation. They are relied upon as independent decision makers. Deliberations, generally speaking, result in non-binding resolutions that have to be carried out at different governing levels in local, regional, or national contexts (Peters, 1992).

Recommendations rendered into policy result in so called conventions. Over the years the Council has issued over 145 conventions. Best known are:
1. The European Convention on Human Rights, creating legal procedures to lodge complaints against violators.

2. The European Social Charter, leading to legislative reforms in areas of social insurance, trade union rights, and family affairs.

3. The European Cultural Convention, providing foundations for cooperation in education, culture, heritage, sport and matters concerning youth.

It is this third Convention that paved the way for educational cooperation. Before the 1970s education was considered a mere national responsibility. In 1971, a first time meeting of the Ministers of Education lead to the following resolution in 1973:

I. Cooperation in education shall be based on the following principles:

- the program of cooperation initiated in the field of education, whilst reflecting the progressive harmonization of the economic and social policies in the Community, must be adapted to the specific objectives and requirements of this field.

- on no account must education be regarded merely as a component of economic life.

- educational cooperation must take allowance for the traditions of each country and the diversity of their respective educational policies and systems.

Harmonization of these systems or policies cannot, therefore, be considered an end in itself.

II. At the present stage, this cooperation will relate mainly to the following priority spheres of action:
- better facilities for education, training of nationals and the children of nationals of other Member-States of the Communities and of non-member countries;

- promotion of closer relations between educational systems in Europe;

- compilation of up-to-date documentation and statistics on education;

- increased cooperation between institutions of higher education;

- improved possibilities for academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study;

- encouragement of freedom of movement and mobility of teachers, students and research workers, in particular by the removal of administrative and social obstacles to the free movement of such persons and by the improved teaching of foreign languages;

- achievement of equal opportunity for free access to all forms of education.

It is self evident that any subject which would appear necessary to study to attain the results sought in this sphere must be open to examination.

III. This cooperation must not hinder the exercise of power conferred on the institutions of European Communities.

IV. In order to foster action in the fields mentioned under point II, an Education Committee shall be set up, composed of representatives of the Member States and of the Commission. Its Chairman shall come from the country exercising the office of President of the Council of Ministers. The Committee will report to the Education Ministers meeting with the Council before 30 June 1975, in accordance with customary procedures (Council of Europe, 1983, p. 9, 10).

Programs of action resulting from the first meeting of Ministers of Education over the period 1971-1979, were directed towards improving opportunities for cultural development, greater coherence between educational systems,
gathering documentation, cooperation in higher education and full access to all types of education (Peters, 1992).

From 1980 until 1986, the focus was on procuring equal opportunities for girls and boys, meeting the needs of handicapped students, combating illiteracy, study and promoting the European dimension in education, implementation of information technology, and, finally, teacher training.

In 1989, the emphasis shifted again, this time to education and training which recognized the internal market. Focal points were according to Peters (1992):

- recognition of professional and trade qualifications
- initial training and continuing education
- Erasmus and the development of universities in the EC
- education and training for technological change
- improving the quality of education systems by means of cooperation
- education and training in foreign languages
- promoting exchanges among young people.

Internationalization, within the European context, has been a prime concern since the late 1980s. The Council and the EC are currently working together on educational matters. Initially the EC, similar to the Council, did not value education as a policy issue, but the demand for a skilled labor force across borders has called for new initiatives.

Programs that enhance the study of European foreign languages and that promote scholarly exchange have been part
of Dutch education for a long time. Foreign language instruction, however, was not always based on the intrinsic needs of the natives. The French language, for example, was forced upon Dutch education during Napoleon's regime and its cultural significance has lasted well into this century. Although French is still being taught at the secondary level, it is no longer a prerequisite for being "well-educated." On the other hand it is difficult, if not impossible, for the Dutch to ignore their German neighbours. Not only did the Germans cross the border uninvited in wartime, but they come in even greater flocks in peace time to occupy the North Sea beaches. Tourism, extensive trade interests, and Germany's current political clout have generated renewed interest in the German language. English has been the first foreign language in the second half of this century. During recent years, many Dutch academics have recommended English only for scientific publications. The heated debates did not bring marked changes in the existing situation and physics and mathematics research is still published foremost in English while most other disciplines publish in Dutch.

Language studies certainly qualify as intercultural education. Learning a language always entails to some extent the cultural context of the country under study, its history and its current status. Visiting other countries, often an
integral part of the course of study, helps students to understand regional diversity and pluralism.

A more recent dimension of intercultural education is language instruction to allochthonous students. Many of the students, currently enrolled in primary or secondary education in Europe, have cultural roots in other, non-European, parts of the world. Concerns about the education of these students surfaced a few decades ago. A working group was set up by the Council for Cultural Cooperation (CDCC) in 1975 to study implications for the education of migrant children. The group comprised educational specialists from countries of origin of migrant students and the host countries. The working group's terms of reference (Rey, 1984) included several so called "articulated elements," respectively:

- to analyze significant experiments in teacher training in several countries and to draw conclusions from them;
- to prepare background dossiers on the culture, civilization and education systems of countries of origin and host countries, for the use of training centers, teacher trainers, teachers, parents and researchers;
- to organize courses and pilot experiments based on the two preceding elements; lastly, to formulate recommendations for the CDCC and the Committee of Ministers. (pp.4-5)

Research on the first articulate element resulted in eight case studies, covering teacher training in as many countries. To meet the goals of the second element, dossiers for intercultural education were prepared that contained information about the social, economic and cultural aspects
of the migrant and host countries and the educational organizations. The dossier was supplemented by a synthesis that outlined problems that migrants faced in different countries, regarding their children's education and socialization. The last task was to define objectives for intercultural education that would be acceptable for all member states. The premise that intercultural processes can be challenging for both parties or enriching depending on the degree of mutual acceptance was basic to these deliberations. The working group agreed (Rey, 1984) that intercultural education was a comprehensive sociological option for meeting objectives of equality of opportunity and cultural development. (p. 25) The group formulated twelve proposals ready for immediate implementation, provided that sufficient funds and broad participation were guaranteed. The proposals outlined by Rey (1984) addressed the following issues:

1. The intercultural option: mutual recognition of cultures and their interactions;
2. Recognizing the value of different cultures in a way that does not hide relations of dominance but enhances the status of migrants' cultures;
3. Intercultural education: a principle which underpins all school activity;
4. Challenging socially biased and ethnocentric assessment criteria: reconsidering accepted standards;
5. Introducing the intercultural approach in every area of the organization and life of the school;
6. The symbolic role of the presence of mother tongues in the school;
7. A pluralist approach to the acquisition of knowledge;
9. Art, an excellent means of access to the appreciation of different cultures;
10. Intercultural activity among pupils depends on the quality of cooperation in teaching teams and between indigenous and foreign teachers;
11. A necessary precondition for learning: communication between school, family, the social environment in which the children live and the whole community, both migrant and indigenous;
12. Intercultural education: a perspective which concerns both the countries of origin and the host countries and which calls for solidarity between countries with differing levels of resources. (pp. 25 - 35)

Within this framework the education committees advised the Ministers on issues regarding improvements to be made in vocational education, in-service and pre-service teacher training, technology in education, and the education of migrant workers.

Education in the Netherlands

Education in the Netherlands is compulsory from the age of five until sixteen. During this period education is free of charge. When students reach the age of seventeen, they have to pay a yearly fee. In most cases parents foot this bill because students are not likely to hold a job in high school or at universities. Low-income families are entitled to fee waivers. Almost all educational institutes, public and special, are funded by the Government. Universities are not fully funded by the state and get only 80% of their budget from taxpayer's money. Additional funds are obtained by means of tuition, research contracts, and services (Dijkstra, 1989).
In 1920 a coalition of Protestants and Catholics enacted a national education law that provided public support for religious education. Schools are publicly funded ever since and are generally operated by small nonprofit organizations often religious in nature. Currently approximately 69% of the elementary students and 72% of the secondary students attend privately operated schools. Most 95% of the privately operated schools are church related (Brown, 1992). Denominational schools, however, do no longer exclude students on religious grounds. Taking care of funding allows the Government the right (or plight?) to impose national standards equally on public and private education. Curricula in public and private education are consequently almost identical. Religious instruction, an extra curricular activity, is not directly funded by government money. Brown (1992) points out that full public funding of education caused that private schools in Holland [sic] are de facto public schools. (p. 183)

Education in the Netherlands is divided into three sections: primary, secondary, and higher education. Primary education is similar to elementary schooling in the US, with the exceptions of entry and departure ages. Students come to school at the age of five and leave when they are twelve. In the sixth and last year of elementary education all students take the CITO-test. This is a national comparative survey
developed by CITO, Central Institute for Testing in Education. The test is mandatory for both public and special education. The test-scores, recommendations of the elementary teaching staff, and wishes of parents and students are considered in making choices for secondary education. Parents, nevertheless, have the last say in matters of school choice and they are entitled to override advice of elementary staff members. Only in rare instances do parents take matters of choice in their own hands. The parents and students have many options since they are not confined to geographic areas. Moneys allocated by the government, "follow" the student. The amount is based on a "headcount" in the third month of the new academic year and allocated by each January 1.

Unlike the United States of America, secondary education takes place in one institution. Students who have demonstrated high intellectual ability on the CITO test can choose to go to a gymnasium. This type of institution requires Latin and Greek languages on top of a regular college prep curriculum in grades 7-12. All students are required to take one of these classical languages as a major.

In secondary education, most students pursue their education in comprehensive schools the "school communities." These communities resulted from the post war quandaries
about selective versus non-selective schools. The establishment of school communities, modeled after the American high schools (junior and senior), was legislated by the "Mammoth Law" of 1968. School communities have no entry barriers. Students' developmental level is assessed through diagnostic tests in the first year. An extensive support system helps to remedy knowledge gaps and learning problems, whether these are of a cognitive, psychological, or social nature. The two or three year "bridge" period was restructured in 1992 as VBAO, (voortgezet basis onderwijs = extended basic education). VBAO is modeled after the American middle school and it took almost twenty years to get it through the legislature. Many Dutch were accustomed to streaming and tracking and saw VBAO as yet another sign of deteriorating standards in education. During these two or three VBAO years, students' establish their prospects for middle and higher secondary education. They are tracked according to their performance over these previous years. Their options are: a) LBO, lower vocational education; b) MAVO, administrative training comparable to the former American junior high school; c) HAVO, comparable to American senior high school, but graduation only allows for entrance to colleges not to universities; and, d) VWO that equals college preparatory in the United States. MAVO (Middelbaar Algemeen Vormend Onderwijs) lasts two more years. On top of
two "bridge" years, HAVO, (Hoger Algemeen Vormend Onderwijs) takes three more years, whereas VWO (Voorbereidend Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs) requires additional study of four years.

A student's general education, in terms of institutional responsibility, is considered to be completed upon graduation from the gymnasium or VWO. No additional liberal arts requirements are imposed by universities or polytechnics.

The first phase of a regular academic course of study was shortened in the mid 1980s to four years. This resulted from the upgrading of HBO's, (Higher Vocational Education) that called for consistency in duration of study. Until that time, the study length in academia was fairly flexible. The first propodeutic year offers a broad range of classes related to the chosen field of study. To enter the next stage students need to pass the propodeutic exam. The following three years are completed by exams that equal bachelors (higher vocational education) or masters (universities) standards. Only a few excellent students can go on to the second phase, possibly leading to a doctorate.

The cost of education

All post secondary students between the age of 18 through 27 are eligible for government-paid study wages over
a period of five years. Due to relatively low tuition costs, these scholarships cover about 60% of all study expenses. Parents are expected to provide the remaining 40%. If that is not possible, students can apply for an interest-bearing (governmental) loan. This funding system has created a forceful instrument for controlling study progress, and at the same time it prevents students from holding jobs. Students are fined if they earn over $100 extra a month. A student ID also provides unlimited access to public transportation. By suppressing a student's urge to buy a car the Government reinforces its milieu politics, another high priority in the Dutch low lands.

**Intercultural education in the Netherlands**

Cultural diversity was not considered with any consistency in governmental educational policy until 1974. Ad hoc decisions concerning the education of children of former colonized "countrymen" - specifically the Moluccans - were of a timely character. Prevalent in educating allochthonous students at the time was an education in the students' own language and culture (OETC). Objectives for OETC were to: contribute to the development of self-concept and self-esteem; ensure communication with family members and friends in the country of origin; and, ease re-entry
into the educational system in the country of origin (Kloprogge, 1992).

The last assumption proved to be totally unrealistic and, to a lesser degree, the first and second did too. Only a very few allochthonous families returned permanently to their countries of origin. Furthermore, many students educated in the Dutch educational system did not show strong interest in their heritage. In addition to these findings, survey studies did not indicate that allochthonous students disliked going to school, or suffered from a poor self-image or that they were less motivated than indigenous students (Kloprogge, 1992).

Interestingly enough concerns about autochthonous students who had fallen behind guided the first governmental initiatives in 1974 for a structural approach toward diversity. It soon became clear, however, that many "low academic achievers" were to be found in ethnic minority groups. A new program for affirmative action in 1979 acknowledged the relationship between ethnicity and educational achievement. As a result, governmental policy on cultural minorities was developed by 1981. Education of these students was going to be a shared responsibility of two ministries: the Ministry of Education and Science, and the Ministry of Culture, Recreation, and Social Work. The OETC program that sought to educate students in their own
language and culture, was scrutinized for its effectiveness. Goals were re-worded in 1983 as follows: a) to develop a positive self-concept and self-esteem; b) to lessen the gap between school and home; and, c) to contribute to intercultural education.

From 1983 until 1991, a gradual change in focus became apparent. In 1981 the acculturation of allochthonous students, was the main objective for OETC. This was not in terms of a cultural assimilation process but more in terms of social integration. By developing an accepting and valuing attitude towards other cultures, these students were expected to merge into the Dutch mainstream without much problem.

In 1984 the emphasis shifted again to equal functioning, learning about similarities and differences related to ethnic and cultural origin, preparation of students for a pluralist society, and ways to for counteract stigmatizing, stereotyping, discrimination, and racism.

Intercultural education, regulated by law in 1989, is a broader concept that concerns all educational disciplines and all students. In contrast to OETC, which centered on language and culture of migrant countries, intercultural education stresses cognition and demands an extensive knowledge base of backgrounds, circumstances, and cultures. Within the new framework for intercultural education
teachers are supposed (Oud, 1992) to aim for: 1) combating social inequality and inequality in education; 2) encouraging respect and tolerance for cultural differences; and, 3) acquiring knowledge about inter-ethnic relations and cultural backgrounds for foundations rather than base teaching on emotional and social grounds. (p. 2)

Critics argue that the Government has assigned an impossible task in asking the educational field to become active in a sphere undefined by government and without much back-up in terms of projects and opportunities for development (Kloprogge, 1992). Kloprogge contends that intercultural education is doomed to failure if it is promoted as the solution for existing social problems. He makes a plea for a limited set of operational goals and adequate means to counteract the current vagueness. The author blames pre- and in-service teacher training for not succeeding in incorporating intercultural aspects in the curriculum, whereas fostering cultural sensitivity had been promoted since 1974.

Inconsistency in operational goals and a lack of strategies for implementation at the elementary level resulted in only marginal changes in classroom instruction. A survey conducted in 1991 showed that out of every ten elementary schools, five to six did not address
intercultural education at all, three to four were planning on introducing intercultural curriculum content, and one out of ten schools was in the executive phase (Kloprogge, 1992).

Fragmented and shattered policies for secondary education have not created a satisfactory framework for the implementation of intercultural elements. Considerations for the needs of allochthonous students are usually guided by matters of efficiency and organization (Kloprogge, 1992). The only tangible results so far are curriculum developments for Arab and Turkish that established these languages as a graduating major.

Art education in the Netherlands

From a historical perspective the development of art in schools in North America and in The Netherlands is very similar. Art was introduced in public schools in both settings to improve skills for prospective jobs. Enactment of The Law on Middle Education in 1863 paved the way for implementation of hand drawing and line drawing. At that time France and England were the leading industrial forces. The Dutch lagged behind in industrialization, in terms of scale and sophistication of products, and suffered from a "national inferiority crisis" (Van Rheeden 1980). Products displayed at the exhibition of applied arts in 1877 reached an all-time low in terms of design. Drawing instruction in
schools and new teacher training programs were implemented in secondary schools around 1880. The Government, was eager to raise the quality of industrial products and also cared about prospective consumers. Concurrent with support for drawing instruction, art history was implemented in the MMS, (Middelbare Meisjes School - middle schools for girls) to develop women's "aesthetic appetite." Art history remained part of the regular MMS curriculum until 1968, when school reform eliminated schools for girls only.

To further the quality of art instruction, the Government established the first Kunstnijverheidsschool (Arts and Crafts School) in 1880. This type of school was over the years upgraded to the status of "art academy." Currently, The Netherlands counts eight art academies and seven polytechnics with an art department. Generally speaking art education is a component within these departments (Dijkstra, 1989).

At the turn of the century the Reform movement gained momentum. Inspired by Ruskin and Morris' utopian socialism in England and the "Kunsterziehungsbewegung" (Art Education Movement) in Germany, educators developed a Reform pedagogy Dutch style. Well-known Dutch educators associated with this Reform movement were Jan Ligthart and Theo Thijssen. As in Progressive Education in the United States, the reform movement aimed for "schooling for life," as opposed to
accumulating academic knowledge. Connections were made between schools and the 'real' world by integrating academic disciplines and crafts. Integrating arts and crafts in the curriculum was thought to contribute to moral education on the one hand but could also help in furthering the competitive edge in industry on the other hand.

One of the most outspoken critics of the Reform movement became Thijssen himself. He contended that indeed children's interests were served within the walls of schools, but their social reality outside the building did not change, despite their education. The argument that education alone would never change society and that politicians need to underscore the demand for social equality and justice is still valid in most European countries. Thorsten Husen the chair of the Academia Europeana, writes (1993) in a recent publication on schooling in modern Europe:

*When it comes to making the school better adapted to the new Europe, policy makers will have to take over. Scientific rationality is a necessary, but not a sufficient, pre-requisite for practical solutions for which there are always alternatives, each with its own rationale. The alternatives finally chosen depend upon the prevailing political will.* (p. 509)

Between the wars Austrian educators Cizec and Rothe gained popularity. Cizec's influence remained modest due to his focus on excellence and giftedness. Rothe, on the other hand, was invited to teach in The Hague. His theory that
students are either bauende or schauende (builders or observers) was well received, especially by the handicraft and 3-D teachers.

During the World War II era Herbert Read became the uncrowned king of art education. Creative expression reigned until well into the 1960s. A turning point came with the development of Visuelle Kommunikation in Germany in the 1970s. The dissemination and widespread incorporation in (art)educational philosophy of concepts such as cultural industry, Kulturindustrie (1947), by the German philosophers Horkheimer and Adorno and industry of conscience in Bewustseinsindustrie (1964), by Enzenberger, have strongly influenced the practice of Dutch art education. These concepts were rooted in pre-war German, Marxist oriented, critical theory. This theory that presented aesthetic education as a capitalist accomplice in pursuing economic interests. The main objectives of the visual communication movement were to develop a critical mode of thinking in students and to provide them with "tools" for emancipatory actions (Van Rheeden, 1980).

A weaker, or maybe milder, version of Visuelle Kommunikation was introduced in the Netherlands. Instead of attacking the values of a capitalist society, discussion centered on "beeldende vorming en maatschappelijke gerichtheid" [art education and social orientation] (Van
Rheeden, 1980). Critical thinking was, and still is, highly valued in Dutch art education. Art programs that were grafted onto these ideas typically dealt with popular culture, design, architecture, and the media - in short the visual environment of students.

The 3-E Experiment

The introduction of art as a major in secondary education in 1971 was a major boost for art education. The 3-E experiment (Eindexamen Experiment Expressievakken - final examination, experiment, expressive disciplines) was initially granted for five years and limited to a small number of schools. A high degree of visibility and increased recognition of the high standards for the visual arts and music allowed for expansion later on.

Time spent on art education

Current minimum requirements for art in elementary education is one hour a week. In the first two years of secondary education at least three to four hours a week are devoted to the visual arts. In addition to the visual arts most school communities require two hours of industrial arts and one or two hours of music instruction on a weekly basis. Higher grades in secondary education mostly require two hours of art education. If students choose to graduate in
one of the art disciplines or in music, they spend four hours a week in art classes for two or three years, depending on their placement.

In elementary education the regular classroom teacher also teaches art. In secondary education the visual arts are subdivided into drawing and painting, handicraft and textile arts. All three visual arts disciplines, drawing, 3-D and textile arts, are taught separately by different specialists who habitually have their own classroom designed for their specific discipline. Speaking from my own experience, "my" classroom was equipped with tools for woodworking, metalwork, at least ten soldering stations, workbenches for wood and metal work, a "wet corner" for ceramics and plaster, and a dry corner for drawing and writing. Generally speaking drawing and painting classrooms are equipped with drawing tables, printing presses and a singular silk screen corner.

The choice for curriculum content and materials in secondary education is often left to the teachers. There is still no "graded course of study" for the arts but the Government is working toward "desired outcomes." These outcomes would serve the same goal as the national standards for art education in the United States. The one exception on this rule is that art educators who teach art majors must
follow well defined guidelines for production, art criticism, and art history.

To find out what teachers are supposed to know upon entering the profession I looked at pre-service elementary training and at the preparation of art specialists for secondary education. These programs of the teacher training institutes are evaluated by the Inspectorate on a regular basis in order to insure consistency across the nation.

Art education in elementary teacher preparation

The Concept Law on Elementary Education of 1976 stated that education is no longer the domain of separate disciplines. The new way to structure curriculum contents was by focusing on "learning fields," integrating all disciplines in thematic education. The staff as a whole was to be held accountable for students' learning processes. Frequent consultation and multiple meetings were an integral part of this approach. Since art specialists tended to work in isolation and often dealt with tight schedules, they did not fit into this profile of team members. Subsequently art teachers were gradually pulled out the schools. Some art specialists were trained to become arts-consultants, available for classroom teachers as resources and researchers. These consultants resided mostly in big cities, which meant that their services were not readily available
to all schools. Obviously the dismissal of specialists required extended expertise in the arts for classroom teachers. The art educational component in elementary teacher training, as exemplified by the MARNIX ACADEMIE in Utrecht will serve as a model to illustrate this new approach.

In the course of study, prospective elementary teachers are expected to invest 1700 hours a year, amounting to a total of 6800 hours over a four years period. Although subject matter is presented to the students in thematic format, discipline-specific content is taught in modules. In the best case scenario, when a student takes all the art electives, art education takes up 8% of the total time invested: 720 hours divided in practical work and theoretical studies. Curriculum content for art educational theory is organized in three readers bearing the telling titles Help I, Help II, and Help III.

Help I provides a justification for art education based on a humanistic point of view. Development of communicative skills and creativity is strongly emphasized. Practical components such as designing, creating, comparing and contrasting are assumed to provide useful learning strategies for life later on. The greater part of this reader deals with guidelines for developing curricula and lesson plans.
Help II outlines different issues related to art education. Chapters address perception, the domain of art education, elements of design (general), elements of design and drawing, elements of design in three-dimensional and textile arts, and lesson planning.

Help III addresses relationships between child development and representation, evaluation, preconditions for interactive group projects, an inventory of current movements in art education, and a recapitulation of previous topics.

The overarching objective of this curriculum is the exploration of the visual realities of young students. Themes are carefully chosen to insure connections to students' own life experiences. The development of affective, psycho-motor and cognitive skills is equally perceived as valid objectives. Art history and criticism are incorporated to help students understand visual realities (Help I, II, and III, 1989).

Several "schools of thought" are incorporated in this curriculum that have, or have had, counterparts in American reform ideals. Group projects bear resemblance to progressive education. For example emphasis on expressive qualities was prevalent in the "Lowenfeldian" school. Attention for thorough preparation and clear structure, once
advocated by Bruner, is exemplified in the planning section. However, visual communication structures learning in the arts through learning about students' own environments, which is not very popular in American art education practice. The introduction of canonical artworks - DBAE style - is virtually non-existent in the Dutch elementary teaching practice. Elementary students in lower grades begin with the exploration of their individual motor abilities. In the next phase they develop creative and communicative skills, which are followed by greater emphasis on social skills. The subject matter is chosen according to the interdisciplinary learning fields.

Art education in secondary education

The introduction of art as a graduating major in 1971 has dramatically changed the concept of art education in secondary education. The disciplinary character of this "new" major provided some counterbalance against "free expression" that gained enormous popularity after World War II. Read's Education through Art, espousing freedom of expression, guided the new generation of art educators. By refraining from giving directions, art educators became mere facilitators instead of instructors or teachers. A movement like this almost cries out for counterbalance. The Sputnik "syndrome" in 1957 caused the great awakening in the United
States, boosting interest in cognitive psychology. At the time phenomenological theory (Heidegger and Merleau-Ponti) gained momentum in the Netherlands. The addition of German based phenomenology, French existentialism, and British theories on perception (Gombrich), combined with a sniff of Bauhaus ideas, provided the basis for van Ringlestein's theory of art education in 1964. His book, *Image and reality* marked a new era of extensive research in foundations and content analysis of Dutch art education (van Rheeden, 1980). Consequently, art education gained credibility and became more visible.

Thanks to extensive campaigning the 3-E experiment started in 1971. The Dutch Ministry of Education and Science was willing to support the project provided that the curriculum would include both theoretical and practical contents. Up to this time studio production had been in the forefront in art education. The theoretical component consisted of art history and RBV (reflectieve beeldende vorming = reflective visual education). RBV examined contextual information and interpretation of visual phenomena, similar to art criticism American style. Subjects of study were not restricted to the fine arts and included industrial - design.

Students could choose among drawing, three-dimensional, and textile arts. On a weekly basis students would spend
three hours on studio and one hour on theory, apart from homework assignments. Schools had to bear responsibility for the examination of the practical component. A governmental agency was charged with developing the final theoretical exams, a longtime practice for academic disciplines. The practical and theoretical component, would each count for 50% of the final grade. The studio component commanded extensive exposure to either:

1. Drawing: various drawing, painting and graphic techniques and extensive studies of form and color;

2. Handicrafts: working with various materials such as wood, metal, clay, or 3-D design in other materials;

3. Textiles; printing, textile techniques, fashion design, and 3-D design.

Evaluation was to become a shared responsibility of the art teacher and one other staff member. The theoretical part of exams falling under responsibility of the art educator, the "school examinations," required:

- the ability to systematically describe visual phenomena
- knowledge of materials and techniques in historical context
- knowledge of functions of visual arts and other manifestations of visual communication in historical context. (van Rheeden, 1980)

The theoretical part of the exams that fell under governmental responsibility, found in the central written exam, demanded:
the ability to systematically compare and contrast different styles of visual phenomena
knowledge about iconography and historical antecedents
ability to interpret uncomplicated historical sources images and texts (ibid.).

Exams were prepared for MAVO, HAVO, and VWO, comprising questionnaires and color reproductions and photographs of selected artworks. Evidently different levels of schooling were reflected in the questions. Beginning with factual and practical knowledge at the MAVO level, the questions appealed to higher order thinking of HAVO students and to the ability to synthesize and philosophize at the college preparatory level (VWO). For example, the MAVO examinations of 1992 (CITO, 1992) featured the following questions about Calder’s work:

Image 19 displays a work from 1969 called "Indianfeathers."
In this work weight and balance are important.
28. Give one example of weight and one of balance.
In this work geometric shapes are being used.
29. Name two instances in which geometric shapes are used.
30. Name two ways in which "Indianfeathers" are suggested.
(p. 11)

Two questions for VWO in the same year, dealing with the "Black paintings" of Goya, were:

In his Black paintings Goya abandons completely Enlightenments’ conceptions about art.
13. Discuss briefly what this means.
Paintings like this mirror a change in the social position of artist.
14. Explain what this change entails.
(p. 3)

Art teachers get a correction model for grading. The exams are mailed to a second corrector to insure objective grading. Both grades are mediated to determine the final
score. Recently the studio part for VWO is also being evaluated by outsiders. The work in progress and the process are both graded (Schonau, 1994).

What does a secondary art teacher need to know in dealing with these issues? Schonau (1994) argued that the 3-E experiment in itself turned out to be a sort of in-service training. The necessity to study certain subjects more in depth, the degree of difficulty of the exam questions, and the reflections afterwards proved to be intellectually stimulating. As a consequence of the 1971 implementation of 3-E, teacher training programs have become more rigorous.

Teacher preparation for secondary education

Prospective art teachers for secondary education must choose between drawing/painting, three dimensional, and textile arts. In a governmental attempt to economize, beginning 1974, prospective teachers could work for certification in two areas. In 1990 this policy was reversed and the institutes turned back to the old ways, meaning that students had to study for four years to become certified in one art specialty.

Many teacher training institutes are currently dealing with interdisciplinary curriculum content to prepare students for the integrated learning fields. Eight learning
fields are for example identified by the Academy for Industrial Design. The fields center around Man and identity, food, living, leisure, work, information, transports, and environment. Each field is subdivided and students must choose at least 15 of the 22 sub areas in design, the mastering of technical skills in different materials, and ergonomics and professional orientation. The studio component in secondary teacher education takes up most of the time, roughly 75%; art academies with a teacher training component stress studio even more. The theoretical component consists of cultural history, art history, history of design, art criticism, philosophy, psychology and methods' courses.

Quality control

In 1986 government and institutes of higher education agreed (Dijkstra, 1989) on quality assessment stating that:

The institutes themselves bear the main responsibility for setting up a system of quality assessment
The inspectorate supervises the system of quality assessment and informs the minister on its validity with respect to process and output
This task of the inspectorate is called meta-evaluation
The minister keeps the possibility to have additional investigations performed in the higher educational system
These should preferably not overlap with activities undertaken by the institutes themselves. (p. 12)
This comes down to an external evaluation of an internal evaluation considered an essential task of the inspectorate (Dijkstra, 1989). The final report should therefore contain information on: methods, terms of reference, institutional objectives, mission statement, governmental framework, requirements of labor market, developments and innovation. (ibid, p. 14)

Program quality is first considered within the national context and then subjected to international scrutiny within the EC context.

Reform in Dutch education

A number of recent changes have had a catastrophic impact on art education. Site-based management was introduced nationwide in 1992. Site-based management Dutch style means that a mere 80% of lessons still falls under governmental regulations in terms of time to be spent on the separate disciplines. So-called “free space” takes up the additional 20%. Schools can use free space for additional art instruction. However, the visual arts have to compete with physical education, foreign languages (except for English, French and German being part of “the canon”), dance, and drama. In addition to these new challenges, high maintenance cost for art rooms, expensive equipment and materials for 3-D and textile arts, and relatively few art
majors have traditionally made the visual arts a heavy burden to the budget. In this new configuration art teachers are forced to tap their creative sources to merely stay in schools.

School choice

School choice, often advocated as a panacea for high quality education in the United States, has been in effect since the early 1920s. Parents are free to pick an elementary school and they also have the last word in selecting secondary education. Although not confined to districts, most parents prefer elementary schools in their neighborhood because there is no school-busing system. Secondary school locations are more spread out and require many students to ride a bike or to use public transportation. Schools also do not provide meals.

A major objective in school choice is to accommodate preference based on confession or on the absence of religious beliefs. Confessional schools are foremost of Catholic or Protestant signature. Other types of special education, although fewer in numbers, include anthroposophic schools based on Steiner's educational philosophy, schools for Jewish students, Jena plan schools that group children vertically, Montessori schools, and a few special schools for international students. Winning points for the schools
in attracting students are a high level of academic achievement, attention for children's well-being, and the cultural climate in the school. In contrast to their American counterparts Dutch schools do not offer athletic programs, band, or cheerleading. Sport instruction is limited to physical education and taught to intact classes; there is virtually no separation based on gender. Occasionally, homogeneous soccer or volleyball teams are created to play interscholastic tournaments.

What does education do to its teachers

Teachers' well-being has recently become a point of governmental concern because of the many instances of absenteeism and early burnout. Van Esch (1993) found that in the 1990/1991 academic year absenteeism because of illness amounted to 7.7%. (p. 25) Stress proved to be the leading cause of illness. The ergonomics of the teaching profession and career counseling for staff members are currently points of concern for the Government and school administrators.

In 1991 the Secretary of Education appointed a committee to research the future of the teaching profession. The final report, Het gedroomde koninkrijk, (The dreamed kingdom) stated (van Esch, 1993) that isolation, immobility, and too much top-down regulation had killed entrepreneurial spirits. She blamed institutions for leaving no space for
creativity, flexibility, or personal responsibility. To lift spirits and to foster a work ethos the committee proposed merit pay based on teachers' status (co-teacher, senior teacher, and expert teacher). A new teacher would be hired for five to seven years to foster a sense of security in the first, often troublesome, years. In this blueprint a senior teacher would monitor and collaborate with the novice. Senior teachers can move up the ladder and become expert teachers. These expert teachers would have to demonstrate a broad and deep understanding and knowledge of pedagogy and educational theory.

In this scheme the salaries of teachers are going to diverge. Currently all teachers automatically get a salary raise once they have earned their permanent appointment, which is habitually after one year. Wages are the same for everybody in comparable teaching settings. The Government does not discriminate among disciplines or geographic locations. All teachers earn the same amount in inner cities, rural, or suburban placements. This is not only true for teachers but also for instructors and professors. Professors earn the same salary nationally. However, the reader should keep in mind that a substantial part of higher education, including all of elementary teacher training and a substantial part of the training for secondary education, takes place in separate institutions and not at
universities. These institutions do not employ professors but "common" teacher trainers; thus the number of highly paid professors is comparatively low.

The committee made the following suggestions for revamping Dutch education: appoint persons with expertise - not necessarily with certification; evaluate the performances of in-service teachers; enhance expertise through in-service training; and reduce government control. Better qualified administrators and a bonus system for reform were proposed to bring back enthusiasm for the teaching profession. Van Esch (1993) admits that only a grassroots movement can carry out these changes. In view of the marginal involvement of parents and the solid labor rights of inservice teachers, these stake-holders are not likely to start an educational revolution.

Art education in relation to cultural diversity

Art education that incorporates art history and art criticism certainly qualifies as "sensitive to cultural diversity." Cultural diversity in art education in the Netherlands is usually confined to artifacts from European countries. Two marked exceptions to this rule are the arts from ancient Egypt and art from post World War II United States. Stylistic influences from other parts of the world, e.g., from Japan as in van Gogh's work and African
influences in Picasso's art, were discussed because of the importance to Western art and not because of intrinsic, autononous, artistic, or social value in the countries of origin. Cultural awareness in these cases refers to the way the artists interpreted these artifacts. This perception is currently changing and the role of these artifacts within the original context is considered worthy of study and a valid form of intercultural art education. Nevertheless, to include cultural artifacts from all over the world would be an impossible task. Allochthonous students in Dutch education, however, are mostly born outside Western Europe. Moroccan, Turkish, and Surinam cultural artifacts were for the most part not included in the art education curriculum. The range of target groups was broadened to include children of gypsy families and travelers, and of low income families leaving art educators with new challenges regarding representation.

Teachers are required by law (Ministry of O&W, 1989) to develop curricula that meet the needs of these students. Specifically elementary education and prolonged elementary education, have to incorporate strategies that are sensitive towards cultural pluralism. Obviously the canon of Western culture needs to be dissected to get rid of less appropriate parts and brought to life again by adding new curriculum content. However, many art educators have expressed their
discomfort in performing this kind of surgery. The government then charged in 1990 SCO, (Stichting Centrum voor Onderwijsonderzoek + Foundation Centre for Educational Research) to investigate the presence of intercultural elements in art education. This research resulted in an inventory of existing programs that address multicultural art education, a conceptual framework for communication about this subject, and eight "compound statements" regarding multicultural art education (Oostwoud Wijdenes, 1993). The inventory and the investigation of intercultural elements in art education encompassed the visual arts, music, dance, drama, and literature.

The researchers have found that the supply of programs for art education was limited - only sixteen - and designed mostly for elementary (general) education. Many of the sixteen selected programs were written for use as teacher manuals without much discussion of intercultural objectives (Oud, 1992). Goals, if stated at all, tended to be instrumental to the development of social skills and not to arts-related skills. Researchers found that intercultural programs centered on traditional expressions of culture, material culture, and crafts-related issues. Only marginal attention was paid to the social situation of ethnic minorities living in the Netherlands or to the actual situation in the countries of origin. Researchers pointed
out that this carries the risk of creating false images that could easily perpetuate stereotyping and prejudice (Oud, 1992).

Following this analysis by SCO, a panel of twenty-four experts examined the conceptual framework and the work performed by SCO. An extensive questionnaire was sent out to these panel members soliciting their views on objectives, concepts, contents, and possible standards. On the basis of these answers, a second, refined questionnaire was mailed out. A synthesis of the panel's responses resulted in eight so-called "compound statements" (Oostwoud Wijdenes, 1993):

1. What theme's should be dealt with in multicultural art education?
2. Should one pay attention to the ethnic and cultural diversity in The Netherlands or is a broader perspective needed?
3. Is it necessary to make a choice [for multicultural elements] concerning the contents of art education?
4. To what extent does one have to pay attention to mechanisms of stereotyping, racism and discrimination?
5. Three different ways of introduction can be distinguished: an exemplary, a comparative and a universal introduction. Which one is preferred?
6. Production and reflection are cornerstones of the art subjects. Are both also needed in multicultural art education or will one approach suffice?
7. Should both intrinsic and instrumental goals be formulated for multicultural art education?
8. Is it necessary to take into account the ethnic pluriformity of the students when goals and contents of multicultural art curricula are chosen?

These statements clearly signify a starting point in thinking about intercultural art education. A few attempts to enhance intercultural awareness in art education have
been reported in Beeldspraak, the Dutch counterpart of Art Education. Nevertheless, a broad discussion at the national and international level is still to come.

Summary

In this chapter I addressed successively: a) efforts of the Council of Europe to define a rationale for intercultural education; b) the history of art in schools and, c) Dutch education and its ties with art education.

A. Sociogenic fears called up by both concepts are best qualified as opposites. Multicultural education in the United States evokes fears for disunity; intercultural education in Europe evokes fears for too much unity. Many Americans united under the Constitution are currently searching for their historic identity. Europeans, divided into many small, and sometimes very small cultural nuclei, are increasingly confronted with external influences. Critics of supranational education (Hernandez, 1993) warn that intercultural education can deteriorate into "cultural colonialism."

B. The histories of art education are not very different. The recent call for national standards in the United States of America was heard in the Netherlands in the late sixties and has resulted in the 3-E experiment. Dutch
national standards centered on art as a major, leaving the non-graduate practice in elementary and secondary education with much curricular freedom.

C. We have seen that educational philosophies differ significantly. In the United States education reflect the separation between church and state. In The Netherlands public life is "pillarized" which means that denominations play an important role in educational preferences. In America the separation has resulted in segregation of public and private education. In the Netherlands the schools are segregated along religious and secular beliefs but state funding has created de facto public schools (Brown, 1994). School choice has been practiced for 75 years. In Dutch education students are tracked after two or three years of secondary education. In America all students are expected to be potential high school graduates.

Another remarkable difference is in the preparation of art educators. In America certified art teachers can teach K-12 and all visual arts. Undergraduates spent 50% of the time on liberal arts requirements, over 30% on theoretical components of art education and a mere 20% on studio. In The Netherlands prospective art teachers make a choice for one of the visual arts, spent 75% of their four year's course on studio and 25% on the theory of art education. The Dutch system trains prospective art educators more like artists in
stressing the development of studio skills. Opportunities for developing research skills are practically zero because graduate studies in art education do not exist in The Netherlands.

Obviously different powers and perceptions are at work in both educational systems. An analysis of American stakeholders and their attitudes towards multicultural education will help to compare, contrast, and predict developments and attitudes in the Netherlands.

NOTES

1. Full Member States are:
   Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, Finland,
   France, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta,
   Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey,
   and the United Kingdom.

2. New full members: Latvia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Slovakia, Slovenia,
   The Holy See, Albania, Estonia, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Russia and Slovenia.
CHAPTER IV
THE POWERBROKERS

Theory

To discover if new paradigms have emerged over the last decade, I conducted an ERIC search that contained the following descriptors: multicultural, goals, and policy. Out of sixty-four entries only three publications addressed generic public education or teacher preparation for public education. Special group studies, language instruction, global education, and international concerns made up the greater part of the entries. The publications on public education included a call for learner-centered schools by Banks (1992) in which he restated the need for re-examination and reconstruction of goals, values, and purpose of schools. The wish for policy on controlled [sic] school choice in Dallas' public schools was subject of the second entry (author unknown, 1990). The third article (Darity, 1985) stressed the need for financial support. The search did not yield significant new theoretical developments. A gradual change in focus is evident in more recent publications on multicultural issues, witnessing Banks and McGee Banks (1993) and Gollnick and Chinn (1990).
Multicultural ideals were initially carried by the view that equal opportunities and equal access to education would remedy discriminatory practices. Particularly in the 1950s many studies focused on racial discrimination. Research revealed that interaction across racial lines tended to increase racial tolerance (Deutch & Collins, 1956). These findings were consistent with studies in desegregated military units (Mandelbaum, 1955) and led, according to Marret, Mizuno and Collins (1992), to the "contact hypothesis" which is the assertion that contacts outside one's usual sphere changes attitudes about that sphere. (p. 208) Allport (1954) found that contact would not reduce prejudice when partners could not interact on equal terms. The "contact hypothesis" was broadened to include "equal status." Obviously segregation put up barriers to these contacts. Desegregation and busing were logic steps in attaining equal status contacts. Forty years later this grand narrative of a unified country, not divided along lines of race and ethnicity, has traded places with the little narratives in pluralist theory (Giroux, 1992). These little narratives are often tied to certain groups and are preferably produced by members of these groups. Many African Americans' who had struggled and suffered to improve
conditions, looked at the inclusion of newcomers with mixed feelings as argued by McCarthy (1993):

Multiculturalism disarticulated elements of black racial demands for the restructuring of school knowledge and rearticulated these elements into more reformist professional discourses around issues of minority failure, cultural characteristics, and language proficiency. (p.23)

This "rearticulation" in education was supported by legislative measures that prohibited all forms of discrimination based on race, ethnicity, gender, sexual preference, age, religion, or handicaps. A growing group of potential power-holders presented itself to the educational field to compete for inclusion, attention for specific needs, and for resources. This competition has created separation among these groups, if only for clarity, and resulted in the pluralist model, defined by Dale (1986):

Pluralism is a theory of the distribution of influence over decisionmaking in society..... concerned to know which groups contribute to the decisions, and with why those policies and not others are made. (p.7)

Pluralist theory sees the distribution of power as the predominant characteristic of society and by implication accepts power as a value in itself. Granting power to different interest groups, however, does not necessarily guarantee change. Critics argue that these groups can only compete over matters already on the political agenda, and that the power to create the agenda lies in the hands of a very small number of power-holders (Tomlinson, 1993).
Power-holders base their influence on: coercion and reward; expertise, which is the disposition of valid knowledge; legitimacy, closely aligned with reward and coercive powers; and, referent power, based on identification with powerful others that dispose of resources and/or desirable traits (Arnaudet & Barret, 1984). Power-holders are inclined to maintain the status quo but pluralism has nevertheless found its way into academic research. Before the 1960, cultural differences were generally explained in terms of hierarchy with the modern, Western, technological culture on top and pre-technological societies at the foot of the totem pole. Interpretations of cultural differences within this frame of reference have generated the "deficiency model" that values deviation from the standard as negative (Hoover, 1990). These negative connotations caused academic disciplines in the 1960s to deny - or ignore - the influence of cultural differences on student performance (Sitkoff, 1991). Cultural differences are currently recognized as a valid subject of study but academia applies other angles for investigations. Concepts such as "nonsynchronous identities" (Taubman, 1994, p. 285) and "intracultural variability" (Lonner, 1993, p.V), are introduced for researching personal and group differences. Current studies (Altaribba, 1993) in psychology address The influence of culture on cognitive processes. (p.379)
The groundwork for this paradigm is to be found in Vygotsky's work, the "godfather" of the sociocultural approach toward child development (Kozulin, 1990). In his framework it is assumed that individual development cannot be separated from the cultural context; identity is culturally and socially constructed. Although this perception in itself is not new, the absence of attributed hierarchy among different cultures is a fairly recent phenomenon.

Cultural differences might become more ingrained in academic circles but public education is frequently scorned for being unable to meet the needs of culturally diverse students. Frustrated by institutional restrictions often discriminatory in nature (Gollnick, 1992), critics increasingly question the validity of the system and call for change (Banks, 1992; Apple, 1994; Giroux, 1993). In doing so they directly and indirectly challenge the educational power-holders.

**Intimidation rituals**

Challenging power-holders, however, does not go unpunished. Strategies applied by power-holders to maintain the status quo often entail "intimidation rituals." These rituals typically include four stages. The first step in
securing the status quo is nullification. Power-holders claim that accusations or suggestions for change are a result of misunderstandings or misconceptions. If this does not result in backing off, the power-holders will try to isolate the reformer(s) in hopes to contain the spreading of the message. Budget cuts, restriction of communication links, and limited freedom of movement are frequently applied to achieve isolation. The next step is to publicly discredit the reformers' motives and competence. Expulsion is the last resort of the power-holders for staying in control (Arnett & Barret, 1984).

If we look at the art world we can repeatedly detect these patterns. Whether it was impressionist art, popart, or body art, new developments have been met with howls of derision from the arts establishment. Rejection of outsiders was - and still is - perfectly illustrated through the choices made by museum curators and gallery owners. They sometimes patronize a new star but generally prefer well known artists. That mostly male artists are being selected caused the well-known Gorilla Girls to protest against exclusion of women from the artistic mainstream. In my opinion a case of very effective isolation. As "new voices" keep on pushing, the establishment reluctantly allows for separate entities such as ethnic galleries, women's and
children's museums. In this way specific groups can be effectively banned from powerful arts establishments.

Similar struggles are being fought in English language and history departments. In almost all cases' students (who take up the role of reformers) oppose the dominance of one powerful culture over all others.

In art education the dominant position of mainstream theory, philosophy, and "land-marks," is challenged vigorously by proponents of multicultural education. These proponents strive for inclusion of different points of view and a variety of cultural artifacts. Critical voices (Marantz, 1993: Smith 1993: Daniel, 1993) warn not to become overly ambitious in this striving for inclusion. Marantz (1993) argues we were probably too near-sighted to see the problems of dealing with issues of alien cultures and simultaneously with those mutated variants of our more homely American culture. (p. 5)

Change

Multicultural education is directed towards change: change in attitude, curriculum content, and power relations. Changes, needed or wanted, within the microculture of the school building will effect other institutions involved in education. In reviewing the established institutions' one can almost predict whether change has a chance, or whether
reform is doomed to fail. If institutions stay in place, staffed by the same power-holders, the prospects for change are bleak (Osborne & Gaebler, 1993). Policy developed to enable change moves in the direction desired by groups gaining influence and away from the desires of groups losing influence. Strategies available to power-holders, who would want to stay in control (see p. 112) differ from the plans of those who are determined to seize power.

Strategies for change

Strategies for reformers, powerless in terms of institutionalized power resemble, to a certain extent, guidelines for prospective political leaders. Novice politicians typically focus on the following issues: (1) agenda setting, know how to get access to the agenda and how to keep the issues on the agenda; (2) gaining and maintaining legitimacy, how to align and what forms of legitimacy are required?; (3) coalition building or seeking consensus, who else is working on the same issues, how important are they and how much power do they have?; (4) public advocacy, bring the message to the audiences, who are they and what is needed for action?; (5) bargaining and negotiation, how much power do other groups have and what are the effects on the proposed reform?; (6) media
interaction; (7) designing and sustaining organization; and, (8) how to implement policy (Mitchell, 1993).

Reformers and prospective political leaders follow the same path at great length. Being a politician can be a lifelong career but reform movements fade away once the goals are accomplished (Elias, 1993), forcing reformers to look for other occupations. While in full swing, reformers are testing the elasticity of power described by Arnaudet and Barret (1984): Elasticity of power is defined as the relative responsiveness of power to change in available alternatives. One’s ability to influence others is defined as being dependent on how these others perceive their alternatives. (p. 250)

Key stake-holders in education are continually tested for their “elasticity” when new educational paradigms emerge. The following analysis of the stake-holders’ wishes and their reactions to external pressure provide insights in the entangling alliance between pluralist theory and education.

The research

Key stake-holders are successively discussed and “graded” for their potential power in the decision-making process and their “elasticity.” The groups under scrutiny are: students and parents, teachers and administrators,
board members, political leaders, business leaders, labor representatives, churches, the academic community, and the media (Kniep, 1987).

The stakeholders/Students

Students and parents have the greatest personal stake in the process (Kniep, 1987, p. 53). Education has always been a guarantee for upward mobility. The intrinsic value of education makes parents and students direct beneficiaries. Public education, however, receives severe criticism these days because it does not deliver according to current expectations. Inadequate scores, high absentee rates, high dropout percentages, and violence are more often brought to public attention than above average performance. The measuring sticks for good education are standardized tests in grades 4, 7, 11 and final exams. Students are relatively powerless in the decision-making process. Curriculum content is often derived from state guidelines and stamped with approval by the Board of Education. The only really powerful decision students can make is to either go to school or to stay away. Students, especially in high schools, fully exploit this option. Absentee rates of 20% are normal and can go up to over 50% as in Boston Public Schools (Cookson, 1994). The most common reason for absenteeism is lack of interest. Educators are prone to react with coercion to
counteract this lack of motivation. Typically, a truant who does not respond to punitive measures is banned from school, for a few days. If that does reverse the process, he or she is expelled.

Obviously, significant numbers of drop-outs create a problem for society at large. Lack of schooling already lessens the chances of these youngsters on the job market. When combined with the profile of the typical drop-out – female, poor, and non-white – job opportunities are not likely to improve at any time in their lives (Borman, Muenighoff and Piazza, 1988). Several strategies have tried to keep students in the schools, from fortressing the schools to extending school days. As a sign of real desperation, parents are brought to court and fined or jailed for their children's (mis)behavior.

Multicultural education could possibly play a role in counteracting this process. Since boredom is students' predominant complaint, a re-examination of the curriculum seems a logic first step. Involving students the in academic goal-setting and in regulating the school's disciplinary system could help alleviate these problems (Finn, 1989). However, performance standards will always constrain curriculum content decisions. High drop-out rates and bored students typify public schools with above-average percentages of "at risk" children, but what about students
in relatively affluent suburbs? Or as Eisner wrote in 1992: 

*Why do we think that those whose children are doing well as things now stand will support reform efforts that might jeopardize their children's position in the race for scarce education resources?* What are some of the roles that parents perform in the educational arena?

**Parents**

Parents have several options for influencing their children's education. Affluent families can choose between public and private education. Parents can make or break schools by moving to selected school districts. Voting for or against school levies is a third way to indirectly support or denounce schools.

Parental involvement in the schools is usually restricted to participation in PTA councils or part-time involvement in classrooms or libraries. Although very valuable for schools, "reading mothers" or "resource aids" are seldom described as decision makers. Compared to teachers and administrators, parental input is often of marginal importance. Several school districts, nevertheless, have turned to parents for help to accomplish fundamental changes, as in the case of Chicago Public Schools.

In an attempt to improve the public school system and to fight financial bankruptcy, the legislature passed the
Urban School Improvement Act in 1988. This Act compelled the development of power from a highly bureaucratic central office and provided parents with new powers through school based local school improvement councils, LSICs and to develop a three year school improvement plan, SIP (Pink & Borman, 1994, p. 204). The legislation granted parents more decision-making power, but, by mandating achievement goals and operating policies for councils, the traditional power-holders stayed in control. The same "old" institutions retained authority to evaluate these plans. Ongoing debate and extensive lobbying for parental and community involvement led to the passing of Senate Bill 1840 - in 1988 - that allowed for significant parental involvement: (1) Parents, through majority membership on the newly mandated school council (LSC), have the authority to hire and fire the principal; (2) parents approve school-based budget which includes the allocation of Chapter I and other discretionary funds; and, (3) parents approve the SIP, school improvement plan (ibid. p.206).

The Reform legislation required collaboration between the following groups (Pink & Borman, 1994, p.207-208): (1) Among members of the LSCs, six parents, two teachers, two community representatives and the principal, shifting power from the principal to the council; (2) between the LSC and the principal (as school administrator), requiring extensive
negotiation of power and decisionmaking; (3) between LSC and the District Superintendent's Office (DS) and the Central Service System, formerly Central Office. The decisionmaking power was moved from the offices to the schools but the institutions stayed in place and were working on a redefinition of their roles; and, (4) among LSC, parents and the community. It is not evident whether LSCs widened or narrowed parental opportunities for participation in the decisionmaking process; (5) between LCS and Professional Personel Advisory Committees (PPAC) that gave teachers a voice in the process. However, teachers' voice could only be heard through the two teacher members of the LSC; (6) between LCS and public interest groups willing to "assist" in school reform; and finally, (7) collaborations among LSC, PPAC, principal and local universities. A question repeatedly asked is: who is controlling school improvement and staff development activities? Is university personnel, with easy access to pertinent information, the best choice for establishing reform?

This example of school reform illustrates the possibility of shifting power-bases and the active role that parents can play. The undercurrent during the deliberations in Chicago was according to Borman et al, (1994) that professional educators had made a mess of education so they
were unlikely or unable to clean it up. (p. 205) Somehow there is logic in this process. If education can not "deliver" and teachers argue that social factors create the barriers to learning, bounce the responsibility back to society. Parents embody these social factors so if fundamental change is needed ask the parents. Researchers pointed out that long term parental commitment can be troublesome. Teachers need to change too in the process, but, in the end the same individuals deal with the same students.

Pink & Borman (1992) described another case study in which not the legislature but parents took the initiative. A group of concerned African American parents tried to change the system. Reform aimed at inclusion of African American culture in school curriculum and recruitment of African American teachers. The restructuring is not yet completed. However, despite ongoing dialogue among key stake-holders, the parents felt that educational institutions were the worst enemies in their struggle for appropriate education for their children.

**Teachers**

*In addition to being members of the community, they are the ones who will have to implement change* (ibid. p. 53). Inservice teachers are usually satisfied, or at least
comfortable, with the subject matter they teach. Mandatory changes in curriculum content that resulted from changes in the political climate can cause feelings of uncertainty and anxiety in teachers (Lengkeek & De Wit, 1991). Multicultural education requires teachers to unlearn and re-evaluate formerly unchallenged values. All staff members are supposed to be receptive, accepting, and knowledgeable about a wide range of cultural manifestations. Special courses are offered to fill knowledge gaps and to develop new skills. Sleeter (1992) describes her experiences during a staff development project. Tired of what she calls the one-shot "flash and dash" workshops and increasingly skeptical about the impact of these meetings, she designed a program of study that would last a whole year. The purpose of the program was to prepare teachers to work more successfully with the culturally diverse student population as found in our schools today. (p. 2)

The sessions for the first year included: (1) introduction, assessment of interests; (2) building home-school partnerships; (3) race, ethnicity, social class, and gender in society; (4) ethnic learning styles and racism awareness; (5) community resources; (6) curriculum and instruction; (7) cooperative learning; (8) library resources for multicultural education; and, (9) dropout prevention programs, motivation, self-esteem, and sharing. The teacher
participants, who had gone through about eighty hours of training, commented that they had learned a lot. Sleeter then observed these teachers in their own classrooms to see if the training had caused teachers to change their performance. The same sequence of events was repeated the next year and has led Sleeter (1992) to the following conclusion:

Staff development in multicultural education by itself, barely scratches the surface of the kinds of changes that ought to take place for schools to work more toward social justice for oppressed groups. However, this analysis of staff development projects reveals several specific areas in which future work in multicultural education should be directed: greatly diversifying the teaching force, helping white teachers come to grips with the limits to their own understanding of social stratification, developing multicultural education as institutional change, rearticulating the American Dream and developing stronger and more explicit connections with existing emancipatory social movements. Multicultural education is political work and these are areas in which we can act. (p. 222)

Not all teacher trainers display such a pro-active stance as Sleeter. Nevertheless, teaching culturally diverse curriculum content to a culturally diverse student population requires insights into one's own cultural biases.

Administrators

What is true for teachers is true for administrators too. Staff development programs tend to focus equally on both groups. Educational leaders at all levels, administrators, political leaders, board members, etc., know
that *Schools are robust institutions and tough to change* (Eisner, 1992). Relying on these institutions to change internally is not a promising alternative. Some think that outside pressure will be needed to encourage schools to change (Meier & Stewart, 1993). Administrators who want their schools to change have to display strong leadership qualities. They must realize that change does not occur overnight; it is not the result of a policy mandate, an administrative requirement or revised procedures. The process needs to be carried out by key players, individuals, or institutions and if their needs are central to the proposed changes, reform is more likely to succeed. Change is a developmental process that requires diagnostic and prescriptive thinking. Objectives for change require constant reevaluation as the process progresses (Lieberman & Miller, 1991). These observations should also concern board members who support multicultural education.

**Board members**

They ultimately are responsible and accountable for school policy and programs (ibid. p. 53). Annual surveys on characteristics of board members (Rogers, 1992) yielded this profile of the typical school board member in 1990: 60.6% are aged between thirty-five and fifty; 66.3% are male; 93.5% are white; and 1.8% had an income below $20,000.
Concerns of board members ranked as follows (Rogers, 1992): (1) facilities, (2) state mandates, (3) management and leadership, (4) curriculum development, (5) declining enrollment, (6) collective bargaining, (7) large schools, (8) use of drugs, (9) parents' lack of interest, and, (10) pupils lack of interest (p. 3). Rogers also pointed out that the frame of reference of this generation of "Baby boomer board members" is still very different from current attitudes; they ....were in school at a time when most students valued conformity, accepted authority relatively unquestioningly, came from intact two-parent families, and had sufficient resources to enjoy a range of recreational activities. (p. 2)

These findings do not suggest an extensive lobby for multicultural education among board members. Ethnic groups are marginally represented in schoolboards although the numbers are increasing. A study of Hispanic representation in schoolboards by Meier & Stewart (1991) showed that the proportion of Hispanic schoolboard members was reflected in the number of Hispanic administrators and teachers. Researchers found that increased representation in these key positions reduced discrimination towards the group. Based on Meier & Stewart's findings (1991) they advocate
politicizing school systems. A suggestion that raises fundamental questions about the ties that bind education to politics.

**Political leaders**

As opinion leaders, their input and support will be valuable (ibid. p. 53). Schooling is a community-based enterprise at first sight, but how involved are politicians at the state and federal level?

**Federal involvement**

The role of Federal Government in relation to the history of multicultural education was addressed in Chapter II. The Government has the legislative power to use force, based on the premise that a chosen government is the most democratic institution in a given country. Using this power to force educational reform, however, seems to contradict the idea that local interests and local districts determine what happens in the schools.

The United States Department of Education in a recent publication about school reform, dated April, 6, 1994, tells us more about governmental concerns and its rationale for involvement:

*Since early in our history, the public education system in this nation has been a magnet and a model for people throughout the world who yearn to make something better of their lives. It is a beacon of*
light across the globe, a symbol of our democratic and egalitarian traditions. Unfortunately in recent years, this standard has slipped; the beacon has dimmed. (p. 2)

After an explanation of the importance of Goals 2000: Educate America Act and what the proposed changes entail, we read:

Each of these important changes in the law will offer federal assistance in implementing local education reform......help that is designed to assist, but not to interfere with the traditional local character of education. (p. 2)

The federal role in this particular case will be setting high standards. The states are charged with implementation and the local level has to put reform into action. The schools will develop and implement comprehensive improvement plans, reflecting unique local needs and circumstances in conjunction with state's efforts. (p. 4) The states are going to: (1) create broad based leadership teams; (2) use the national standards as a bench mark for their own efforts; and, (3) develop reform plans for every aspect of the system. National organizations and subject matter experts are charged with the development of voluntary national content, voluntary performance standards, and new voluntary assessment programs. The federal government will review the efforts.

To put this reform into action $ 105 million is set aside for fiscal year 1994, and $700 million is requested for 1995. To avoid any appearances of top-down control or
manipulation, the publication refers to curriculum content as voluntary opportunity to learn standards and to predetermined performance standards as voluntary adoption of national skills. (p.4) Do schools really have a choice? What happens to the schools, districts or states that refuse to accept these voluntary criteria? The schools are after all required to have their students tested in grades 4, 8 and 11. In all probability schools that refuse to incorporate these voluntary options will face difficult times when budgets tighten.

State policies on multicultural education

For a discussion of state policy I refer to an analysis by Crumpton (1992). He has found that out of thirty-nine ERIC entries with multicultural education as descriptor, only three dealt with state level policies: Gollnick et al, 1976; and, Mitchell, 1985 and 1988. Mitchell (1985) evaluated questionnaires regarding state-level programs from forty-eight states, explicitly asking for information about multicultural certification requirements. His most significant findings were that: Educators didn't understand that racism takes many forms; many of these subtle forms of racism are denied. Second multicultural education is not adequately funded. (p. 245)
An older survey by Freedman (1983) on multicultural education in secondary education, soliciting information from twenty-three states, showed that: (a) America's secondary schools offer relatively little that theoreticians would consider to be true multicultural education; and, (b) State departments of education exercise little influence in that area. (p. 245)

Although most state departments currently have formal multicultural programs, long term goals for multicultural education are only specified by a few states (Crumpton, 1992).

Business leaders

They have a great stake in understanding an economically interdependent world (ibid, p. 53). Exactly how interested are business leaders in multicultural education? Close relationships between business and education are well known. Demands from the corporate world have affected and changed school curricula.

Globalization of the economy has increased the supply of unskilled workers outside national borders. As a consequence, the best vocational preparation in highly industrialized nations is general education (Husen, 1993; Thurow, 1992). A well prepared labor force is of vital importance to the corporate world. Changing demographics
reveal an increasingly diverse student population. Business leaders should have a vested interest in multicultural education since a large pool of well prepared prospective employees is to their advantage.

Representatives of labor

Many jobs are directly effected by global economic system (ibid, p. 53). See previous discussion. Although at different ends of the rope, interests of employees and employers are closely intertwined. The Department of Labor works collaboratively with the Department of Education to raise educational levels and to define skill standards that identify the specific knowledge, skill and ability levels to perform a given job in a given industry. (Department of Labor, 1994, p.1) Potential beneficiaries of this plan are students, employers and business, training providers and educators, unemployed Americans and labor organization. (ibid, p.2)

Emphasis on education to secure a highly skilled labor force results in a sort of no man's land for students who cannot perform at these high levels.

Churches

Churches often have international contacts that can further development of international issues (ibid, p. 53).
Religious based education in America is privately operated and thus not publicly funded. Public education falls under governmental jurisdiction and is supposed to reflect separation between church and state. The Supreme Court, for example, has consistently equated prayer in public schools with government support of religion (Janda, Berry, & Goldman, 1989). In 1962 the Court struck down the daily reading of prayers in New York. The next year it struck down a Pennsylvanian law calling for Bible reading and recitation in public schools. Many cases have followed – each a reminder of the pluralist character of the American society. The Constitution bars school prayer in public schools but that does not stop the religious right from supporting reinstatement of this practice. A widespread grassroots movement is moving in key positions to secure religious observance. Curriculum control is evident in the struggles over "creation-science" versus evolution science. Libraries are scrutinized for "displeasing" literature.

Fundamentalists in the United States adhere mostly to Christian orthodoxy and are generally not empathic towards other denominations. Related to multicultural concerns; Christian fundamentalists see the direction for educational change more in terms of going back to traditional patterns. Inclusion of different viewpoints and different religions would not be an option.
The academic community

Not only can they be an important resource, but they also have a stake in the products of the schools (ibid, p. 53). "Good schools" reflect on teacher training programs. The problem is that there are many definitions for good schools. The initial (Jeffersonian) idea was that schools teach Latin, Greek, calculus, and morals. What would constitute good schools today? Who sets the parameters? The Holmes Group (1987) suggested that teacher education needs extra attention to improve education. Powerful deans of big ten universities gathered in the Holmes group, proposed higher admission requirements, more liberal arts, extended field experience, and intensified supervision.

Extended field experience places a great responsibility on the shoulders of cooperating teachers and supervisors. Their ideas guide students in establishing their educational frame of reference. Understanding of multicultural issues should therefore play a role if universities take the issue seriously. Obtaining information to that effect requires caution to not impede delicate relationships between cooperating teachers and university persons (Schiller, 1992). Critics such as Popkewitch (1992) argue that the Holmes' program is not objective or politically neutral. He challenges the regulatory character of the proposed forms of
knowledge. A more objective way to examine teacher training programs is by looking at the requirements of national organizations.

Two major national organizations involved in controlling teacher training are the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) and the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). An overview of requirements regarding multicultural education sheds some light on the changing attitude towards multicultural education. The AACTE's conception of multicultural education was proclaimed by its task force in 1972 as:

*Education which values cultural pluralism.*

Multicultural education rejects the view that schools should seek to melt away cultural differences or the view that schools should merely tolerate cultural pluralism. Instead, multicultural education affirms that schools should be oriented toward the cultural enrichment of all children and youth through programs rooted to the preservation and extension of cultural alternatives. Multicultural education recognizes cultural diversity as a fact of life in American society, and it affirms that this cultural diversity is a valuable resource that should be preserved and extended. It affirms that major education institutions should strive to preserve and enhance cultural pluralism. Multicultural programs for teachers are more grafted into the standard program. The commitment to cultural pluralism must permeate all areas of the educational experience provided by prospect teachers. (p. 8)

Federal funding from the National Institute of Education, the Office of Special Education, and funds generated through the Ethnic Heritage Act, were used to assist institutions in
incorporating knowledge and skills for mainstreaming exceptional students into their preparation programs (Gollnick, 1992). In the late 1980s emphasis shifted to recruiting minority youth for teaching careers.

Standards and policies for NCATE are determined by twenty-six national education associations and their constituent members. Application for national accreditation occurs on a voluntary basis. In 1992, almost half of approximately 1200 colleges and universities involved in teacher preparation were accredited. The NCATE (1982) required evidence of planning and provisions for multicultural education in the curriculum following standard 2.1.1 that stated: The institution provides multicultural education in its teacher education curricula including both the general and professional studies' component. (p. 14)

The rationale for the standard that defined multicultural education and the implications for teacher education programs reads as follows:

Multicultural education is preparation for the social, political, and economic realities that individuals experience in culturally diverse and complex human encounters. These realities have both national and international dimensions. This preparation provides a process by which an individual develops competencies for perceiving believing, evaluating, and behaving in different cultural settings. Thus multicultural education is viewed as an intervention and an on-going assessment process to help institutions and individuals become more responsive to the human condition, individual cultural integrity, and cultural pluralism in
society. Provision should be made for instruction in multicultural education in teacher education programs. Multicultural education should receive attention in courses, seminars, directed readings, laboratory and clinical experiences, practicum and other types of field experiences. Multicultural education could include but not be limited to experiences which: (i) promote analytical and evaluative qualities to confront issues such as participatory democracy, racism and sexism and the parity of power; (ii) develop skills for values clarification, including the study of manifest and latent transmission of values; (iii) examine the dynamics of diverse cultures and the implications for developing teaching strategies; and (iv) examine linguistic variations and diverse learning styles as a basis for the development for appropriate teaching strategies. (p.14)

The separate standard on multicultural education was dropped in the mid-1980s supposedly because of a comprehensive restructuring of the institution. NCATEs multicultural concepts are currently (1993) integrated in three criteria for compliance:

The professional studies component(s) for the preparation of teachers provides knowledge about and appropriate skills in learning theory, educational goals and objectives, cultural influences on learning, curriculum planning and design, instructional techniques, planning and management instruction, design and use of evaluation and measurement methods, classroom and behavior management, instructional strategies for exceptionalities, classrooms and schools as social systems, school law, instructional technology, and collaborative and consultative skills. Courses and experiences ensure the development of classroom and time management, effective communication, knowledge of different learning styles, teaching strategies, and assessment techniques. The unit provides for study and experiences that help students understand and apply appropriate strategies for individual learning needs, especially for culturally diverse and exceptional populations.
The curriculum for professional studies component(s) incorporates multicultural and global perspectives. (p. 48)

In the glossary the terms multicultural perspective and cultural diversity are defined as follows:

A multicultural perspective is a recognition of (i) the social, political, and economic realities that individuals experience in culturally diverse and complex human encounters; and (ii) the importance of culture, race, sex and gender, ethnicity, religion, class and exceptionalities in the education process.

Cultural diversity refers to the cultural backgrounds of all students and school personnel with particular emphasis on their ethnicity, race, religion, class and sex.

Additional requirements for accreditation are diversity in student population and faculty, and culturally diverse settings for field experiences.

These three multicultural policy statements date from 1972, 1982, and 1990. The publications illustrate changing attitudes towards multicultural education. The first publication by the AACTE emphasizes the value of cultural pluralism within a democratic context and stresses the importance of equality. The NCATE publication of 1982 explores relationships and shared responsibilities among individuals and institutions. It provides several options for subject matter but leaves freedom for individual
decision by stating that multicultural education could include but is not be limited to. (p. 14). The 1990 publication espouses an institutional view that emphasizes technical skills and theory. No references were found on inequality among cultural groups, discrimination, racism, sexism, prejudice or other social conditions that might affect schooling. Gollnick (1992) argues that NCATE requirements are supportive of interdependent partnership ideology in that it moves beyond the individual-oriented values that have been prevalent in the past. (p. 230)

These national guidelines fall short on Sleeter and Grant's preferred approach of social reconstruction. Elements of the multicultural education approach can be traced only in the requirements concerning diversity of the student body and faculty and in the above mentioned definitions.

The movements that provided a running start for multicultural education were the campaign for voting rights, the Civil Rights Movement and the War on Poverty, and they originated outside the educational mainstream. Three decades later, many requirements for multicultural education are incorporated in mainstream educational policy.
Federal support for extending human rights issues and ethnic studies is withdrawn and is now focussing on recruitment. At first sight the mission seems to be completed, but is that really the case? The promise of changing patterns of power seems not yet fulfilled. Gollnick (1992) argues that institutions are inclined to maintain the status quo and therefore slow down progress in this area.

The media

They possess an important perspective on the nature of the world and can also extend involvement and support for the process through their coverage (ibid, p.54). Well-run public schools with acceptable turnout rates are not very challenging subjects for media coverage. The media are geared towards short attention spans and sensational news. Educational processes take a long time and results are difficult to prove. The publication of mere test scores does not do justice to efforts of reform.

Grading of the power-holders

I. As we have seen, students are the prime consumers in education but they have relatively little decision-making power. Parents are also not decision-makers but if called upon they can make profound changes. Third "low impact" player - the media - could perform a significant role in
marketing educational change. Education oriented programs would have to appeal to a wide audience to keep the media interested. It is questionable if public education is capable of doing that.

II. Power-holders that indirectly exercise considerable influence over education are politicians, business, churches, and labor leaders. These power-holders are "steering but not rowing" (Osborne & Gaebler, 1993).

III. The "real" decisions are made by the rowers: board members, staff members, and universities. The board members have the financial, organizational, and qualitative responsibilities. Teaching staff members and administrators. Prime responsibility of universities is to prepare the teachers. Grading of the decision-making power results in a low score for the first group, medium for the second, and high for the last group.

As we have seen in the Chicago case, the elasticity of the power-holders increases under pressure. The hierarchical institutional structure was abolished and parents became the new power-brokers. However, the old institutions are still surviving. These institutions are currently trying to find a new identity (Pink & Borman, 1994). But why maintain an institution that has proven not to function adequately? Are
there guarantees that it is going to function better in the future or are the employees waiting in the wings to see if the reform movement succeeds, ready to take over again when it fails? Some members of the LSC have voiced their suspicion in this respect. (Pink & Borman, 1994)

Shor (1992) listed several projects of school reform looking for alternatives to official policy. Many of these schools operate on a non-traditional model of authority and curriculum. Instead of top-down unilateral authority exercised by the principal or district, these schools employ cooperative governance by all constituents, including parents. (p. 243)

Labor and business operate according to a form of free market system and are guided by capitalist concerns. Both groups are able to put pressure on education if their proposals are good for the economy. Shor (1991), for example, pointed out how the military industry had put pressure on education during the cold war. Education was held indirectly responsible for the country's safety: In the armed forces, sophisticated weapons require more sophisticated skills (Hunt report'). Current rationale for raising levels of academic achievement is justified in terms of economic competition with reference to economic developments in Germany and Japan (Goals 2000, 1994).
The elasticity of these branches is likely to increase when circumstances are favorable. Economic stagnation evokes calls for "back to the basics" and "getting tough on the students" (Ravitch, 1991). Business and labor's elasticity is closely aligned with political concerns. Governmental intervention covers generally more than capitalist interests. *Goals 2000, Educate America Act*, is the most recent political intervention in education. This act is described by Shor (1992) as the fourth wave of conservative restoration. The first wave dealt with career education and vocationalism; the second made a case for back-to-the-basics and complained about the Literacy Crisis; while the third wave called for academic excellence and traditional subject matter. Shor stipulated that all waves have failed to produce higher student scores.

Involvement of the Governors leading to "Goals 2000" started in 1989 during the Bush Administration. The final draft passed Congress in April 1994. The Act consists of eight goals to be achieved by the year 2000:

1. All children will start school, ready to learn.
2. The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent.
3. All students will leave grades 4, 8, and 12 having demonstrated competency over challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, foreign languages, civics and government, economics, the arts, history, and geography, and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our nation's modern
4. United States students will be the first in the world in mathematics and science achievement.
5. Every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise rights and responsibilities of citizenship.
6. Every school in the United States will be free of drugs, violence and the unauthorized presence of firearms and alcohol and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning.
7. The nation’s teaching force will have access to programs for the continued improvement of their professional skills and the opportunity to acquire the knowledge and skills needed to instruct and prepare all American students for the next century.
8. Every school will promote partnerships that will increase parental involvement and participation promoting the social, emotional and academic growth of children. (p.4)

Not all goals of these goals are economically based. Goal seven and eight addressing inservice teacher training and parental involvement were added by the Clinton Administration. The arts (goal three) were also recently included. Voluntary national standards tend to decreased the elasticity of educational decision-makers. The Act itself increased their elasticity in terms of dollars to be spent. Obviously government steps in when lower echelons of power-holders do not live up to its expectations.

Daily school routine is guided by decisions of board members, teachers, and administrators. When we look back (see p.125) to the biggest concerns of board members we see that students lack of interest ranked lowest and parents lack of interest second lowest. If we then look at the
discussion about students (p. 117) and see that lack of interest is the most common reason for dropping out, than obviously board members are not in touch with their clientele. Board members' first concerns are facilities, but if students and parents are not happy with the school, the buildings soon become obsolete. In view of these observations, however, one can assume that board members are not flexible when it comes to sharing power.

Teachers and administrators, the full time professionals are also resistent to change (pp. 122 - 124). In many cases' outsiders call for educational change, implying that professional educators are unable to do the job right. Circumstances that cause failure are not so important. Societal changes, often blamed for poor school performance will not be reversed by educator's frustrations. Parents are not going to stay together and students will not refrain violence or dropping out because of teacher's inaptitude to teach. The fact that teachers and administrators might be part of the problem is not readily accepted.

Elasticity in art education?

Teaching the arts is by definition a risky profession. Of all the teachers in the public schools, the art educators are generally beguilded with the least decision-making power. Art education is currently widely accepted but when
budgets get tight the arts are likely to go first. Art teachers are continually "at risk" of being eliminated. Is it this lack of power that makes art educators more empathic towards other marginalized cultures and "at risk" students? Or is it that the arts communicate in unique ways?

The previous analysis showed that power-holders are inclined to resist change. In looking at art education I focus on educational power-brokers and discard for a while the relative powerless students, parents, and the media. With the exception of industrial drawing in the 19th century business and labor have also not showed a vested interest in art education. Post-war self-expression and current emphasis on "high" art have tended to distance art education even further from practical purposes.

Until April 6, 1994, Federal involvement in the arts has been restricted to NEA and NEH programs supporting Artists-in-Schools. On this memorable day the arts were included for the first time in national goals for education. Inclusion of the arts in federal guidelines automatically required national voluntary standards. In advance of these developments, the art educational field had already established national goals for K-12. These standards were submitted to NAEA members for approval and were accepted in early 1994.
These national standards were not greeted with unanimous applause by proponents of pluralism in art education. It is at least questionable if national standards can take into account intra-cultural variables and non-synchronous identities. On the other hand these same standards provide funding agencies with an evaluative tool. The question is whether art education is establishing itself as a "real discipline" through these standards or is the elusive genie of the arts caught in the bottle?

Elasticity has been a trademark for art education. Throughout its history art education has proven to function well as a booster for industry and social reform. It earned fame as creative therapy and currently art education can either be a cognitive exercise with additional studio activities or a more open-ended experience without a prescribed set of standards.

It is difficult to predict the impact of "Goals 2000" on art education. Proposals for art instruction, made at the local level have to be approved by state agencies. Some states already have a long-standing tradition of caring about the arts in schools. For example, Ohio's state guides for elementary education and for middle and high schools were first published in 1970 and 1977. These guides have served as models to other State Departments and elementary guidelines were awarded by the NEAE for being outstanding.
Founded on Barkan and Chapman's work in the 1970s the 1992 reprint needed some revisions because:

The subject matter of the field of art itself has become an increasingly important source for goals of art education. The conception of art activities has broadened to include art criticism, art history, and aesthetics as well as studio production. Many current social concerns call for new content. New developments in the visual arts are providing new content for teaching art. The quest for excellence in education has called for new directions in education. Cognitive processes are increasingly recognized as fundamental in art experience. (p. 1)

No direct reference was found to multicultural theory. On the other hand the guidelines display a variety of art works from diverse cultures. Obviously the voices for inclusion have been loud enough but not loud enough to become part of the theoretical underpinnings.

Research procedures

Cross-cultural research generally requires extensive contextual information (Husen, 1993). For this study I deemed it necessary to: (1) clarify the background of multicultural education in America and intercultural education in Europe; (2) briefly describe the background of art in schools; and, (3) address the current state of affairs concerning the presence of multiculturalism in American art education and intercultural elements in Dutch art education practice. Information regarding American
multicultural issues was gathered through study at the university; literature reviews; discussions with professors, graduate students, cooperating teachers, and student teachers; and, about 300 hours of observation in Columbus' public school district.

Information on political developments concerning the Council of Europe and the European Community, as well as all policies of the Council, were available at university libraries. In Europe, I attended conventions of the ATEE (Association for Teacher Education in Europe). To keep in touch with educational developments I conducted extensive annual interviews with Dutch educational experts for four years. These experts were occupied in art education, teacher training programs at the university level and in polytechnics, the inspectorate, high school administrators, educational researchers, and governmental curriculum planners.

Educational research in the United States is versatile, comprehensive, accessible, and widely practiced. University, faculty and graduate research have contributed significantly to the bulk of current educational research. In Europe national governments usually direct this kind of research. The accessibility of educational studies is severely restricted because most often national languages are used in
these publications.

Sophisticated search strategies such as ERIC searches are needed to address the huge supply of studies. My ERIC searches did not yield the information I had hoped for. I was disappointed about the limited research I found and tried other descriptors in combination with multicultural education. However, based on the findings I have to agree with Crumpton (1992) who identified three major omissions in multicultural knowledge base: (1) the number of studies in multicultural studies is infinitesimally small; (2) no standard textbook definition or agreement of multicultural education exists; and, (3) there are few empirical studies on multicultural art education. (p. 246) Grant (1992) found that the number of publications in educational journals is decreasing due to what he calls "rejection of outsiders." Grant (1992) argued that barriers for multicultural research consist of unclear definitions, lack of money, academic ethnocentrism, and academic ghettoization. These findings are consistent with Gollnick's (1992) observations that research in multicultural education is often not taken seriously. Are academic power-holders actively limiting research in multicultural education? Several stages of the intimidation rituals (see p. 112) can be detected, such as nullification, limited funding, containment, and expulsion.
These rather cumbersome findings run counter to the current situation in art education. The number of publications on multicultural art education is growing. Presentations at the National Art Education Association's convention reflect increased interest in culturally diverse curriculum content. Although maybe not one standard textbook exists for multicultural art education, quite a number of publications, and an abundance of commercially produced visual aids reflect increased demands for information beyond the established art canon.

Crumpton's third observation addressed the lack of empirical research. Many researchers, however, see difficulty in using empirical models for the study of multicultural education. Qualitative research methods are more often used to gather knowledge about cultural-bound situations. Nevertheless, after several decades of multicultural teaching practice it might be time to systematically evaluate possible gains and losses resulting from multicultural education. In view of still unclear definitions of long-term goals, doing multicultural research is easily associated with running the gauntlet.

The U.S. Department of Education, not that afraid of being hit, has recently (1993) published a number of empirical research projects that address the situation of "at risk" students. The Government, basically impartial in
terms of specific group objectives, defines according to Finn (1992) status risk factors as race/ethnicity, home language, and family income. But the proposition is forwarded that if a youngster does not remain an active participant in class and in school he/she may be at risk for school failure regardless of status risk factors. Finn (1993) explains that: in contrast to the latter status risk factors, participatory behaviors comprise a set of behavioral risk factors that may be more amendable to manipulation through school and home processes. (p. v) Finn surveyed over 15,000 eight-graders enrolled in public schools. He focused on measures of participation constructed from student, parent, and teacher questionnaires. He found the following:

First (1) behavioral risk factors are indeed related to significant outcomes of schooling even within racial/ethnic, socioeconomic, or language groups. Engagement behaviors are more amendable to influence than traditional status indicators and should become the focus of educators and researchers. Second (2) risk behaviors have their roots in early school years or before. They should be identified at the earliest age possible in order to maximize the likelihood that positive school outcomes will be realized. Early and persistent efforts should be made to promote participation among youngsters who are "noninvolved" in the primary grades. Third (3) students whose achievements may be termed marginal exhibit behaviors much like those of successful students. It is important that their accomplishments, although not extraordinary, should be recognized in order to promote and sustain these youngsters' involvement in school. (p.vii)
In my opinion these are good suggestions that teachers might want to take seriously.

The second publication, *Prospects: The Congressionally Mandated Study of Educational Growth and Opportunity* (1993), was prepared for the US Department of Education by Puma, Jones, Rock, & Fernandez. It is an interim report designed to evaluate the short- and long-term consequences of participation in Chapter I, the federal investment program for elementary and secondary education that started in 1965. Intended to improve the education of children living in poor communities, currently more than $6 billion per year goes to 90 percent of all school districts. Authors pointed out that Chapter I is simultaneously among the most and least evaluated social programs: most because local districts receiving funds have been required by law to conduct progress evaluations; least because very few systematic research projects have been conducted at the national level.

This report successively addressed students in high-poverty schools; students receiving compensatory education services; districts, schools, and classrooms; and, language-minority and limited-English-proficient students. A large number of empirical studies and statistical analyses have lead Puma et al, to the following conclusion:

*The Chapter I program serves a great number of children it was intended to help—children with educational needs located in schools with high concentrations of poverty. However, these schools still*
have many children who are in need of assistance but are not being served. Problems faced by schools with high concentrations of children are severe. They must meet the needs of a more diverse population many of whom require language assistance, as well as educating children who are viewed by their teachers as having multiple problems including health and nutritional needs and come from families who may not be able to provide the necessary educational supports. At the same time, these schools often lack many ordinary educational tools such as a sufficient supply of paper and pencils. While the teaching staff is well qualified, the number of children in need often requires the services to be provided by teacher aides rather than well trained teachers.

These compound problems may partially explain why students' test score results show that participation in Chapter 1 programs from the base year (1991) to the next (1992) did not reduce the educational gap between these children and their more advantaged peers. Nor were differences found in the test performance of similar children who did not benefit from Chapter I services. Future analyses will examine more closely the relationship between instructional practice and educational benefit as well as examine the extent to which Chapter I may benefit participants over the long term. (p. xxxv)

Advances in Education Research (1993) is the first volume to include previously published articles of federally supported education research. The goals for this new series are to:

bring together from diverse scholarly sources, first rate, exemplary research that relates to an important educational theme or topic; disseminate the results of funded research more widely to researchers, educators, and policymakers; serve as a forum of discussion, debating and exchanging research results and perspectives of researchers and educational practitioners; and increase public awareness of access to, and use of high quality education research that is central and indispensable to improving and strengthening education. (foreword)

The four chapters address children and youth, school practice, community involvement, and, policy issues. At
least half of the publications deal with problem areas related to disadvantaged, at-risk students.

Returning to Crumptons' complaint about the lack of empirical data: The U.S. Office of Education is obviously aware of this defect and seems inclined to fill the void at the national level.

Multicultural studies in art education tend to rely on qualitative research methods. Ethnographic research with participant observation is prevalent. To the best of my knowledge comprehensive empirical studies into effects of multicultural/pluralist art education are non-existent.

NOTES


2. Finn, J. (1993). School engagement & students at risk. Washington: National Center for Education Statistics. The work was performed while the author was an American Statistical Association/National Science Foundation Fellow at the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). Accountable for this publication: the U.S. Department of education, Office of educational Research and Improvement and the National Center for Education Statistics.


CHAPTER V
REFLECTION

The explicit purpose of the study, as described in Chapter I, was to find out what Dutch art educators can learn from their American colleagues about multicultural education. To meet this objective I set out to examine four different but interrelated aspects of multicultural and intercultural art education that have contributed to the emergence of both concepts: (1) political and socioeconomic antecedents; (2) histories of art instruction in public schools; (3) relationships between art education and multi- and intercultural education, including practice and teacher training; and, (4) roles of educational stake-holders and their affinity towards multicultural and intercultural education and/or art education.

The research revealed significant differences in contextual factors that have contributed to the demand for multicultural and intercultural education. Short term aims and goals showed great resemblance and long term objectives were in both cases not well defined.

The histories of art education showed many similarities but objectives for art education have grown apart during the
last decades. Relationships between art education and multicultural education in the United States are well established but little is known about these alliances in Dutch education.

Distribution of power among educational stake-holders differs considerably in both systems. Further reflection on the issues will clarify these briefly stated findings.

Antecedents of multicultural and intercultural education

Initiators of multicultural and intercultural education come from very different walks of life. In the United States of America a broad based social movement is to be credited for calling attention to what Kozol (1991) calls "savage inequalities." Social unrest in the 1950s and 1960s was provoked by widespread rejection of segregation. The Civil Rights Movement reached beyond desegregation by pushing for the Civil Right Act of 1964. The Act has provided a legal foundation for equality, equal access, and equal opportunity in public education. The center of gravity of the movement was initially focussed on improving conditions for African American citizens, but this goal was diffused over time by legitimate calls of other contenders. Many racial and ethnic groups who called attention to their specific needs had to compete for recognition and resources with those who defended the rights of the poor, women, homosexuals,
handicapped persons, and other groups with specific needs. This competition for recognition has also put pressure on education to include multiple perspectives. The inclusion of formerly ignored "little narratives" (Giroux, 1992) would eventually result in a profound rearrangement of curriculum content. Conservative Americans such as Bloom, (1989) and Hirsch, 1988), convinced that these curriculum changes would inevitably lead to further demise of education, launched counter-attacks to safeguard the Western-oriented canon. Shor (1992), who termed this process the "conservative restoration," argued that currently conservatives are regaining lost terrain through introduction of national performance standards.

While the concept of unity in America seems to be in transition, the Europeans seek to go the other way. Developments in Western Europe show that the grand narrative of a united continent is revered, disregarding centuries of wars among neighboring countries and other expansionist actions. Internal differences did not call for unity but the former colonizers must have realized that strength could only come from cooperation.

The ideal of a united Europe has a long history. Charlemagne already envisioned a kingdom that encompassed all European countries in the ninth century. The concept appealed to many later despots and dictators. The rise of
nation states in the 19th century has enabled current voluntary cooperation by democratic governments.

If we look at Europe as a federation of states, we see a conglomeration of national cultures endowed with different languages, specific music, dances, visual arts, and crafts. The European Parliament has taken on educational concerns that transcend these national borders. The blueprint for intercultural education was designed and discussed at the European level and enacted and implemented at national levels. Intercultural education is not rooted in, or supported by, a broad-based grassroots movement. Governmental/European agencies were largely responsible for initiation, legislation, and for pushing implementation.

Intercultural education aims at three categories of students; allochthonous students with limited language proficiency; students from low socioeconomic levels; and, low academic achievers. The same groups are included in American governmental studies about "at risk" students (see pp. 150 - 152). Obviously, governments are concerned about "at risk" students.

Lynch (1986) studied pluralism and multicultural policies in several nations and identified three major orientations underlying current perceptions of cultural pluralism and the educational strategies for which they
provide the theoretical moorings. (p. 7) These ideologies legitimize the nation and state policies that have evolved. They are associated with (i) economic efficiency; (ii) democracy and equality of opportunity; and (iii) interdependence and partnership with an emphasis on negotiation and social discourse (ibid.).

That economics rank highly among governmental concerns all over the world is well known. Attention to "at risk" students in this context can therefore easily be interpreted as keeping track of potential economic hazards. This is not a flattering conclusion and a statement like this is likely to offend many idealistic proponents of pluralist education. However, I will pursue this trail a little longer and explore what governments can gain from multicultural and intercultural education.

In abstracts: governments regulate societies and schools help to socialize youngsters by teaching them the rules. The relative elasticity of societies allows for small percentages of non-compliers, termed by Marcuse in the 1960s as "untranquilized groups." Marcuse (1969) pointed out that these groups pose a potential threat to established power-holders because they do not operate within the social structure. Connecting these ideas to "at risk" students
raises a query about what exactly is at risk; the students, the fabric of society or maybe both?

As we have seen earlier the prospects of the typical drop-out to overcome unemployment are bleak. Myrdal's theory (1964) of poverty breeding poverty is still valid. A fairly recent avenue for breaking the circle of poverty is by dealing drugs. However drugs related unlawful actions, addiction, crime, and violence add to the decline of social stability. All the more reason for governmental institutions to take the "untranquilized" very seriously.

Many social developments in the Unites States eventually trickle down to European states. If Heinrich Heine is still right these developments will only take hold in the Dutch society 50 years after the fact; but his observation dates of course from the pre-electronic age. Nevertheless, some of the problems that American society faces, also surface in the Dutch society. We have seen that the group of "at risk" students comprises a high percentage allochthonous students with limited command of the Dutch language students of modest socioeconomic status. Drop-out rates of these students are above average as are the rates for unemployment. Decent and unlimited unemployment allowances, however, reduce the need for "hustling." Notwithstanding good social laws drug addiction does certainly pose a problem to the Dutch society.
Limited use of soft drugs is condoned, but dealing is prohibited. Carrying unlicensed firearms is prohibited in all European countries and helps to keep the death-toll comparatively low.

Having discussed some issues of interest to governments, we might want to return to education. In Chapter Four I have addressed Chicago's school reform, requiring parents to step in where professional educators had left off. Such a situation is unheard off in The Netherlands for several reasons: (1) all funding comes from the state, safe-guarding educational institutions against bankruptcy; (2) Dutch schools are almost exclusively run by professional educators and parental involvement is marginal; (3) inner city schools have high percentages of migrant students because most families live in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht. The greater part of these families are Muslims. Often women cannot participate in public life because they are not allowed to leave home without a chaperone. Learning the Dutch language is most often not permitted either, placing the mothers in total social isolation. Girls are frequently withdrawn from school upon finishing elementary education. These "disappearances" required Governmental investigations into the girls' whereabouts because they are still under school age. Parents generally did not see the need for further education and
kept the girls at home until they had found a good husband. In this frame of reference the push for Dutch education does obviously not come from these parents.

Histories of art education in schools

As described in previous chapters, these histories converge to a certain extent until the 1970s. In the United States the focus was at the time on accountability and competency and beginning in the mid 1980s on discipline-based art education. Content matter became increasingly organized around "landmarks" of Western culture (Wygant 1993). In the same period developments in Dutch art education moved on two tracks, one inspired by Visuelle Kommunikation that considered the visual environment as one coherent artwork worthy of study with the media topping all visual realities. The other track pursued national standards for art education to enable graduation in the arts. This second track included besides the established visual arts canon, architecture, crafts, and industrial design and production. The theoretical component comprised art history criticism and included philosophy of art at the college preparatory level. Considering current developments toward American national standards these histories seem to converge again. In contrast to American national standards, the Dutch standards only applied to higher secondary grades, not to
elementary and early secondary levels. A second variation is that popular arts have not found their way into American art education. Ignoring popular arts, industrial design, and crafts is certainly no longer possible if anthropological foundations gain more terrain in art education. Inclusion of these "low" arts will have repercussions for DBAE, that tends to focus on the "high" arts

**Relationships between art education and multicultural and intercultural education**

Tomhaves's survey (1992) mentioned earlier (p. 58 - 61) does address relationships between art education and multicultural education. He separated, clarified and analyzed multicultural conceptions based on art education literature similar to the analyses of Gibson (1976) and (Sleeter & Grant, 1987). Tomhave had found *that research and reporting in multiculturalism related specifically to art education has greatly increased.* (p. 48) He recalls that Eisner in 1979 could note that only one study dealt with cross-cultural research. Tomhave matched art educators with different theoretical strands. Interpretations based on literature reviews however can be deceptive. In a personal conversation with Dr. Stockrocki (April, 1993) she confessed to being unhappy with her listing under cultural separatism. Dr. Stuhr, listed under bi-cultural and cross-cultural
research, presented herself on many occasions as a proponent of Social Reconstruction Theory.

The categories used by Tomhave are not discrete and allow for confusion. It is, for example, unlikely that a person who is interested in social reconstruction or acculturation would discard cultural understanding.

Tomhave highly values bi-cultural and cross-cultural approaches because of their inherent possibilities for dialogue. He denounces cultural separatism (single group studies) on the basis of its monocultural focus. That some previously ignored groups deserve some extra attention does not concern the author. Social reconstruction is thrown overboard based on the following argument: To propose that a single issue of social reform should be the dominant focus of education, however, can be viewed as short-sighted and reactionary. If schooling is to be a vehicle for social reconstruction, whose vision of reconstruction are we to chose? (p. 56) Tomhave seems to imply here that current educational practice goes without an educational vision. Maybe Tomhave accepts current practice as normative, not in need of change? The Multicultural Education Theory also falls victim to Tomhave's stern judgment; .... although very important in conceptualizing an ideal for which to strive, it cannot be justified as a viable alternative for practical curricular application. (p. 56) Tomhave champions the
Cultural Understanding approach (teaching the culturally different) that sees merit in learning about another culture to better understand one's own. After proposing objectives for curriculum that: (1) improves knowledge, (2) respect, (3) acceptance, and, (4) appreciation of others, Tomhave concludes as follows:

These are goals built from knowledge as put forth by scholarly spokespersons who are consensus representatives [sic] of their cultures. Any resolution of multicultural issues facing art education would be well-advised to take into account these goals derived from the diverse perspectives described above, maintain each perspective's strengths, diminish each perspective's shortcomings, and consolidate and compromise each perspective to meet the needs of the local public school population. (p 58)

After reading these recommendations I wondered what needs Tomhave assumed to meet by consolidating and compromising different perspectives? Although I can attest to the validity of cross-cultural experiences, I do not think that Cultural Understanding covers enough ground. Tomhave dismissed the more progressive approaches, he purposely excluded the "little narratives" and he does not want to make choices for reform. Cultural Understanding is not threatening for existing power structures; racial and social issues can easily be avoided by picking the "right" cultures. Are all scholars listed under Social Reconstruction betting on the wrong horse?

I do not agree with Tomhave's analysis and believe that all strands deserve serious consideration. I strongly
believe that not all schools are best served by only one approach. Ideally all key stake-holders should participate in dialogue about these issues. I do agree with Tom have to the extent that teachers [and others] must become well informed in terms of the different options available.

**Intercultural education in Dutch schools**

Legislation for intercultural education has not stirred much debate in The Netherlands. Obviously, this type of education has not been acknowledged or recognized as a potential revolutionary strategy for changing existing power relations. Introduced at the instigation of governmental agencies, intercultural education can hardly be expected to promote radical changes in patterns of power. Stringent social reconstruction is not a high priority in The Netherlands. Social goals for the unemployed, the elderly and the sick, as well as open access to education and homogenized wages were established way before World War II. Socialist and Communist parties in The Netherlands and in other European countries are rapidly diminishing. This means that Social Reconstruction Theory would not thrive in Dutch education. Intercultural education in this context is more closely aligned with the first two categories mentioned by Sleeter & Grant, (1987): *Teaching the Culturally Different and The Human Relations Approach*. Both strands focus on
classroom activities, are student oriented and aim for socialization through mutual understanding.

Socialization is a prime concern in Dutch elementary education. Oostwoud Wijdenes, (1993) found that principals value art education most because of its socializing potential. He asked 351 Dutch elementary principals to rank sixteen possible goals for art education. General creativity ranked first among sixteen objectives and social skill's second. Principals were not at all interested in art specific content, witnessing the lowest ranking for art criticism; second lowest for knowledge and understanding the arts and knowledge and understanding of other cultures ranked twelfth in this survey. (p. 2) Together, these findings do not describe a promising situation, not for art educators or for proponents of intercultural education. What does this tell us? Obviously, these principals, in contrast to the Government, do not see a need for intercultural art education. These negative responses coincide with the absence of art specialists in schools. A comparison with principal's attitudes who do employ art specialists, would make a significant study.

The question suggests itself if Dutch art educators see a profound need for intercultural art education. A re-examination of the "compound statements" synthesized from responses of art educators in secondary education (see p.
The compound statements

I rearranged the order of the statements to get from general considerations to art specific questions. The statements were compiled by Oostwoud Wijdenes (1993):

1. Should one pay attention to the ethnic and cultural diversity in The Netherlands or is a broader perspective needed? (p. 3) This must sound amusing to American ears. How broad can a Dutch perspective be if correlated to national boundaries? After all The Netherlands covers not quite one third of Ohio's surface. The answer to the question depends on the definition of ethnic and cultural diversity in the Netherlands. If it concerns all individuals living in The Netherlands I speculate that most cultures are represented in Dutch society. Even if the question is focussing on homogeneous groups of allochthonous persons, one can end up with a great variety of cultures. These decisions are best made collaboratively with other staff members. All teachers are facing similar choices and it would be confusing if teachers would randomly pick cultures of their preference.

2. To what extent does one have to pay attention to mechanisms of stereotyping, racism, and discrimination? (p. 3) The basic premise for intercultural and multicultural
education is that teachers and students become aware of these mechanisms and work towards eliminating these practices. However, not all three terms cover the same ground. Stereotyping was, and still is, a widely spread practice in The Netherlands. A major exhibition called "White over Black" (1991) showed how these stereotypes have pervaded Dutch popular culture. Racism has been treated with benign neglect in The Netherlands. The racist theories developed in Nazi-Germany have fueled a profound distrust in racial categorization. Since the war, citizens are no longer required to state their race. The application form for the Ohio State University was my first encounter with racial categorization. Concerning discrimination, the Dutch have a long history of taking in oppressed people. Freedom of press guaranteed "free thinkers" as Descartes to speak out their minds. This does not imply, however, that discrimination is non-existent. In the Netherlands, as in many other countries in Europe, discriminatory practices center on foreigners. Xenophobia becomes more prevalent in times of economic depression. Fighting these negative social trends is a major objective of intercultural education. This process is not conceived as a one way street, it requires active participation of all parties involved. This perception differs from Sleeters' argument that fighting white racism is the most important objective for multicultural education.
Intercultural education assumes that all parties involved are mutually responsible. The ultimate goal is to arrive at, what Habermas (1991) calls the ISS, the "ideal speech situation." Parties need to negotiate the discourse. Parties should be able to understand differences and accept certain limitations. ISS is not equivalent to freedom of speech. One can be sued for purposely insulting persons or groups.

3. *Should intrinsic and instrumental goals be formulated for multicultural art education?* (p. 3) Intercultural and multicultural education have emerged to provide remedies to an educational system that has failed particular groups of students. As we saw earlier education tended to fail these students in their economic opportunities, in their democratic opportunities, and in their personal development (Lynch, 1986). It is designed to be instrumental. I do not see how this part can become isolated from the concept. If intercultural education delivers what it promises than, no doubt, intrinsic values are safeguarded.

4. *Is it necessary to take into account the ethnical pluriformity of the students when goals and contents of multicultural art education are chosen?* (p. 3) It depends on the situation. Imagine a classroom with only two or three autochthonous students. When these students feel safe, accepted, and understand the language it could be a rewarding experience. On the other hand, if the
allochthonous students are insecure, face hostility, and do not understand the language very well, the focus on their specific background could be potentially damaging. Discussing curricular choices with the class is also a good strategy for making choices.

5. Is it necessary to make a choice for multicultural elements concerning the contents of art education (p. 3) This question seems closely connected to the first one. Certainly, if intercultural education is going to be an intrical part of the educational system, as required by law, these choices have to be made. Once the different strands are discussed and there is agreement about preferred approaches the art educator has to go out and research the subject. Art teachers are pulled out of elementary schools leaving the classroom teachers in charge of the arts. As discussed earlier, curriculum content in elementary schools' centers on "learning fields." These "learning fields" are broadly based and provide many leads for art education. In secondary education art educators have to rework the curriculum to make it more inclusive particularly in the practice of teaching majors. The expressive component of art education, required for all students, has a long history of thematic approaches and can easily be remodeled to include intercultural issues.
6. **What themes should be dealt with in multicultural art education** (p. 3) This seems to be the same question over and over. Who could better make thematic choices than the teaching staff? Remembering the learning fields? Think for example, of man and environment. Students from all walks of life could bring in their own experience, exchange idea's with their peers; investigate different environments and finally create their own. Leaving many options for cultural diverse content matter. In contrast to the United States, not many publications adequately meet the need for culturally diverse information.

7. **Three different ways of introduction can be distinguished: an exemplary, a comparative and a universal introduction. Which one is preferred?** (p. 3). The question can be explained in different ways. If the three ways of introduction relate to people than it is very well possible to apply all approaches. If the introduction is focussing on art than a universal approach is not so compelling. Although artifacts could very well be used, high art would pose a problem in my opinion. Multicultural ideas have emerged because universalism left no place for particularism. The exemplary approach would fall in the Single Groups Studies and be very acceptable. The comparative approach aligns very well with Teaching the Culturally Different.
8. Production and reflection are cornerstones of the art subjects. Are both also needed in multicultural education or will one suffice? (p. 3) This seems an odd question. Production is under heavy fire these days but I have not heard much support for abandoning studio completely. If it were to be eliminated, the field had better rearticulate art education in cultural studies with emphasis on art. Regarding reflection: Proponents of multicultural art education vehemently stress contextual information. Acquisition of this kind of knowledge is an ongoing intellectual and time consuming challenge. Omission cannot be justified because of these challenges.

My first impression of these statements is that the people involved were not very enthusiastic. The questions do not suggest a strong sense of direction or clear insights into basic tenets of intercultural education. As we saw earlier meeting the needs of participants in the process of change is crucial. The prospects for implementation of new curricula are bleak if teachers are stuck with these questions. If the Government is serious about intercultural art education, it might want to provide inservice training to enhance art teachers' knowledge on the subject.
Applications

What if the field would somehow become very serious about implementation of intercultural art education and would turn to the United States for suggestions? What would be the power-holders that can be potentially helpful? As alluded to in previous Chapters Dutch education is centrally organized and in comparison to American education it is static and resistant to change. Equal funding by the state does not allow for much experimentation because a claim granted to one school automatically entitles all other schools in the same category - elementary or secondary - to similar provisions. The analysis of American power-holders showed that boards of education, teachers, and administrators are the prime decision makers. It also showed that these groups tend to be resistant to change. We also saw that Dutch parents are not very involved in the actual teaching practice. We know that obtaining extra funds is almost impossible. Graduate studies in art education do not exist and teacher training institutes have no research facilities. Where does that leave the Dutch art educators? Compared to their American colleagues Dutch art teachers are isolates.

However, much information found in American art education can be made applicable in Dutch schools. In 1993 the Discover Art series by Laura Chapman was translated for
use in Dutch elementary schools. Many handbooks and guidelines for multicultural education could be useful, provided that minor changes were made. Intercultural art education is a new field without pre-existing "teacher proof" curricula. Prospective art education students must come to realize that studio, art history, art criticism, and aesthetics are valued differently by individuals and groups of individuals.

Regarding studio: there is not much to be learned in American art education. Dutch students specialize in one of the visual arts, 3-D, drawing/painting, or textiles. Seventy-five percent of the four year course is devoted to studio. In order to graduate, art education students make an exhibition similar to the masters' exhibits in American art departments. Affective and psycho-motor skills are still enjoying high esteem in Dutch art education. Knowledge about these aspects of art education is well developed and widely practiced.

Art history is the only art-specific domain in The Netherlands that is taught at universities. The highly respected bulk of art historical research is most often pure theoretical and way to difficult for use in classrooms. Publications of American art educators would be more useful and could serve as models for inquiry.
Regarding art criticism: reflective visual education is the Dutch counterpart of art criticism. It is applied in reflections on artworks, "high" and "low," and in discussions on students' work. It is common practice that students reflect in written form on the process of art making, later to be discussed with the teacher. The body of literature in America that could be used by Dutch art educators is extensive. Multicultural perspectives in art criticism are less frequently heard.

Finally aesthetics: aesthetics is only taught at college preparatory levels. In lower grades' aesthetics is somewhat simplified and taught within the context of reflective art education. It seems to me that multicultural issues only slowly enter the realm of aesthetics. Although Calliope's Sisters by Anderson (1992), outlining different culturally based aesthetic systems, is helpful in broadening the knowledge base about different aesthetic conceptions. The inventive strategies for teaching children about aesthetics, (Erickson, 1987, Lankford, 1992) are insightful and could certainly be applied successfully in Dutch education.

Suggestions for future research

From both sides of the Atlantic ocean there is a call for clarity about the purpose of multicultural and
intercultural education and a limited set of goals. Different perspectives and objectives for this type of education tends to cause confusion. I think that a possible hidden agenda for multicultural and intercultural education could very well be found in economic objectives. This would explain the current reluctance in defining long term goals, since many see multicultural education as an idealist movement. Further investigation seems appropriate.

A second suggestion aims at breaking the isolated position of art educators in The Netherlands in terms of educational research. The broad knowledge-base concerning multicultural art education could be a source of inspiration for Dutch art educators. An investigation into ways and means could possibly lead to a regular exchange of information.
LIST OF REFERENCES


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