PROFESSIONALIZATION OF STUDIO GLASS ARTISTS

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

the Degree Master of Arts in the

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By

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ABSTRACT

Professionalization of Studio Glass Artists is an attempt to learn more about how studio

glass artists are working in the United States today. This is a significant undertaking

because it is the first of its kind and will hopefully prove to be a valuable resource for

those working in the field. Because the arts are often understudied, this investigation

attempts to create an introduction to the glass field by defining techniques, creating an

abbreviated timeline, culling what little demographics are available and mapping the

field. It is important to note that this investigation was limited by the lack of information

regarding studio glass artists that is often readily obtainable for other occupations.

Available information was supplemented by the author's own knowledge of the field.

By reviewing the literature on professions and professionalization, an analytical

framework that includes four attributes was created to determine where along the

professionalization continuum studio glass artists are currently located. The four

attributes are systematic theory, field structuration, professional authority and community

recognition, with four to six indicators being explored for each. Another significant

concept in this investigation is that of portfolio careers, which legitimizes the way artists

often work and allows them to be included in the discussion of professions.

The application of the analytical framework to the field revealed that studio glass

artists are a semi-profession, with the indicators for systematic theory and field

structuration being well developed, professional authority being somewhat developed and community recognition almost entirely undeveloped. Recommendations for improving the professional status of the occupation include: increased critical writing and information regarding the business administration of operating a studio; broadening the group of contributors; the establishment of an umbrella association for the profession; increased advocacy and lobbying; and, furthering efforts to give back to the occupation. It was also found that some indicators as stated within the original framework were undesirable for the field, such as the ability to regulate members. Hence, after summarizing the application to the field, the framework was once more revised for better application to the arts. In conclusion, this study suggests that studio glass artists should embrace the notion of entrepreneurialism.

Dedicated to my mother and father who always told me I could do anything I put my mind to and my husband for inspiring me to put my mind to it.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Professionalization of Studio Glass Artists is my attempt to get a better grasp on what it means to be working as a studio glass artist in today's America. As society continues to evolve, so do the professions at work within it, and it is my hope that I might reveal how this is true for an artist working in glass.

My interest in this study is very personal. The summer before I started my graduate work, my husband Adam and I were married. He had been taking courses at a local art and design school with a focus on glass and decided to start building his own studio. Hence, we were both beginning a new course in our careers…mine academic and his artistic.

Over the next two years I would often discover insights to things I had observed within our personal lives through my studies at school. It was fascinating to learn that much of what was occurring in the glass field was happening in other mediums as well and to discover that so little was known about arts professions relative to other careers in more mainstream fields. It never dawned on me to take a more intimate look at the things that were happening within my life with Adam though until I took a course on the creative sector. This course focused on mapping the cultural sector to highlight similarities and differences between mediums. It was then that I realized how valuable

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what I was observing and learning through my experiences with Adam could be to what I was studying in school.

It is ironic that the evolution of my thesis falls in step with the evolution of my husband's career. As I focus on what it means to work as a studio glass artist in theory he tackles the question practically: "What is the best way to build a furnace? After I have a studio how should I operate it? How do I find a balance between art making and small business administration?" And the question that plagues every emerging artist, "How do I make money so I can keep making art?"

It is the lack of resources to help an emerging artist answer these questions that interests me. In a world of degrees, licenses, tests and certification, how is it that there isn't a more obvious way to be a professional artist? And what does it even mean to be a professional artist? The very notion is vague. If someone tells me they are a medical professional I have a very clear vision of what training they have had, what their day-to-day work includes, how much money they make. While it might not be exactly right there is a perception of what that means. However, if someone says that they are a professional artist two images may come to mind…that of the bohemian artist living on the edge of society, living in poverty and rejecting social norms or that of the star, the artist who has reached celebrity status and is extremely wealthy, popular and viewed as a trend setter. But when considering the work of a professional artist it seems to me there is a gap between the perception, and maybe even the expectation of the aspiring artist, and the reality. Something has to exist between these two extremes…for only a handful of individuals will ever become stars and the other end of the spectrum represents a fairly extreme lifestyle. It is what happens in between these extremes that interests me.

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Because there is little research or information available regarding the professional lives of artists, I hope to create a clearer picture of what it looks like to be a studio glass artist.

As I began to think more about what it means to be a professional studio glass artist, I realized that there were a myriad of questions I had to resolve first, not the least of which was deciphering who the studio glass art movement includes. After all, the very term "professional artist" seems like an oxymoron because of our society's stereotypes of artists. And the notion of emerging interests me. It's common language used by academics, galleries, and individuals alike but what exactly does it mean? I think everyone is aware of the connotation but it seems that the term is applied very broadly for anyone working as an artist somewhere between hobbyist and professional. When does one become an emerging artist rather than an aspiring artist? How do you know when you've arrived if you have been emerging? Emerging suggests moving up or lifting out of but the process is shrouded in mystery so how do we recognize someone doing it?

So what started as a question of, "how does one find success as a studio glass artist," evolved into: "what does a successful studio glass artist's career look like?"; "what steps did he or she take to find success?"; and, "what does it mean to be successful?" (A continuum must exist as in other professions but it is unclear what occurs along it.)

As I am writing this my husband is at a studio clearance sale hosted by the local craft association. It is one of the many new shows he will attend this year (2006). And he was recently accepted to a wholesale show on the east coast; something that causes much anxiousness in our household. The wholesale show only admits retailers, like gallery owners and interior decorators, who place orders with the artists for merchandise

to be shipped over the coming year. As an emerging artist, it appears to be the best way to make a steady living without having to always be traveling to retail shows and should be a good indication of the ease or difficultly Adam will have establishing himself. Tension is high as we try to determine the best way to create a price list, how the booth should be set up, which lighting will illuminate his work the best, how to price his work. And while he frets over the technical details of marketing and display he continues to make the work that he loves, which he hopes will appeal to people. Because the costs of operating a studio alone are exuberant, the addition of booth fees and travel costs makes the overhead for this profession daunting.

So far we have been lucky that we have a great support system and that Adam's work has been popular in the limited markets he has shown. But we have friends who have taken on this same venture to find themselves constantly breaking even or worse at shows. They have taken on other jobs or loans to make ends meet. Yet they continue to push forward, all the while questioning their methods – not knowing if it is their art or their business techniques that are failing them. There are others we know whose work doesn't seem to appear that much better than the rest but lady luck seems to smile on them as they get great exposure from various opportunities. It is these observations as well that make me curious about this process. I don't believe in luck but I do believe that when an opportunity presents itself, some people are more adept at making the most of it than others. I also believe that the power of self presentation and communication is often under valued for artists and I wonder whether it is the individuals' presentation of themselves or their artwork that more greatly influences their success.

I hope to learn more about the road to success for studio glass artists for four reasons. One of the difficulties in trying to create a studio that one can make a living from is that there is not much to compare oneself to on a formal basis. Any role models, benchmarks, or goals are derived from one's peers or biographies in glass journals or web sites. I am amazed at how often my husband uses the internet to find other artists' web sites, bios, artist statements or price lists to use as a point of comparison. I hope to formalize my observations into benchmarks. I also feel that Adam and I have learned too much not to write it down. Studio glass art is a field that continues to flourish and as more aspiring artists try to decide whether to head down this road I hope to give them one more resource to inform their decision. As a new field, much is left to be written regarding studio glass art. Only by formalizing observations will there be an opportunity to continue growth. And, of course, the greatest motivation continues to be that I hope to inform our own venture as glass studio owners.

CHAPTER 2

UNDERSTANDING THE HISTORY AND CONTEXT OF THE GLASS FIELD

Glassblowing is thought to have been discovered by the Romans in 50 B.C. and little has changed about the basic techniques and hand tools since then. Through the latter half of the 20th Century glass was blown in a factory setting for utilitarian and decorative purposes, much as it had been since the Romans first discovered it. The next major development wasn't until the middle of the twentieth century when glass began to be perceived as a medium for art. This was in part due to the development of technologies that enabled an individual to work alone in a studio to complete the entire process of glass creation. Many of the first artists to work with glass as a medium were from a craft background, often being ceramicists before taking the plunge into glass. Hence, studio glass emerged from the factory to teeter between craft and art, blurring market boundaries.

Studio Glass

This study intends to focus exclusively on art glass. However, it is impossible to discuss the evolution of glass blowing without acknowledging industrial or manufactured glass, which had been the exclusive source of production until the *studio glass movement*. This chapter will briefly explore the origins of working with glass and attempt to define the many ways of working with this medium. A brief timeline will be constructed to highlight selected events that will illuminate later discussions about the field. It is

important to note that the purpose of this chapter is not to write the history of glass, which has been attempted by other authors, but to identify issues.

While some individuals began working with glass as a medium to create art early in the 20th century, their techniques focused on fusing and torch working. Such artists include Frederick Carder of Steuben Glass Works, Edris Eckhardt, and Michael and Frances Higgins. It wasn't until the 1960's that glass blowing moved outside of the factory setting to the studio, marking the beginning of the studio glass movement. The following excerpt is from the Corning Museum of Glass's (CMOG) web site and discusses the evolution of this movement:

> Although it was made skillfully, glass wasn't often used throughout history as a medium for expression, like painting and sculpture. And when it was, artists often had to rely on the skilled glassworkers in factories to execute their designs in glass for them.
>
> A number of American artisans became interested in exploring glass as an art material in the late 1940s. Glass vessels and sculpture resulted from artist-designers and skilled glass factory workers working together. It was not until 1962 that artists began to regularly work directly with hot glass themselves.
>
> Harvey Littleton, whose father was a leading glass scientist, suggested during the American Craftsmen's Council conference that "glass should be a medium for the individual artist." Dominic Labino, a research chemist, developed a formula for glass that could be melted at a low enough temperature to be practical, as well as, designing the first small, single-pot furnaces affordable for use by a single artist in a small studio environment.
>
> Littleton went on to lead two workshop/seminars on glass at The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio, in 1962. It was at this workshop, using the technological advancements of Dominic Labino, that what is now called the American Studio Glass Movement was born. (CMOG, 2005)

The workshops hosted by Littleton and Labino marked the start of the studio glass movement because they focused on building a small glass furnace and annealer to enable individuals or teams' to blow glass in studios rather than factories. Adelson (2005)

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differentiates studio glass from factory glass by saying that "the individual artists complete all aspects of the creation of a piece, from design through signature."

The studio glass movement seems to focus on those who use the medium to create unique works of art, in the spirit of painters and sculptors. In determining who to include within this analysis, parameters need to include those individuals working with the medium as an art form and exclude those creating the work for mass production. While it seems apparent that individuals working in factories to create light bulbs, auto glass, and scientific beakers should be excluded, it is much less clear a little farther over on the continuum where the cut-off is. For example, should a designer for Tiffany glass lamps be included among the list of artists or not? Or, more perplexing, is the question of how Dale Chihuly should be categorized. Renowned as a glass artist, he lost his sight and doesn't actually create any of the finished products. Instead, teams of glass blowers work in his "factory" producing his designs. So if Adelson's definition is applied to determine the parameters for whom should be included within the studio glass movement it may require an individual like Dale Chihuly, one of the most recognized artists of the movement, to be excluded.

There is also the distinction between artist and artisan. Artist implies someone who is attempting to evoke emotions or understanding through their work while an artisan is someone who creates a product to be decorative or functional. Often, artists are associated with art while artisans are associated with craft. Historically, even "art" glass has been considered a craft, because it came in the form of decorative or functional vessels or object. With the rise of the studio glass movement, glass blowers began experimenting with the medium to create *Art*, and, hence, some individuals working

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within the medium are considered "glass artists." However, this distinction between art and craft is blurring for all mediums, not just within glass. Today it is unclear what the actual definitions of the two terms are, making it difficult to differentiate between them.

Further evidence of this confounding distinction is apparent in the market for studio glass. William Warmus (2003), former curator of the Corning Museum of Glass, wrote an article called, "The Value of Glass: Studio Glass Market Analysis 2001-2003." He states that "the market for studio glass is a sub-set of the international art and craft market." Because it is difficult to differentiate art glass from craft, this analysis will use venues of distribution as an indication of how the individual is positioning him or herself. Based on how work is distributed—through galleries, craft fairs, juried art exhibitions, etc.—it is hoped that it will be possible to categorize individuals as either artists, artisans or some combination of both. Another potential indicator might be generational experience and expectation. Through content analysis of journals, artist statements, and association membership qualifications, it is hoped that a consensus might be determined as to how individuals perceive themselves within this field.

Even while the distinction between art and craft becomes less clear, it remains pertinent to those working in the field. This is apparent in the January/February 2006 edition of GAS News, the newsletter of the Glass Art Society (GAS). On the first page is a letter from the president of GAS:

> The other issue that repeatedly rears its head addresses the old (so very old) "art vs. craft" argument. Obviously, the argument remains current, despite the fact that many of us who recognize and respect differences in artistic approach, need to move beyond this "bone" to a more tenable topic. The crux of the argument seems to suggest that both "fine artists" and "crafters" cannot co-exist peacefully in one organization. And, the larger version of this question speaks to our ever-

growing, diversifying membership, due to our policy of inclusion, and questions of how GAS can satisfactorily address each of its member sub-group concerns.

Meanwhile, Henry Halem (2005), one of the pioneers for the field, dismisses the distinction during an interview with William Warmus in 2005:

> MR. WARMUS: You say it's a reference for the glass artist and not for the glass-you don't say glass craftsman, glass industry. Why?
>
> MR. HALEM: No, because I think in their own way, everyone sees themselves as an artist. And I think that people read-I think by using any other term it makes a hierarchy. It's a ladder of importance and so that's the shoe that fits everybody. And I don't know anyone I've ever spoken to, even if they're making little shtunky beads, that they don't see themselves as an artist. Now they're going to ask me, how do you spell shtunky? [Laughs.]
>
> And the word, tchotchke, you can look that one up. Anyone that's making tchotchkes, they see themselves not as tchotchke makers, they see themselves as an artist. Why not? So what? (p. 62)

Hence, an emerging artist finds himself or herself choosing not only medium and technique but also artistic approach and intended market.

Technique

Often the general public will think of all glass artists or artisans as being the same but to those working within the domain there are many distinct sub-sets. Each of these sub-sets is characterized by the means in which the glass is manipulated, and who falls into which is determined by what methods they use to work with the medium. This significance is indicated by the Glass Art Society's membership registration, which asks members to self-identify which categories they should be included within. Categories pertaining to members' art form include: "glassblower, casting, leaded/stained, flame/lampworker, kilnforming, fusing/slumping, coldwork/engraving, beadmaking, neon and painting." While many individuals working within the medium may use many or all of these

methods, most tend to self-identify with one in particular as their specialty and recognize themselves as part of an informal association with others who specialize in the same technique.

Because this study focuses on glassblowing, it is important to distinguish this sub-set from its counterparts. It is important to note as well that often these sub-sets are referred to by more than one, interchangeable, name, as indicated in the following brief discussion of the distinctions between each. The Corning Museum of Glass (n.d.b), the leading resource on glass as a medium for manufacture and art, has a publication called "A Resource for Glass," and the web site includes a complementary glossary of terms. Both helped inform this discussion. Indicators of which sub-set an individual is working within include products, tools, and facilities.

Stained Glass

Stained, or leaded, glass artists cut shapes from sheets of colored glass and then piece them back together like a puzzle with a metal "caulking" to create images/patterns. The essential tools required for creating stained glass objects are a blow torch for heating metals and those necessary for preparing and cutting the glass. Products often include window panes, lamp shades, sun-catchers, and other decorative objects. Hence, depending on the size of the product, facilities may range from a table top to much larger studio spaces.

Lamp Working

Lamp workers, or torch or flame workers as they may also be called, work over a small torch using similar techniques as glassblowers but on a much smaller scale and with fewer tools. Flame working is the "technique of forming objects from rods and tubes of

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glass that, when heated in a flame, become soft and can be manipulated into the desired shape. Formerly, the source of the flame was an oil or paraffin lamp used in conjunction with foot-powered bellows; today, gas-fueled torches are used" (CMOG, n.d.b). Basic tools include a torch, small annealer, safety glasses and hand tools so relatively little space is needed to practice this technique. Common products include small sculptures/vessels, paraphernalia and beads (the most prevalent product as indicated by the GAS distinction). Lamp working is also unique because it utilizes a different kind of glass, Pyrex, which is much stronger than the soft glass used in glass blowing and sculpting.

Fusing

Fusing is "(1) the process of founding or melting the batch; (2) heating pieces of glass in a kiln or furnace until they bond (see casting and kiln forming); (3) heating enameled glasses until the enamel bonds with the surface of the object" (CMOG, n.d.b). Because the process of fusing involves melting the glass slowly the technique is sometimes referred to as slumping. This process involves taking a vessel or other glass object and gradually increasing the temperature so that the glass does not become molten but the structure begins to shift and settle, "slumping." This process may occur either through kiln forming or casting. Kiln forming is "the process of fusing or shaping glass (usually in or over a mold) by heating it in a kiln" while casting is "the generic name for a wide variety of techniques used to form glass in a mold" (CMOG, n.d.b). Typical casting techniques include processes in which glass is poured into a mold and then allowed to cool or a mold is filled with powder glass, brought up to a melting temperature and then allowed to cool, creating a solid shape. Meanwhile, enameling requires a mixture of

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color powder glass and an oily substance to be "painted" onto a solid glass object. The object is then reheated at a low temperature, burning away the oily substance and fusing the powder glass to the object, creating an overlay of color. The most significant tool for fusing is the annealer, or kiln, and the size of projects will be restricted by the size of the annealer.

Coldwork

Coldworking is any process that takes place while the glass is in its solid state and is used by almost anyone working within the medium, whether as the primary method for creation or the finishing touch to complete a product. As such, coldworking may be characterized by a style of glass, such as cameo, or a technique, like acid etching.

Engraving or carving is "the removal of glass from the surface of an object by means of hand-held tools" while cutting is "the technique whereby glass is removed from the surface of an object by grinding it with a rotating wheel made of stone, wood or metal, and an abrasive suspended in liquid" (CMOG, n.d.b). Cameo glass has its origin in Rome around 50 B.C. and is the result of layering one color over the other and then carving away the top layer to reveal the bottom layer, creating an image or pattern.

Acid etching is "the process of etching the surface of glass with hydrofluoric acid. Acid-etched decoration is produced by covering the glass with an acid-resistant substance such as wax, through which the design is scratched. A mixture of dilute hydrofluoric acid and potassium fluoride is then applied to etch the exposed areas of glass" (CMOG, n.d.b). Since acid etching was invented in 1857 other chemicals have been substituted for hydrofluoric acid and different techniques have developed that produce similar results. One example of another technique is sandblasting, which uses the same premise but

changes the surface by literally blasting sand at the uncovered surfaces. These other

techniques developed in response to the fact that the chemicals used in acid etching are

expensive and highly dangerous to work with.

Blown/Sculpted Glass

Glass blowing is, "The technique of forming an object by inflating a gob of molten glass

gathered on the end of a blowpipe. The gaffer blows through the tube, slightly inflating

the gob, which is then manipulated into the required form by swinging it, rolling it on a

marver, or shaping it with tools or in a mold; it is then inflated to the desired size"

(CMOG, n.d.b). Glass blowers may utilize molds to create a pre-determined shape or

hand tools to sculpt the molten glass. Tools for blowing glass have remained relatively

unchanged since they were first used almost 2,000 years ago and include a blowpipe,

furnace, glory hole, annealer and hand tools. Because of the unique equipment required

for glassblowing, a large space is required and the equipment is expensive. It wasn't

until the 1960's that advancements were made that could allow small furnaces to be

developed and individual studios feasible. Glass may also be sculpted using similar

techniques but without blowing an air bubble in the piece…hence, the finished product is

a solid sculpture.

<div align="center">*Timeline*</div>

Because glass blowing has been developing for centuries, the following timeline visually

illustrates how the field has advanced. This list will primarily highlight events but some

major characters will be included based on how they have affected the progress. This

timeline was created almost entirely from two resources: the Corning Museum of Glass's

(n.d.a) A Resource for Glass and, an extensive chronology and bibliography of studio

glass that was created by William Warmus, former curator of Corning, with Beth Hylen, available on Warmus's personal web site. Warmus and Hylen's timeline is most more extensive then what is shown here, but the following excerpts from their timeline coupled with events found in the Corning resource were deemed an adequate introduction to the history for this investigation.

2000 BC	First glass believed to have been made in Mesopotamia, parts of the countries now known as Iraq and Syria. (CMOG, n.d.a)
1300 BC	Instructions for furnace building and glassmaking were written on clay tablets in Mesopotamia. (CMOG, n.d.a)
	Casting and cutting thought to be earliest methods. (CMOG, n.d.a)
4 – 1 BC	Lathes were commonly used to hold objects to be cut. (CMOG, n.d.a)
475-221 BC	Glass beads made in China and India. (CMOG, n.d.a)
50 BC	Glass blowing discovered by the Romans. For the first time, a worker could mass-produce dozens of objects a day. (CMOG, n.d.a)
1st Century	Roman cage cups and cameo glass made. (CMOG, n.d.a)
4th Century	Fall of Roman Empire. Cameo glass continues to be made in Eastern Byzantine provinces. (CMOG, n.d.a)
	Beth She'arim Slab left in Galilee. (CMOG, n.d.a)
9th-11th Century	Cameo glass popular in China. (CMOG, n.d.a)
1640	In England, Prince Rupert of Bavaria started demonstrating the effects of stress in glass by creating what is now referred to as "Prince Rupert's Drop." (CMOG, n.d.a)
1679	Gold ruby glass was perfected. (CMOG, n.d.a)
1789	First successful glass factory in the US is founded in New Jersey. (Wheaton Village, n.d.)
1820	Mechanical glass press invented. (CMOG, n.d.a)

1830   Uranium glass (brilliant yellow-green) first made. (CMOG, n.d.a)

Late 19th
Century   Emile Galle begins to explore glass's potential. (CMOG, n.d.a)

1888   Pharmacist Dr. Theodore Corso Wheaton makes his own pharmaceutical
                bottles in his factory in New Jersey. Would later become glass
                manufacturer Wheaton USA. (Wheaton Village, n.d.)

19th – early 20th
Centuries   Glass Factories are prevalent throughout the US.

1940s   American artists become interested in using glass as a medium.

                1946   Glass Review published in Czechoslovakia until 1996,
                                when moves to on-line format. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1950s   Beginnings of the necessary technological and institutional advancements
                for the studio glass movement to emerge.

                1951   Corning Inc. opens nonprofit Corning Museum of Glass to
                                educate the public about glass. (CMOG, n.d.a)

                1957   Glass is discussed as a medium for art at the First Annual
                                Conference of the American Craftsmen's Council.
                                (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

                1958   Harvey Littleton melts glass in a ceramic kiln and initiates
                                some rough blowing experiments. (Warmus & Hylen,
                                2003)

                1959   The Corning Museum of Glass presents Glass 1959, an
                                exhibition of modern glass. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

                                Littleton presents findings and exhibits glass shapes he has
                                made to the Third Annual Conference of the American
                                Craftsmen's Council. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1960s   Ability to blow glass in a studio setting rather than a factory allows artists
                to work directly with glass.

                Glass is "part of the broader international craft movement in which clay,
                fiber, wood, and metal are used for creative expression." During this
                period the medium is primarily used by men, though some women, like

Edris Eckhardt, were working with glass. While establishing itself as an artistic medium, glass still wasn't receiving much attention from critics, galleries or museums. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

Artists explore the medium using "experimental discovery of the material through trial and error. Long-standing techniques, such as the 'fuming' and 'feathering' [that were] popular during the Art Nouveau period, are continually reinvented and updated, even to this day. A dichotomy exists between the sculptor in search of form (the 'technique is cheap' attitude [perpetuated by Littleton]) vs. the craftsman striving to create a perfectly executed functional object. Self-expression [rather than sales is] most important." (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1961	Fourth National Conference of the American Craftsmen's Council includes a panel to "consider the future possibilities of glass for craftsmen." Glass artists discuss their own work. "Russell Day (who would develop dalle de verre and kiln forming) and Frederic Schuler (scientist at Corning Glass Works) also take part. Many consider these the founding events of the studio glass movement." (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)
1962	Technology enables artists to work directly with glass. (CMOG, n.d.a) Harvey Littleton leads two workshops on glass at the Toledo Museum of Art in Toledo, Ohio. (CMOG, n.d.a)
1963	"Littleton teaches glassblowing at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, the first such class to be part of the permanent curriculum of an American university." (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)
1964	"Dominick Labino plans and builds a furnace for glassblowing demonstrations at Columbia University during the World Congress of Craftsmen in New York." (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)
1965	One of Littleton's glass sculptures is purchased by the Museum of Modern Art, New York. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)
1966	A series of national competitive exhibitions for designer-craftsmen in glass occur hosted by institutions like the

Smithsonian and the Toledo Museum of Art. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1967   Lampworking is taught at Pepperdine College (now University) in California. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1968   Dale Chihuly travels to Italy on a Fulbright Scholarship and is the first American glassblower to work at Venini. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

First small glassmaking studio is established in Sweden. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

Toledo Museum of Art commissions sculpture by Labino. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1969   The Glasshouse is established in London. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

First European exhibition of studio glass held at the Museum Boymans-van in Rotterdam. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1970s   Museums begin to incorporate studio glass survey exhibitions. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

Galleries devoted to glass begin to appear. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

Explosion of glass schools and studios paves the way for a new industry of glass tools and equipment. "The studio movement creates a new industry for glassmaking-related products. Equipment, tools, and materials become increasingly available to studio artists (Kugler color rods, Norstar borosilicate colors, new furnace designs). Paoli Clay Co. is among the first to sell glassmaker's tools in the United States, as previously tools were imported from Germany. Changes in glass composition from 475 marbles in the early 1960s to clear Coke bottles used by schools in the 1970s to West Virginia glass companies selling artists their cullet and, finally, batch companies, such as Littleton Batch Co., making glass specifically for studio glass artists." (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1970   Wheaton USA opens nonprofit Wheaton Village to the public in New Jersey. (Wheaton Village, n.d.)

Landmark traveling exhibition opens at the Smithsonian Institution and focuses on the "new crafts movement" that

elevates the "handcrafted object . . . to a new status," including studio glass. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1971   Habatat Gallery opens in Dearborn, Michigan. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

Contemporary Glass Group opens in New York City (becomes Heller Gallery in 1973). (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

Dale Chihuly establishes the Pilchuck Glass Center in Seattle, WA. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

Glass Art Society established to "to encourage excellence, to advance education, to promote the appreciation and development of the glass arts, and to support the worldwide community of artists who work with glass." (Glass Art Society, n.d.)

1972   The Toledo Museum of Art and the Museum of Contemporary Glass of the American Crafts Council organize a traveling exhibit of American glass art. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

First International Glass Symposium Held at Museum Belleriv in Zürich. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

Habatat Gallery hosts the First Annual National Glass Invitational. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1973   The Museum of American Glass and the T.C. Wheaton Glass Factory open at Wheaton Village. (Wheaton Village, n.d.)

1976   *Contemporary Glass* is published by the Corning Museum of Glass and becomes *New Glass Review* in 1980. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

The Glass Art Society Newsletter is published until 1979 when it becomes the *Glass Art Society Journal*. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1977   The first studio glass competition in Europe is held. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

New York Experimental Glass Workshop founded as the first artist-access glass center in the US. (Will later become UrbanGlass.) (Urbanglass, n.d.)

1978   First art history textbook published that included glass sculpture. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1979   Lino Tagliapietra, Italian maestro, teaches at Pilchuck. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

Corning Museum of Glass curates a traveling exhibit called, *New Glass: A Worldwide Survey*, that "introduced the American studio movement to American, European, and Japanese audiences." (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1980s   As glass becomes more established as a medium, artists begin to explore issues besides composition in glass, including, "narrative, political, gender issues" as well as combining glass with other mediums. The debate of 'Art vs. craft' pushes aside technical issues." Artists also begin utilizing techniques beside glass blowing, including "*pâte de verre,* lampworking, kilnworking, coldworking, [and] even microwaved glass jewelry." (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

During this period, more women begin working as glass artists, several new glass magazines are published and "art museums begin to exhibit glass in contemporary art sections, not only in decorative arts galleries." (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1980   *Neues Glas/New Glass* begins being published. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

The Corning Museum of Glass publishes the first *New Glass Review.* "[The] journal includes a checklist of publications relating to glass made from 1945 to the present." (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

New York Experimental Glass Workshop publishes *New Work* until 1989, when it becomes *Glass.* (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1983   Wheaton Village establishes the Creative Glass Center of America to provide residencies to emerging artists working in glass. (Wheaton Village, n.d.)

The Metropolitan Contemporary Glass Group is founded as the first continuous collector's glass group. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1984   First International Exhibition of Glass Craft held in Kanazawa, Japan. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1985   Wheaton Village establishes Glass Weekend, a biennial seminar to bring together artists, collectors, galleries and museum curators. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

"Craft Emergency Relief Fund (CERF) formed; begins giving loans in 1987 to professional craftspeople suffering career-threatening emergencies." (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

Mid-1980s   The debate between craft vs. art is in full swing as glass is recognized as being used as a fine-art medium. There is increased interest from artists in content that results in the "production of technically assured, confident works" and use of glass "as a contemporary sculpture medium." As a result, there is also a backlash against "the 'beauty' of glass." (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

This shift is also recognized by collectors, galleries and museums, as "collectors [begin to] build collections based less on investment value and more on the inherent worth of the artworks. Camaraderie of collectors and friendly competition for the most beautiful artworks lead to a relatively stable market and the development of a glass community." Glass also becomes available through more venues as auction houses like Sotheby's and Christie's begin featuring contemporary glass. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

There is also a "move toward professionalism, [as] artists concentrate on the business of running a studio and developing marketing strategies to create a stable livelihood." (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1986   Glasmuseum Ebeltoft founded in Denmark for the presentation of international contemporary glass. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

The Corning Museum of glass establishes an annual award, the Rakow Commission. "The commission is established to encourage fine glassmaking and the development of new works of art in glass." (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

1987   The Art Alliance for Contemporary Glass (AACG) is
            established for collectors of contemporary glass. (Warmus
            & Hylen, 2003)

            Glass Focus begins being published annually. (Warmus &
            Hylen, 2003)

1990–2002   Glassmaking instruction becomes more formalized as "schools for
            glassmaking multiply throughout the United States and worldwide."
            Studio glass workshops become increasingly available through nonprofit
            organization and associations. These workshops "range from one-person
            workshops to one person directing assistants who produce the glass;
            teamwork becomes an accepted procedure." Glass resources also become
            available via the internet. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

            With the prevalence of technical education opportunities, "levels of
            technical skill reach an apogee." International influences become more
            evident in American artists' work from Venice, Czech and the "opening
            up of former Soviet-bloc countries, notably the USSR, [which] increases
            exchange of information." (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

            This period also sees more institutionalized acceptance of glass as a
            medium for art. The first overviews of studio glass movement by major
            publishers emerge, there is a "surge in art museum exhibitions and
            catalogues devoted to studio glass, and collectors lend/donate their
            collections to museums." (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

            1991   "The Art Alliance for Contemporary Glass (AACG)
                        Annual Award begins, honoring an organization for its
                        contributions to the contemporary glass movement."
                        (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

            1993   Henry Halem publishes *Glass Notes: A Reference for the
                        Glass Artist* from Kent, Ohio. (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

            1994   "SOFA (Sculpture Objects and Functional Art) exhibitions
                        begin in Chicago…includes glass from many glass and
                        craft galleries." (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

            1997   Major glass collections are exhibited in art museums.
                        (Warmus & Hylen, 2003)

CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON PROFESSIONS

In order to understand what it means to be a professional glass artist, I had to first explore

how professionalism is understood and defined. As is so often the case, there were

relatively few (or no) models in the arts so I had to look to other fields and then translate

what I saw there to what is happening with studio glass artists.

Introduction to Professionalization

Professionalization is "the social process whereby people come to engage in an activity

for pay or as a means of livelihood" (Princeton University Cognitive Science Laboratory,

n.d.). This basic definition leaves much to be desired, as most scholars have determined

professionalization to be a complex and involved process…without a clear "how-to" to

achieve professional status but indicators that are shared by those who have reached it.

The history of professions begins at the turn-of-the-Twentieth-Century, when

medicine first began to professionalize and was quickly followed by other fields.

Understood as the product of the middle class, it is agreed by historians that

professionalization is a mechanism for increasing the social status of an occupation.

Over the years, professionalism has come to be understood as a continuum, with

various indicators to determine where along that continuum an occupation exists. As

early as 1957 Greenwood established five indicators of professionalism that are still

generally accepted today. These indicators include: 1) a systematic body of knowledge;

2) professional authority and credibility; 3) regulation and control of members; 4) a

professional code of ethics; and, 5) a culture of values, norms and symbols. Hence, the

continuum includes all five of these indicators and those occupations that exhibit all five are considered professions. Medicine, law and theology have historically been the fields held up as model professions; other occupations often mimic these to try to reach the same status. Meanwhile, fields such as teaching and nursing were viewed as semi-professions and would be located slightly lower on the continuum.

As for professionalization though, there is no clear method for an occupation to become a profession. While these five indicators have been agreed upon, there is little indication of whether some are more important than others or whether they should be developed in any specific order. Through the application of these indicators to various occupations, it has been shown that different occupations have varying success with each aspect.

Important to the development of professions was the evolution of the modern American university. Silva's (2000) graduate research, *Accreditation, Knowledge and Strategies of Professionalizing Occupations,* explores how higher education and accreditation plays into jockeying for position among occupations. Drawing on Greenwood's indicators, she defines professionalization as "the process by which members of an occupation codify a body of ideas and skills, develop a culture and a code of ethics, and seek community sanction for the purposes of improving their individual and occupation's status" (p. 3).

As this brief introduction to the topic demonstrates, professionalization is not a clear-cut concept. Approached from many angles and disciplines with multiple definitions, it is important to clarify what one means by professions, professionalism and professionalization. This chapter will review the literature to explore who is studying

professions and why, what definitions are in use, theories of professionalization, an in-depth look at indicators of professionalism and the role of education. The significance of professions and the role of professionalism will be explored as well as problems that exist with existing research. This will be followed by a quick review of when and how professionalism has been discussed in the arts. Finally, conclusions will be drawn from the literature review for application to studio glass artists in the following chapter.

Who Studies Professions & Why?

In order to answer the question, "who studies professions and why?" one should really tackle the question, "who studies work and why?" Pavalko (1988) addresses this question and names four academic disciplines as most frequently being interested in the subject: economists, psychologists, biological scientists and sociologists. He states that economists are interested in work for the obvious reason that it represents an input variable for the economic system. Often economists are interested in unemployment, the supply and demand for people with certain skills and pay scales. Meanwhile, psychologists may be interested because of the immense amount of time people spend working in their life. An indicator of the importance of their work to an individual living in the US is the fact that the most common answer to the question, "what do you do?" is to respond by explaining one's work. Hence, psychologist are interested in the type of satisfaction or dissatisfaction people derive from their work, why individuals enter and perform different kinds of work and whether or not their innate attributes align with certain jobs (Meyers-Briggs for example). The most surprising discipline among Pavalko's list may be biological scientists. However, his explanation of why biological scientists would study work (the effects of work on health and the relationship between

neurological, muscular and respiratory states to work) quickly dispels any skepticism.

The final discipline, sociologists, would appear to be the most prolific on the subject, as much of the literature reviewed in this chapter will reveal. Sociologists are interested in work for a multitude of reasons, including: why individuals choose one role instead of another; how people learn how to do their work; what the social consequences of different jobs are; and, how individuals and occupations change each other, respectively. He also noted that the study of occupations often overlaps with organizational culture, industry, and social stratification.

As a sociologist, Pavalko goes on to outline the basic assumptions of sociologists when studying work:

1. Work = social relationships;

2. Roles are achieved rather than ascribed;

3. Work is a fundamental link between individuals and the larger social structure, patterning human social interaction;

4. An individual's occupation is a source of personal identity;

5. And, what one chooses to do for an occupation is limited by their time and where they are located.

Meanwhile, each of the three other major disciplines that study work approach the topic with their own unique set of assumptions. Therefore, anyone writing about professions needs to make it clear from which discipline they are approaching the topic, what definition they are using and what assumptions they are making.

History of Professions

The concept of professions is relatively new, as evident by Silva's (2000) observation that "the subject of what characterizes a profession was first brought to scholarly attention as early as 1915 by Abraham Flexner's article, "Is Social Work a Profession?" (p. 70). Professionalization was seen as a manifestation of the middle class during the Progressive Era. In a new world where birth right didn't determine social status, professionalism created a sense of order and hierarchy. It also provided individuals a potential path for attaining a higher social status.

It is important to note that there are two dimensions to career mobility, vertical and horizontal. Vertical career mobility is a change in work that will result in a positive change of status while horizontal career mobility will not (Pavalko, 1988). Therefore, in order for individuals to be motivated to professionalize they have to perceive professionalism as being directly correlated to vertical career mobility. Hence, the most evident and basic purpose served by professionalism is the attainment of a higher career status, which often leads to higher social status. In fact, "Larson argues…both professionalization and bureaucratization spring from the same source: the tendency toward greater control of market resources through monopolization. More importantly, in the modern world they are mutually dependent" (Kahn-Hut, & Rosenblum, 1979, p. 691). By controlling one's market, an individual can exert more control over how that good or service is provided to others. Basic principles of supply and demand come in to play and so long as the service has inelastic demand, meaning no matter the change in price people still require it, monopolization allows the producer or service provider the independence to increase their prices or prestige without decreasing the demand. Silva

(2000) notes that, "once the profession's authority is recognized by the public, society confers, both formally and informally, a series of privileges and powers upon the profession" (p. 23).

The reasons for professionalism proliferating in the United States are explored by Collins (1979) in *The Credential Society*. Collins explained that the US was uniquely suited for the phenomenon due to three factors:

1. Industrial productivity was flourishing and the United States led the rest of the world in its level of consumption;

2. Americans were attaining higher levels of education and institutions of higher education had proliferated;

3. And, "enormous expansion of the credentialed professions and concomitantly of the horizontal, decentralized form of bureaucratic organizations" (p. 73).

These factors would create an environment where individuals could start to define themselves by their position and create a hierarchical society based on profession. More recently, a study has been undertaken at Stanford University to address professionalization of nonprofit organizations. In a presentation of the preliminary research being done on this topic, Hwang (2005) gave three reasons for the need for professionalization in nonprofits:

1. Increasing demands for accountability and rationalization;

2. Pressure from institutional landscape: government and private funders as well as other stakeholders;

3. And, growing competitive pressures.

It can be imagined that similar pressures would have been at work at the turn-of-the-20th-Century, when the Industrial Revolution was quickly forging ahead.

Definitions: Occupations, Professions and Everything In Between

Despite all of the different people studying professions for so many different reasons and the popularity of professionalism in the work place, what exactly is meant by the terms profession, professionalism and professionalization is often unclear. An example of this is Pavalko's (1988) discussion of the many uses of the word *profession*:

> A major source of difficulty in becoming aware of the appropriate use of this model lies in the usage of the term 'profession' in our everyday language…To begin with, 'profession' is frequently used to convey an evaluation of the work referred to…Second, the term profession is often used to simply denote full-time performance of a regular kind of work for pay in contrast to engaging in the activity on a part-time basis or without pay…A third popular usage of the term professional occurs when it is used to convey the idea of great skill or proficiency at performing some task (p. 16-7).

This section will explore the different uses of these terms, with the first usage being the emphasis of this study.

Friedson (1994) discusses many of the terms that may have ambiguous meanings in his book *Professionalization Reborn: Theory, Prophecy and Policy*. He critiques the following definition of occupation: "Occupations are simply formal work roles or positions in complex organizations created and controlled by managerial power being exercised on behalf of either private or state capital, or a mixture of the two" (p. 76). Friedson states that this definition of occupations is too simple, as not all occupations will fit this definition, it creates too many anomalies. He also discusses two common uses of the term, profession:

1. Profession can "refer to a broad stratum of relatively prestigious but quite varied occupations whose members have all had some kind of higher

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education and who are identified more by their educational status than by their specific occupational skills;"

2. Profession may also refer to "a limited number of occupations which have particular institutional and ideological traits more or less in common…[This use] represents much more than only a status, for it produces distinctive occupational identities and exclusionary market shelters which set each occupation apart from (and often in opposition to) the others." (p. 76)

Hence, it is important to realize that all professions are occupations but not all occupations are professions. The work of the professions is specialized to the extent that people outside the profession may not fully comprehend or easily evaluate it. Another distinction is that this work is often done for the greater good, "especially important for the well-being of individuals or society at large, having a value so special that money cannot serve as its sole measure: it is also *Good Work*" (Freidson, 1994, p. 200). Not only are professionals rewarded extrinsically with prestige and monetary rewards, they also receive intrinsic value from an intellectual interest in their work and the knowledge that they are giving back to their community. Their work becomes less like work, as they derive pleasure from it, and more like passion or play. This emphasis on working for the greater good can be linked to the emergence of professions/professionalism in the Progressive Era, when progressives felt responsibility for aiding their fellow Americans to create a New America (Duchan, 2006).

Another distinction that can be made is that of the professional versus the amateur. Friedson (1994) distinguishes between these two terms, stating that amateurs are those "who perform a given set of tasks without conscious and calculating concern for their exchange value in the market" while professionals "perform [a given set of tasks] in a contracted market exchange by which he makes his living" (p. 108).

While there may be competing definitions for the term profession, there are some basic assumptions common to all:

1. Professions develop out of a societal need for services (Carter, 1998).

2. The division of labor requires various individuals to perform different tasks (Freidson, 1994).

3. Different tasks result in the need for specialized skills or knowledge.

4. Specialized skills and knowledge are offered to others for some type of compensation, be it tangible (fee) or intangible (prestige, moral obligation) (Social Science Encyclopedia, 1956).

With time, these underlying assumptions have been expanded on. Abbott (1988) changed how sociologists understood professions by coining "Abbott's test," which determines if an occupation is a profession based on whether or not it re-theorizes others work – a top-down model. However, it has since been critiqued as "presuppose[ing] fixed and organized occupations of a kind that simply may not exist under modern conditions of employment" (Social Science Encyclopedia, 1956). Meanwhile, Larson "reinterpreted professions as collective mobility projects in which expert groups sought rewards through control of certain markets for services," (Kahn-Hut, & Rosenblum, 1979) introducing the idea that professions are competing for a monopoly over the services they provide.

Researchers have also started to expand on the basic definition of profession by including the attributes that characterize it. One example of this is Silva (2000), who defines a profession as "an occupation characterized by 'specialized knowledge and skill required to perform different tasks in a division of labor.' The professional's work is guided by a sense of duty, often undertaken only by those individuals who have been

granted specific certificates or credentials authorizing practice, and after having

completed a long and formal education." (p. 15). The sense of duty Silva refers to may

be towards those the profession is serving or for the advancement of knowledge and is

often defined by the profession's code of ethics. Collins (1979) offers this extensive and

descriptive explanation of what a profession is:

> A profession is a self-regulating community (Goode, 1957: 194-200). It has
> exclusive power, usually backed up by the state, to train new members and admit
> them to practice. It practices its specialty according to its own standards without
> outside interference. It reserves the right to judge its own members' performance,
> and resists incursions of lay opinion; it alone can decide whether to punish or
> disbar an incompetent member because presumably only it can decide what
> technical competence is. It has a code of ethics, claiming to dedicate its work to
> the service of humanity, pledging disinterested and competent performance, and
> condemning commercialism and careerism (p. 132).

Hence, clients have to trust professionals more than they do others because it is not easy

for them to judge the professional's work. Because the client has no alternative but to

rely on the professional it is expected that the professional put the client's needs above

their own fiduciary gains (Freidson, 1994). An example of this is that a patient trusts that

when their doctor recommends an expensive procedure, it is because they need it and not

because it is expensive.

Since it is more desirable to have one's occupation considered a profession, most

occupational workforces try to professionalize. This leads to professionalization.

Unfortunately, much like its root, there is no simple explanation of the term

professionalization. The following definitions illustrate this point:

- Professionalization is "the process whereby work groups attempt to
  change and actually change their position on one or more dimensions of
  the [unskilled labor]-profession continuum, moving toward the profession
  pole" (Pavalko, 1988, p. 27).

- "Professionalization is the process by which members of an occupation codify a body of ideas and skills, develop a culture and a code of ethics and seek community sanction for the purpose of improving their individual and occupation's status" (Silva, 2000, p. 3).

- "Professionalization is the translation of one type of scarce resource—knowledge—into another—economic rewards. By providing the ideological basis to justify inequality of status and closure of access, the model of professionalization masks the fundamental economic base" (Kahn-Hut & Rosenblum, p. 691).

- Professionalization is "a general concept involving advances in four distinct areas: skills, organizational structure, theory and historiography" (Kempers, 1987, p. 165).

In the next section we will explore in depth what is meant by the professionalization process.

Theories of Professionalization: the Profession Continuum

While varying theories of professionalization exist, at the basis of all of them is the assumption that the process of professionalization is an attempt to move along an occupational continuum from unskilled labor towards profession in order to increase social status. According to the Social Science Encyclopedia, professionalization refers to "processes affecting the social and symbolic construction of occupation and status…[and] involves the formation of an occupation, on one hand, and interrelated developments regarding the social division of labor, structures of authority and socio-cultural inequality on the other" (Social Science Encyclopedia, 1956).

Like most things in life, there is a continuum between the extreme stages (unskilled labor and profession) where an occupation is not quite yet a profession. "Emergent professions," "professions in transition," or "professions in process" (Pavalko, 1988, p. 27), as well as semi-professions, are all terms that have been used to describe an

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occupation in the process of professionalization. However, for the purposes of this study, occupations in the professionalization process will be referred to as semi-professions. It is important to note that professionalization does not merely affect the status of one particular group, but also helps shape the continuum as a whole, influencing other careers and professions along the continuum (Kempers, 1987).

So what are the model professions? Medicine was the first recognized profession and the impetus for the very concept. Historically, the only other occupations to be considered professions were law and theology. A subordinate class of occupations, semi-professions included teaching, pharmacy, nursing, social work, psychiatry, etc. However, even the model professions have begun to face problems with role conflicts, as their profession becomes more complex and divisive (Collins, 1979). This is in part due to the current change in the economy, from an Industrial Economy to a Knowledge Economy, which shifted emphasis from product to ideas/knowledge. Concurrently, some degree of commercialism has become the norm and, today, almost all occupations, including professions, advertise their services and/or products in some fashion or another.

So how does one assess placement along this continuum? Researchers generally agree that certain attributes define a profession, although how they discuss these attributes may differ. Throughout the 1930s to 60s, the prevalent focus of study was on distinguishing professions from non-professions and employed five models: "the attribute model, the taxonomy model, the structuralist's model, the functionalist's model, and the Ivy League School model" (Silva, 2000, p. 71). Researchers typically used anywhere from four to eight attributes. However, one of the most referenced thinkers on the

attribute model, Greenwood (1957) defined five attributes that serve well as the larger headings to encompass many of these distinctions. These include:

- Systematic theory

- Professional authority

- Community sanction

- Code of ethics

- Culture

Researchers also agree that all professions combine "independent individual practice with some type of collective association" (Social Science Encyclopedia, 1956).

Typically, researchers just identify the various attributes of a profession, without weighting them, as an occupation may have any combination of these attributes to varying degrees. However, Wilensky actually identified a sequence of five attributes as being necessary for a profession to develop, summarized eloquently by Carter (1988):

o Practitioners perform essential tasks that meet a social need. Eventually, specific job functions are identified and employers hire persons to perform these identified tasks;

o Professional training schools are established. Preparation is grounded in a definitive body of knowledge;

o Training schools and professionals develop definitive curricula to prepare professionals to perform tasks unique to the profession;

o Credentialing tools like certification and licensure are developed by professionals to differentiate their services and professional qualifications from that of other profession's;

o   Rules are developed to protect clients and ensure service delivery by competent professionals. These rules are Codes of Ethics that are adopted and enforced by professional associations.

Wilensky also suggested that there were four stages to this process: doubtful professions → new professions → in process or marginal professions → established professions. While Wilensky's model is interesting and appears logical, few researchers agree that there is any clear path to professional status, only that all professions exhibit these qualities. It seems unlikely that an occupation could follow Wilensky's sequence like a recipe to become a profession. This brings up two major problems with using a professionalization continuum, as noted by Pavalko:

1. "Sociological research has barely scratched the surface in assessing the extent to which any large number of work activities actually exhibit these characteristics;"

2. "There is no logical or a priori way of determining what the relative weight of each of the dimensions should be" (Pavalko, 1988, p. 27).

In the 1970s a new model emerged for understanding professions called the process model, or Chicago School model. This model changed the focus from which attributes an occupation had to how it used these attributes as resources to enhance its social position. Hence, research on professions evolved from asking "what is a profession" to "what is the process" and emphasis is placed on the driving forces behind professionalization, such as the professional associations, education/training institutions, accrediting agencies (Silva, 2000).

Another layer to the discussion is introduced by differentiating between the actions of the individual practitioners and the field as a whole. According to DiMaggio (1991), there are several indicators of whether or not an occupation is professionalized. DiMaggio notes five indicators of occupational professionalization during his assessment of museum directors and four characteristics of a field/industry's structure if it is professionalized.

Professionalization

1. Production of university trained experts
2. Creation of a body of specialized knowledge
3. Organization of professional associations
4. Consolidation of professional elite
5. Increasing salience of occupation's expertise to the field

Structuration

1. Increasing density of inter-organizational contacts
2. Increasing flow of organizationally and professionally relevant information
3. Emergence of a center-periphery structure
4. Collective definition of the field—with norms and professional ethics

DiMaggio's indicators are similar to the attributes previously discussed, but by differentiating between professionalization and structuration a more complete picture is created.

Institutional Isomorphism

Another concept explored by DiMaggio with Powell (1983) that may be useful to this investigation is that of institutional isomorphism. While this concept focuses on institutions, it may be correlated to occupations in order to explain the motivation to

pursue the professional continuum, as a mechanism of institutional isomorphism is professionalization. Institutional isomorphism theory argues that organizations are driven to mimic the practices of those in their field that are perceived to be successful. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," readdresses the issue of the "iron cage," a term coined by Max Weber. Weber originated the theory that, "under capitalism, the rationalist order had become an iron cage in which humanity was, save for the possibility of prophetic revival, imprisoned'….bureaucracy, the rational spirit's organizational manifestation, was so efficient and powerful a means of controlling men and women that, once established, the momentum of bureaucratization was irreversible." Meanwhile, DiMaggio and Powell argue that the cause of bureaucratization has changed; rather than the result of a competitive marketplace, bureaucracy is resulting from "processes that make organizations more similar without necessarily being more efficient" (p. 147). This phenomenon is termed isomorphism, or, "a constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same environmental conditions" (p. 149).

Institutional isomorphism occurs within an organizational field, which DiMaggio and Powell define as, "those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies and other organizations that provide similar services or products" (p. 148). The structure of an organizational field exists only to the extent that they are institutionally defined:

> The process of institutional definition, or "structuration," consists of four parts: an increase in the extent of interaction among organizations in the field; the emergence of sharply defined interorganizational structures of domination and

patterns of coalition; an increase in the information load with which organizations in the field must contend; and the development of a mutual awareness among participants in a set of organizations that they are involved in a common enterprise (DiMaggio, 1982). (p. 148)

As time goes by, actors in the organization make decisions and create policies and norms that limit their choices in the future. Hence, an important concept from institutional isomorphism is the fact that mimicking others within the field limits diversity so that as the life cycle of an organizational field progresses, the organizations within in it will become more and more homogenous.

There are two types of isomorphism. Competitive isomorphism "assumes a system of rationality that emphasizes market competition, niche change, and fitness measures…[and] is most relevant for fields in which free and open competition exists" (p. 150). Institutional isomorphism, on the other hand, assumes that "organizations compete not just for resources and customers, but for political power and institutional legitimacy, for social as well as economic fitness" (p. 150). DiMaggio and Powell focus on institutional isomorphism and go on to describe three mechanisms through which they believe this change occurs:

1. Coercive isomorphism which stems from formal and informal pressures to establish legitimacy and garner political influence. Examples of these formal and informal pressures include government mandates, a shared legal environment or similar funding structures.

2. Mimetic isomorphism results from standard responses to uncertainty, such as "when organizational technologies are poorly understood, goals are ambiguous or the environment creates symbolic uncertainty" (p. 151). This

mechanism is also called modeling because organizations tend to mimic similar organizations that they perceive to be successful. "Models may be diffused unintentionally, indirectly through employee transfer or turnover, or explicitly by organizations such as consulting firms or industry trade associations" (p. 151).

3. Normative isomorphism stems from professionalization, which DiMaggio and Powell define as the "collective struggle of members of an occupation to define the conditions and methods of their work, to control 'the production of producers' and to establish a cognitive base and legitimation for their occupational autonomy" (p. 152).

As this investigation is focused on the concepts of professionalization, DiMaggio and Powell's exploration of normative isomorphism is extremely useful for exploring the professionalization processes at work in the studio glass movement. They state that:

> Professions are subject to the same coercive and mimetic pressures as are organizations. Moreover, while various kinds of professionals within an organization may differ from one another, they exhibit much similarity to their professional counterparts in other organizations. In addition, in many cases, the professional power is as much assigned by the state as it is created by the activities of the professions. (p. 152)

Professionalization further contributes to normative isomorphism through education standards and credentialing and the establishment of professional networks for the distribution of ideas, models and norms. Because a key aspect of professionalization is the socialization and control of who can enter the work force and how they proceed up the career ladder, those at the top will be even more homogenous. In order to attract these stars,

> Organizational fields that include a large professionally trained labor force will be driven primarily by status competition. Organizational prestige and resources are key elements in attracting professionals. This process encourages homogenization as organizations seek to ensure they can provide the same benefits and services as their competitors. (p. 154)

Hence, institutional isomorphism fosters professionalism and professionalism in turn fosters institutional isomorphism.

As organizations become more like those at the top of their field, they will be more easily identifiable to those outside the field – attracting a more professional staff and garnering more political and social resources. However, these organizations may not be performing any better than those in their field who are approaching the work in their own unique way.

Attributes of Professions

This investigation will consider where along the continuum studio glass artists are and what actions have been taken to advance the profession along the continuum by utilizing the attribute and process models used by sociologists. Hence, this study will consider each of the five attributes more in depth and discuss those that may not be included in these broader headings. By using DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) differentiation between professionalization and structuration, this framework of attributes will be expanded on to more fully understand the actions of the individual practitioners and the field.

Systematic Theory

One of the most basic aspects of a profession is that it has a set of skills and knowledge that can be systematically or scientifically evaluated (Social Science Encyclopedia, 1956). The profession is characterized then by a particular body of knowledge or a "set of abstract concepts that describes the focus of professional service. Professionals apply

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knowledge to service-related problems" (Greenwood, 1957). Within the profession there is a constant impetus for progress and the development of new skills (Kempers, 1987). This progress results in the evolution of both historiography and theory which are found in scholarly publications, texts and research generated by professionals (Greenwood, 1957). Because progress relies on innovation and innovators, the focus is often on the "upper echelons of the profession" (Kempers, 1987, p. 303). This creates a hierarchy within the profession itself and influences the culture of the work.

Because professions require specialized education, it is necessary to establish formal institutions to transmit the knowledge of the occupation (Denzin and Mettlin, 1968). Typically the more specialized an occupation is the more extensive the training period that will be required. Hence, some perceive a direct correlation between the acquisition of education and the professional status. This professional training may include values, norms and work role conceptions as well as specific knowledge and skill. This training is often ideational "[placing] a strong emphasis on acquiring the ability to manipulate ideas and symbols rather than (and sometimes in addition to) things and physical objects" (Pavalko, 1988, p. 20). Training may be acquired in universities, professional schools, apprenticeships or internships with professionals. A profession's body of knowledge is usually esoteric and complex, difficult for a lay person to understand. It forms the basis of the superiority of the professional over lay persons and clients (Social Science Encyclopedia, 1956). This is further emphasized through the issuing of "certificates, licenses, credentials, and postsecondary education degrees [which] signal to the public that professionals have attained a certain level of quality, implying a sense of power, status, and authority" (Silva, 2000, p. 105).

Professional Authority

The second attribute builds off of the first. As a result of an individual gaining the

expertise to practice his or her profession, he or she is a recognized authority within that

profession. Because the knowledge is esoteric enough that clients cannot easily

understand it, the mastering of the knowledge to practice gives the professional authority

and credibility within their field (Greenwood, 1957). The systematic body of knowledge

legitimates the professional's claim to expertise – distancing him or her from their clients

– and forcing the clients to trust the professional (Pavalko, 1988). Inadvertently, because

a layperson believes that they are unable to evaluate the performance of the professional,

the only person capable of evaluating that professional is one of their peers from the

profession, which is not true for unskilled labor and some semi-professions (Silva, 2000).

This makes the primary audience for individual practitioners their professional peers

(White, 1993). Collins (1979) explores the significance of this concept thoroughly:

> A strong profession requires a real technical skill that produces demonstrable
> results and can be taught. Only thus can the skill be monopolized, by controlling
> who will be trained. The skill must be difficult enough to require training and
> reliable enough to produce results. But it cannot be too reliable, for then outsiders
> can judge work by its results and control its practitioners by their judgments. The
> ideal profession has a skill that occupies the mid-point of a continuum between
> complete predictability and complete unpredictability of results. At one end are
> skills like those of plumbers and mechanics, which do not give rise to strong
> professions because outsiders can judge whether the job is well done; supervisors
> know whether the machinery runs or not, although they may not know why. At
> the other end are vague skills like administrative politicking or palm reading;
> these cannot be monopolized because they are too unreliable or idiosyncratic for
> some to successfully train others in them. Other so-called skills may be entirely
> non-existent, such as the case of the social worker, whose professional rhetoric
> covers up activities as welfare functionaries, or of psychiatrists, whose cures do
> not exceed the proportion expectable by chance. And, of course, the activity must

be strongly desired by clients so that they are willing to allow its practitioners a high degree of autonomy and respect in carrying it out. (p. 132-3)

This concept may be particularly interesting when applied to the artistic disciplines. It raises the question of whether a continuum can be made among the disciplines which would explain the hierarchy in the arts. A hypothesis might be that the continuum would include craft on one end and modern conceptual fine arts on the other end, with figurative fine arts somewhere in the middle. If this relationship was demonstrated successfully it could help explain the varying degree of value among these artistic forms.

Community Sanction

Because professional authority is recognized, the community will then grant certain formal and informal privileges and powers to those practicing the profession, often awarding the professional a degree of autonomy (Greenwood, 1957). These privileges and powers may come in various forms: the profession may gain the authority to regulate and control members, possibly through examination or licensure, or the ability to regulate services fees (Social Science Encyclopedia, 1956). The profession then takes on the characteristics of self-governing, autonomous institutions (Denzin and Mettlin, 1968).

Autonomy may be exhibited in two distinct ways, either through organized collectives or individuals. Organized collectives, such as unions, may seek control of the activities that affect their members while individual practitioners try to control the perception of the profession as a whole. Because collectives are trying to control their members, often through certification or licensure, policy is often required to give that group the grounds to command such authority. Meanwhile, policy is not necessary when the autonomy lies with individual practitioners, however, these practitioners still resist

judgment from those outside of their profession while also being disinclined to criticize his or her peers (Pavalko, 1988).

The degree of autonomy an occupation has is often linked to its body of knowledge. If the body of knowledge is complex enough that only the practitioner can understand it, then the community will often recognize the practitioner as the expert and the only one capable of judging the profession. Hence, the body of knowledge and professional authority create the grounds for the practitioner's expertise and allows the profession a monopoly over certain activities. Legislation may further establish the profession's authority and monopoly. Collins (1979) observed that, "the introduction of stringent standards among professionals has always resulted in an improvement of their economic and social position and a restriction of access to their ranks" (p. 137).

Professional associations and organized collectives may use various strategies to increase their monopolization over certain services and practices. In order for an occupation to further its control, it needs to be able to determine "both the number and characteristics of those who can offer to provide a defined set of productive tasks for which there is a demand…[the occupation may also] negotiate collectively as an entity with either labor consumers or the polity, and to organize the institutions of recruitment, training and work placement" (Freidson, 1994, p. 84). It is important to note that "in order to have power delegated to it, an occupation must be organized as an identifiable group: it cannot be a mere aggregation of individuals who claim to have the same set of skills" (Freidson, 1994, p. 173).

How organized groups attempt to monopolize varies, they may "use strategies to increase productivity, hence monetary rewards, to increase political muscle to change

public policy to favor the profession, to raise the quality of new recruits to the profession, or to control access to the profession's body of knowledge" (Silva, 2000, p.). They may also try to control recruitment and training methods, who can enter the labor market, the conditions of what is earned from the work, as well as how and who can evaluate the work (Freidson, 1994). The group may use either associative or closure strategies or some combination of both. Associative strategies are those that assimilate competitors to reduce competition while closure strategies shut out competitors based on the profession's body of knowledge. Closure, or gatekeeping, strategies include the creation of jargon, high admission standards and certification requirements. Associative strategies include financial rewards and normative control (Silva, 2000). Normative controls are those that lead to the internalization of the organizational goals and values by participants. There are a number of ways to do this, including: recruit already committed people, indoctrinate new recruits, expose members to influence of informal work groups and isolate them from outside contact, offer pensions or fringe benefits tied to length of service, select individuals who have acquired the proper values and attitudes through education. Because it is much easier to control all of these factors if legislation designates the profession as the authority – licensing their monopoly – politics is crucial. There are two types of labor: productive, which creates wealth, and political, which determines how wealth is distributed. Professional associations do political work, forming alliances and promoting a certain image of the profession to increase its professional authority (Collins, 1979).

Code of Ethics

Another attribute common to all professions is a code of ethics that defines the relationship among professionals and participants (Greenwood, 1957). A text book definition of code of ethics is, "a regulative set of principles, both written (formal) and unwritten (informal), that declares ideals or standards of behavior which compel certain behavioral action from members of the organization, and makes the 'profession's commitment to the social welfare ... a matter of public record" (Silva, 2000, p. 95). "Ideals may be expressed in moral precepts, laws, religion and art; in short, this is a process by which 'culture' develops, and can also be termed a 'civilizing' process" (Kempers, 1987, p. 8). The code of ethics further protects professionals from outside criticism by serving as a form of self evaluation and building trust among clients (Collins, 1979).

Culture

In order to further the coalescence of the profession, a shared culture is desired. Culture is important because it sets the profession apart from other occupations and unites individual practitioners. It also aids in enhancing the perceived prestige of the profession. Professional culture relates to the norms, symbols and standards of the occupation as established through formal and informal networks (Greenwood, 1957). Social organizations, like professional associations and informal interest groups, are established to promote the culture and insure that the occupation maintains and improves its professional status (Denzin and Mettlin, 1958).

Social organizations create a sense of community within the profession that allows for a distinctive culture to develop. Often within this community, individuals

share a common identity, perceive themselves to have similar destinies and share certain

values and norms. Pavalko (1988) suggests that the following eight attributes will

indicate whether or not a professional community exists:

1. Its members are bound by a sense of identity;
2. Once in it, few leave, so that it is a terminal or continuing status for the most part;
3. Its members share values in common;
4. Its role definitions vis-à-vis both members and nonmembers are agreed upon and the same for all members;
5. Within the areas of communal action there is a common language, which is understood only partially by outsiders;
6. The community has power over its members;
7. Its limits are reasonably clear, though they are not physical and geographical, but social;
8. And, though it does not produce the next generation biologically, it does so socially though its control over the selection of professional trainees, and through its training processes it sends these recruits through an adult socialization process. (p. 25)

Hence, it comes as no surprise that individuals within these professional communities'

are fairly homogenous. This homogeneity occurs for two reasons: anticipatory

socialization and occupational socialization. Anticipatory socialization refers to the fact

that groups are likely to attract individuals that want to emulate something about them.

That is, the individual has a preconceived notion of what it means to be a member of the

group and self socializes to fit the image they have of the group. This image may not

necessarily be correct, but it is a strong force in influencing how they will behave within

the group. This is exaggerated by occupational socialization, which occurs after an

individual has entered the profession, either through training or practice. Occupational

socialization occurs from formal tactics of the professional association, such as credential

and training requirements, code of ethics, and informal relationships with peers (Logan,

1962).

The professional association is particularly important because it is responsible for upholding the culture of the profession and is charged with maintaining the profession's body of knowledge as a scarce resource. Professional associations may also establish accrediting agencies to serve as gatekeepers and further fortify their body of knowledge from outsiders (Social Science Encyclopedia, 1956). The professional association is responsible for communicating the image of the occupation to its members and the public in order to increase the perceived prestige of the group. The success of the professional association at doing this helps explain the variation in resource allocation among professions as well as the demand for services and how professionals are compensated (Freidson, 1994). The power a professional association has also affects the group's ability to influences others, within and outside the association. They not only help develop the profession's culture but may also destroy parts of it, if deemed detrimental to the perceived status of the group: "the successes of knowledge application are 'well publicized (by the professions themselves and the mass media), bringing fame and fortune both to the professions and to some of their outstanding members,' while the failures are 'usually transformed into the failures of individual practitioners and criticism of both the professions and wrongdoers is routinely done behind closed doors" (Silva, 2000, p. 88). Collins (1979) states that "the experiences of selling such services and striving to protect their esoteric quality and ideal image give a common basis for an associational group to form; the interests of the members in wealth, power and prestige motivates them to institute strong collective controls over insiders and to seek monopolistic sanctions against outsiders; and their resources—esoteric skills, techniques and opportunities for playing on layman's emotions, wealth and personal connections that

can be translated into political influence—enable them to organize an occupational

community with strong controls and defenses" (p. 135).

Other attributes

While most researchers agree on the five attributes previously discussed, they do, on

occasion, introduce additional attributes they feel further differentiate professions from

other kinds of occupations. These include:

- The relevance of the work to basic social values or "the applicability of the

   knowledge and services of a work group to crucial, recurring human problems"

   (Pavalko, 1988, p. 18).

- Work is motivated by service in addition to self-interest. Not what motivates

   individuals but how work groups vocalize and the extent to which it is accepted

   by the public. Trust is important as client has to rely on professional so hope

   professional is motivated by service. "The professional does not work in order to

   be paid as much as he is paid *in order that he may work"* (Pavalko, 1988, p. 21).

- Professions should not advertise. Because the service should be in high demand

   and the client should seek the professional, there would be no need. This is one of

   the primary problems Denzin and Norman (1968) see pharmacists have with

   attaining professional status:

> Viewing the drug as a product, the pharmacist is forced to violate some of
> the basic rules of being a professional. The drug as a product necessitates
> advertising for a profit rather than a salary or fee. As a further
> consequence of the product view of the social object the pharmacist
> becomes the agency through which the drug may be obtained rather than
> an individual who makes some service contribution. (p. 378)

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They perceive pharmacists as being "caught between two dominant value-orientations, business versus profession" (p. 379). This is a slightly archaic notion, because as American society has evolved within the last century, commercialism has become second nature and advertising a necessity for almost all occupations. However, because this concept was so strongly imbedded in early notions of professions, even today it has a resounding influence on what is considered a profession and may explain some of the biases embedded within fields. This is a particularly interesting notion when considered in the context of art versus craft.

- Commitment to work is because of higher calling and not financial obligation. Individuals have a long-term or life-long commitment (Pavalko, 1988).

There may be others but these were the most often sited and have particular implications for application to the studio glass movement.

The Role of Education

The advent of professions goes hand-and-hand with the rise of the American education system. During the mid-19th and 20th centuries a change began to take place in the social order. Status was no longer attained "through aristocratic patronage or ownership of property, as in earlier historical periods. Rather, 'the central principle of legitimation is founded on the achievement of socially recognized expertise or more simply on a system of education and credentialing.' The credential—and the standardization it implies—does allow access to all who are adequately trained, but it also is used to legitimate superior rewards and to establish distance from other occupations." (Kahn-Hut and Rosenblum, 1979, p. 691). Education became a fundamental aspect of establishing

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professions and creating a continuum and the emergence of the modern American

university played a significant role, as it enabled occupations to establish bodies of

knowledge and created an accreditation process. "[Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for

Order, 1877-1920, p. 121] stated the universities 'held an unquestionable power to

legitimize, for no new profession felt complete—or scientific—without its distinct

academic curriculum.' Professionals argued their disciplines were becoming more and

more scientific and the only way to understand these developments was through

formalized higher education" (Silva, 2000, p. 11). Universities also helped establish

rituals and symbolism that enhanced the mystique of the occupation, further increasing its

perceived prestige and specialization. Today education is claimed by some to be the

most significant factor in determining an individual's professional success later in life.

Universities weren't always the primary source of professional training.

Historically, apprenticeships and trade schools filled this role:

> Before the emergence of the modern university, knowledge and skills of the
> professions were obtained by future practitioners through apprenticeships or in
> proprietary schools. For a fee, a professional practitioner would tutor a student
> who wished to join the profession. The practitioner would share the secrets of the
> profession, through specialized knowledge, skills, and techniques, and train the
> student until the tutor believed the student was ready to practice. (Silva, 2000, p.
> 12)

The turn of the 19th century saw the establishment of free public elementary schools,

driven by upper and middle class reformers who "[claimed] that education had good

effects on labor productivity, political stability, and moral character" (Collins, 1979, p.

106). Collins (1979) states that their motivation was more closely linked to "[preserving]

a traditional moral culture that was being challenged from several directions: by the

speculative ethos of commercial and industrial expansion just under way; by the rise of a

working-class culture mobilized by urbanization and by trade unions; and, by the beginnings of alien immigration, especially of Irish Catholics" (p. 107). Collins states that "the history of professions is so much entwined with the history of education, [and] both of these are entwined with the history of ethnic conflicts and with the shifting patterns of politics" (p. 173). Hence, education provides a means for preventing certain groups from entering a profession, as educational attainment is often linked to class.

However, toward the end of the 19th Century the educational requirements for all occupations began to rise, with college becoming the norm for major occupations and a high school degree typical among the semi-professions. As these requirements continued to increase at the top of the continuum, it elevated the standards for all those along the continuum as well. Consider again that length of education is directly correlated to professional prestige. Take for example the medical profession, which requires eight years of education plus an additional two years of residency. As one of the longest education programs it is "The Profession" most often held up as the example for all other occupations to aspire to. Many of the most prestigious professions require professional degrees in addition to the basic university degree. It is important to note that professional schools were not always part of the university system and, in fact, historically were in competition with the universities. It wasn't until the 1850s when there was an over abundance of universities whose major competitor was the professional school that the ingenious idea of accreditation and advanced degrees was realized. The appeal of the university was not only in its training capabilities but in the status it would confer to those entering the professional schools. This revelation became a self-fulfilling prophecy and by 1950s the university system was all powerful (Collins, 1979).

The Significance of Professionalization

The study of professionalization is important because work represents such a substantial portion of life and forms the basis of personal identity. This is particularly true in the United States, where, when asked the question, "what do you do?," most people reply with their occupation. Work is an intrinsic part of the American way of life and plays an important role in how individual's perceive themselves. Related to that, is the most obvious reason "professionalism" is such a buzz word in the work place currently – it can influence the prestige and social status of a group. Major determinants of social status today are thought to be educational attainment and income – both of which correlate directly to the professionalization continuum (Pavalko, 1988). As one moves closer towards the professional pole on the continuum, educational attainment and income increase – decreasing as the unskilled pole is approached. These reasons alone are motivation enough for many individuals to desire professional status, as evident by Carter's (1998) interest in increased professionalism for therapeutic recreation specialists, whose "assumption is that the position of the field in the order of occupations would improve if granted status similar to medicine and law"(p. 1). This correlation between education with income and professional status is especially of interest when thinking of the arts. The norm for most occupations, this same correlation is not reflected in the arts, where most artists are very well educated but poorly compensated. Hence, artists have an impetus for wanting their professional status to improve in the hope that their income will more closely align with their education, as it does in other fields.

Outside of the self-motivated benefits of professionalization are some societal

benefits as well. By granting workers a degree of autonomy, professionalization allows

those who know the work best to do it and control it. This creates a double benefit

because people who control their work are perceived to be more committed to it and it

encourages intellectual innovation, which can be richer and more varied. This is also a

driving force behind the desire of artists to further professionalize, as they perceive

increased autonomy and opportunity for innovation the closer they get to the professional

pole.

Finally, professionals themselves are an important source of organizational and

institutional change. As the professional network expands, institutional isomorphism

becomes more likely due to the sharing of resources/theories/practices. This is true even

if organizations vary greatly, because "the external origin of professional authority and

legitimacy renders [professionals] receptive to changes in wider environments and to

institutional pressures" (Hwang, 2005).

Advice from Researchers in Professions

Authors of previous research have left some guidelines and advice for what they

perceived as significant areas in need of further study. Freidson (1994) states that studies

of professions should focus on "analyzing the circumstances in which occupations

become organized as social groups, in classifying them by the source, type and degree of

their organization, and in analyzing them in such a way as to explain both how and why

their form of organization came to be and could be maintained, and what the

consequences of that organization are for the productive division of labor of which they

are part" (p 79). Meanwhile, Silva's (2000) research focused on four questions:

1. What professional associations hoped to gain;

2. What strategies they used to attain the professional association goals;

3. How effective the chosen strategies were;

4. And, the effect each strategy had on professional education.

In their discussion on why pharmacy is a semi-profession, Denzin and Curtis (1968) state in the footnotes, "we do not mean to imply that we are studying what Hughes called the false question 'is this occupation a profession?' This is largely irrelevant. Rather we ask, 'what processes have prevented the members of this particular occupation from calling themselves professionals?" (p. 376). They also note the importance of recognizing that professions are comprised of individuals so the nature of the profession is constantly shifting, as these individuals differentiate and assimilate. This sentiment is echoed by Freidson (1994), "it is necessary to remember that professions are differentiated by intellectual orientation and substantive emphasis as well as by substantive specialty, work-setting and role. It must be assumed that any profession will contain more than one orientation toward its body of knowledge and skill, with contending theories or practices advanced by different formal specialties and informal segments or schools" (p. 36). Freidson also notes that it is important not to exclude minority views because what is popular is always changing. It is also important to be aware of how these differences might be reflected in the professional associations correlated with the profession:

> [A profession's] members do not constitute a homogeneous aggregate but rather are differentiated by substantive specialties and segments, by varying circumstances of practice, by their roles as rank-and-file practitioner, teacher, researcher, and manager, and by their relative pre-eminence as cultural, political and intellectual leaders within the profession and the lay world outside. These differences are often mirrored in separate associations, or sections within an association, including both associations devoted primarily to the advancement and

communication of scientific or scholarly knowledge and procedures. In addition, some associations may be formally allied with particular political parties. (p. 35)

Another area that is perceived to be under studied is semi-professions. Referring to occupations that fall somewhere between unskilled labor and professions, this phenonmenon is referred to as professional marginality. Pavalko (1998) defines professional marginality as "the situation of work groups which, while toward or at the 'profession' end of the continuum on some and often many characteristics, are at the same time noticeably at the opposite end of the continuum on others" and gives the following examples for various occupations that have reached a state of incomplete professionalism:

- Pharmacy: conflicts between business and professional norms

- Teaching: lack of autonomy

- Police: conflict between self-image and public perception

- Photography: inconsistent training/education standards (p. 30)

As most occupations never reach professional status, this becomes a very important question.

The Arts and Professionalism

The concept of professionalism has only been applied in the arts fairly recent and is highly controversial. Because professionalism implies standards, selectiveness and homogeneity while the arts pride themselves on acceptance, openness and diversity these two concepts are often perceived to be in conflict with one another. It seems evident why many artists would resist the idea of professionalism, as those they perceive to embody it – business men, lawyers, accountants, doctors…"the man" – represent the exact image

they tend to rebel against. That being said, the arts are a diversified occupation and this idea does not hold true for all those working in the field. Hence, the idea of professionalizing the arts has been circulating with widening acceptance throughout the last century, although most often informally. Academically, there has been little written about this topic. Kempers (1987) states in his book, *Painting, Power and Patronage: The Rise of the Professional Artist in the Italian Renaissanc,* "It is striking how little attention sociologists have paid art. It is as if they, too, have thought artists immune to the forces operating in society" (p. 6).

Artists in the Workforce

As researchers began to think about artists as a group, it became clear that little was even known about who among the population is working as artists. Several studies have tried to find information about artists as a workforce in the United States. The methods for attaining this type of statistical information are very limited though. Researchers on occupations can often turn to three sources for demographic information: the Statistical Abstract of the United States, Census Bureau reports, or the General Social Survey (White, 1993). These resources often prove less helpful for research in the arts. For example consider the US Census. Most professional categories are clearly defined on the census, however, artists are all lumped together and the criteria for who is working as a professional artist are unclear. Hence, researchers have to be more creative about discovering this information for occupations in the arts. Frey and Pommerehne (1989) suggest eight methods to identify populations of artists that should be employed based on data availability and the research questions being addressed:

- Amount of time devoted to artistic work;

- Earnings from artistic work;

- Reputation among the general public;

- Recognition among other artists;

- Quality of artistic work;

- Membership in a professional artists group or association;

- Professional qualifications (especially education credentials);

- And, subjective self-identification as an artist;

A ninth criterion which was later added by other researchers is presence in a directory of artists (Butler, 2000).

The National Endowment for the Arts has issued several research reports that attempt to tackle the issue of artists as workers. NEA Research Report #37 focuses on four distinct groups of artists (authors, architects, performing artists and artists who work with their hands) to create a profile of these professions by using the census. The authors explain how the census classifies these groups, stating that the data focuses on three things: the industry/employer, which is the kind of business; the occupation, or what kind of work is being undertaken, key activities that define the occupation; and, the organizational sector in which the work is being done, whether it is private, nonprofit, government, self-employed, or working without pay (Alper, Wassall, Jeffri, Greenblatt, & Kay, 1996).

Of particular interest for this investigation, is the information they compiled for *Artists Who Work with Their Hands*, which includes glass artists along with painters, sculptors, craft artists and artist printmakers – a broad spectrum of artists. The authors used census data along with an artist population survey the NEA commissioned to look at

the geographic distribution, age, education, employment and earnings of artists in the

American workforce. Following are some of the more interesting statistics they

discovered:

- Between 1970 and 1990 the total artist population more than doubled, from 720,000 to 1,671,000;
- While about ¾ of these artists are urban residents, this percentage has declined since 1980;
- The median age for male painters/craftspeople was higher at 40 than for all male artists at 37 and the general population. Female median ages of 39 years were higher than for all female artists at 37 but similar to the general labor force;
- The area of education seems to prove the most difficult when comparing Census figures to discrete survey figures. According to the Census, education for both male and female painters and craft artists is just holding steady at the 4-plus years of college level and above, and both years of graduation education and degrees are suspect due to changes in the coding procedure of the Census. According to the findings of the discrete surveys used here, over 40 percent of the painters/craft artists have graduate degrees;
- Self employment rose for both male and female painters and craft artists from 32 % of males and 34 % of females in 1970 to 47% of males and 49% of females in 1990;
- And, females continued to earn less than males in all sectors from 1970 to 1990 even though between 1980 and 1990 female median income for professions more than doubled. (Alper et al., 1996)

These statistics, while vague compared to what is know about other occupations, help to

form a context for thinking about glass artists as part of the labor force of artists and

provides the backdrop for which they do their work.

A second research report by the NEA, titled *More Than Once in a Blue Moon,*

Multiple Jobholdings by American Artists, surveys artists to try to uncover how their role

functions. They revealed that unlike many occupations, artists seldom work a traditional,

full-time job with one organization. Most artists hold two or more jobs in order to make

a living and these jobs may or may not all be in the arts. Interestingly enough they found

that most individuals "who work as artists in their primary jobs utilize the second job as a

source of extra income…[while] those who work as artists in their second jobs are more likely to be either trying out the artistic job as a new profession or recognizing that their art job cannot provide sufficient funds to support them. Second job artists are less likely to hold their art job because of hours or income restraints on their first job" (Alper and Wassall, 2000).

One of the most informative resources for thinking about workforce demographics for artists is actually an annotated directory of studies of artists by Butler (2000) for the Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies. Butler observes that how one defines an artist will invariably affect how one identifies the population from which a sample is drawn, so that it is imperative that anyone doing such research carefully explain their methods. He concludes that the definition of what it means to be an artist is often the result of the identification method used. Hence, he suggests that one should make it clear what identification method and definition of the artist is being used, as well as the strengths, weaknesses and consequences of those choices.

Analytical Framework

This investigation is interested in how glass artists learn to do their work, what the social consequences of being a glass artist are and how individual glass artists and their occupation change each other, respectively. Hence, this study has similar assumptions to what Pavalko (1988) described for sociologists: that work is inherently a type of social relationship; that individuals choose their occupation; that an individual's occupation as a glass artist influences how they interact with others and how others interact with them; that working as a glass artist becomes an intrinsic part of that individual's personal identity; and, that whether or not one chooses to become a glass artist is restricted by

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their time and location. It is with this last point that I would like to add resources; because, of all the art forms, glass blowing is one of the most expensive in terms of equipment and materials.

Another assumption of this investigation is that studio glass artists are motivated to move along the occupational continuum towards the professional pole. Sources for this motivation would be desire for higher social status, greater prestige and socially conferred powers, such as professional autonomy. As previously mentioned, artists defy the correlation between compensation and education evident in most occupations, often receiving much lower compensation than their educational attainment would indicate, which creates pressure to find a balance. It is also assumed that external forces are driving individual glass artists and the field as a whole towards professionalization, such as pressure from gatekeepers (galleries, collectors and museums) and increased competition (more glass artists, more artists, more global competition). Another key actor in the field and a driving force for professionalization is the academic setting in which most early individual glass studios developed. As discussed in Chapter 2, academia provided the safe environment for individual artists to begin exploring glass as an art form and most of the first studios where housed in institutions of higher education. Hence, many of those who are regarded as the stars of the field today were first exposed to the medium while pursuing higher education. Another assumption is that both institutional and individual isomorphism is driving this field. Part of the focus of this investigation will be to explore the extent to which these various internal and external motivations are at play in the professionalization of studio glass artists.

It is important to note that while it is assumed studio glass artists are motivated to move along the occupational continuum that it is not assumed they are consciously engaging in professionalization. Their desire for economic sustainability/stability, reputation, occupational status and recognition leads them to professionalize individually and as a field.

For clarity's sake, significant terms regarding professions and how they will be used for this study follow:

Occupation – Formal work roles or positions where attributes/skills of individual practitioners are recognized internally and externally; a market exchange occurs where work is done for money.

Profession – A limited number of occupations that are recognized as being more prestigious than other occupations because they display the following attributes: systematic theory, professional authority, community sanction, code of ethics, and culture. All professions are occupations but not all occupations are professions.

Semi-Profession – A broad stratum of occupations that display some of the attributes of a profession to varying degrees but not all. Often semi-professions are in the process of professionalization.

Unskilled Labor – Occupations that require little training or education to perform work and are not very prestigious, often poorly compensated and highly supervised.

Professionalism – Displaying attributes of a profession.

Occupational Continuum – Continuum with Unskilled labor as one pole and

Profession as the other. Occupations are arranged along this continuum based

on various attributes and may move either direction because of various

processes and actions undertaken by the occupation as a field or the individual

practitioners. The continuum is seen as a hierarchy, with higher pay, prestige,

intellectual interest, intrinsic satisfaction, autonomy and social rewards being

associated with the professional pole. It is also important to note that, as an

occupation moves along this continuum, it affects other occupations'

positions.

Professionalization – The process by which occupations can shift their position

along the Occupational Continuum through the use of various resources,

attributes and methods.

It is important to note here that the definition of occupation to be used in this study does

not indicate that work has to be performed within one full-time position, as is often

assumed. The way people work has been changing rapidly over the last decade, with

many people working multiple part-time jobs or projects for different employers that,

when viewed as a whole, may be seen as the equivalent of one full-time job. Therefore,

this study has expanded upon the assumption that an occupation must equal one full-time

job for a single employer or firm to allow a broader and more inclusive understanding of

what occupations may be. However, it is significant that these multiple part-time jobs

require similar work if they are to be considered the equivalent of a full-time occupation.

This concept, also referred to as portfolio careers, will be expanded upon in the next

chapter.

The review of literature regarding the arts and professionalization has revealed many of the difficulties in conducting this investigation. As noted, demographic information that is readily available for other occupations is often difficult to obtain for artists; this is even further exasperated for studio glass artists, a distinct and small population within this broader category. Hence, the next chapter will begin by culling what little information is available to present a demographic sketch of studio glass artists currently working in America before exploring the presence of these attributes and what is being done to advance them within the field.

As the literature review has also shown, a shift occurred between the 1960's and the 1990's regarding what question was being asked about occupations. Rather than ask, "Is this occupation a profession," researchers began to consider what steps occupations were taking to professionalize. Hence, this investigation will assess where along the continuum glass artists are and how this position is changing, attribute by attribute. This investigation will take a cue from DiMaggio (1991) and differentiate during the discussion of each attribute to what extent the professionalization process is being driven by the individual practitioners and the field collectively, as represented by professional associations, education and training institutions and accrediting agencies.

The observation that work has changed since the early Twentieth Century is related to the shift in the economy mentioned earlier. As the American economy has shifted from manufacturing to knowledge, it is important to remember that some of the assumptions made by researchers doing early work on professions are no longer valid.

Hence, some indicators, such as those that regard commercialism or culture, need to be carefully considered for today's context.

Also like DiMaggio, this study will modify the list of attributes that were developed by Greenwood (1965): systematic theory, professional authority, community sanction, code of ethics and culture. This investigation will use Greenwood's notions of systematic theory and professional authority, but will encompass code of ethics within this latter attribute. This decision was based on the observation that code of ethics could not stand on its own as an attribute when compared with the others to be considered. Meanwhile, community sanction is reinterpreted as community recognition, since today "sanction" tends to have a negative connotation. It was also perceived that some forms of community recognition are not so formal or definitive as sanctions might indicate. And finally, notions of culture are found within professional authority and the fourth attribute to be explored, field structuration. Field structuration refers to attempts by the occupation to shape itself through institutionalization and homogenization. The diagram on page 69 visually expresses the relationship between these four attributes.

In the diagram, each attribute is represented by a different color sphere and intersects each of the other attributes. The color is not important and is used only to help differentiate between the attributes and their respective indicators. What is significant is the areas where these circles overlap, as seen by the lines and variations in color found in the middle. In the very center is the right mix of each attribute for an occupation to be considered a profession. This diagram does not attempt to make any claims about what mix of each attribute is necessary but does indicate that a combination of all of them is necessary to achieve professional status. It is also assumed that this "right" mix does not

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have to be the same for all professions. This diagram also shows that there are other

areas where two to three of the attributes overlap. These are the areas where semi-

professions would appear and incites the import of the continuum. It is assumed that

those occupations who have achieved three attributes would be closer to the professional

pole of the continuum than those with two attributes.

A series of four to six indicators further defines each of the four attributes. These

indicators help determine the extent to which an occupation has achieved each attribute.

Represented by arrows, the indicators are the driving forces of the attributes. It is

important to note though that these arrows are double-headed to signify that these

indicators are part of a constant feedback loop back to the occupation and field that

reinforces their behaviors.   These indicators are located in a circle around the attributes

because any combination might exist for a particular occupation. It is assumed that the

fewer indicators around the circle the closer to the unskilled pole of the continuum an

occupation would be. This diagram makes no claim as to what combination of indicators

is necessary within each attribute for an occupation to land in the center as a profession.

Nor does it indicate what combination of each attribute's indicators is needed in

relationship to one another. It is hypothesized that some indicators rely on the

achievement of an indicator in another attribute. For example, it seems unlikely that the

occupation's expertise could become increasingly salient to society (community

recognition) if the occupation has not established its specialized knowledge, technical

skills and ideational skills (systematic theory). This concept will be tested when the

model is applied in Chapter 5.

It is also significant that, as one moves left to right on the diagram, control shifts from internal to external. This is meant to indicate the degree to which individuals within the occupation can influence each attribute. Hence, systematic theory is the attribute individuals are most capable of achieving for their occupation. The indicators within systematic theory may all be achieved to some degree by those within the occupation. Meanwhile, at the other pole is community recognition, which is controlled externally. As indicated by its name, community recognition requires those outside the occupation to recognize the work being done. While individuals within the occupation might work to influence indicators for this attribute, they have to rely on outsiders in order to achieve any success. Professional authority and field structuration are located in the center of this continuum. Both of these attributes rely in part on players external to the occupation, as is more evident in some indicators than others. Many of the indicators for both of these attributes may be the result of action on the part of the occupation but require external validation for impact. For instance, while the occupation can creates its own means for self-evaluation and attempt to control judgment of its work, peer evaluation has to be condoned or approved externally (professional authority).

Internal Control ← → **External Control**

Increasing density of contacts

Emergence of a center-periphery structure

Organization of professional associations

Increasing flow of relevant information

Collective definition of the field

Increasing salience of occupation's expertise

Formal institutions for transmitting knowledge

Public grants control of work

Specialized knowledge & skills

Field Structuration

Systematic Theory

Profession

Community Recognition

Increased political standing

Systematic evaluation and standards

Professional Authority

Lifelong learning expectation

Code of ethics

Benchmarks / Career path

Associative strategies

Peer Evaluation

Closure strategies

Ability to regulate members

Work motivated by service

Figure 3.1 Attributes of Professionalization

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The following discussion will outline the indicators and evidence to be used in Chapter 5 will be given for each. A brief introduction and diagram of the attribute will begin each section and be followed by the indicators and evidence.

Systematic Theory

Systematic theory refers to the knowledge necessary to perform the work of the occupation. Often regarded as the key attribute from which all others may follow, several indicators will be used to determine the degree to which studio glass artists have established systematic theory for their field.

Figure 3.2 Indicators and Evidence for Systematic Theory

A. Reward of innovation (awards, profiled in journals and exhibitions)
B. Historiography and theory as evident in publications, textbooks and research

A. Exhibit and show criteria entry requirements
B. Established criticism standards and channels for distribution

A. Educational curriculum, training and requirements
B. Record of education and training experiences of recognized "stars" (leaders)

A. Internship and apprentice systems
B. Professional schools and university programs

Lifelong learning expectation

Systematic evaluation and standards

Specialized knowledge and skills

Formal institutions for transmitting knowledge

Systematic Theory

Lifelong learning expectation.

Because professional work is a passion, those involved in this work dedicate their lives to it. Since the body of knowledge is the core of a profession, individual practitioners should be constantly attempting to build this attribute and hone their expertise. Hence, there is a constant impetus for progress and the development of new skills (Kempers, 1987). This would also result in the establishment of historiography and theory for the field (Greenwood, 1957).

Evidence of continued improvement and new ideas should be found within the field through new work, techniques and technologies. Innovation should be highlighted and rewarded by the field as may be evident in awards, journals and exhibitions. Evidence of historiography and theory for the field would be the existence of scholarly publications, texts and research generated by the individual practitioners.

Specialized knowledge, technical skills and ideational skills.

This indicator suggests that a professionalized occupation requires its workers to develop professional skills in addition to technical skills, that they not only know how to do something but why they do it. These professional skills might include administrative, managerial and business skills, as well as the theoretical understanding of the work to be done. Another aspect of this is suggested by Pavalko (1988) when he said that training would be ideational with a focus on manipulating ideas and symbols rather than simply things and physical objects.

This investigation will explore what skills and abilities are necessary for achieving success in the field today by reviewing educational training and curriculum requirements for emerging glass artists. The study will also record the education and

training experiences of recognized leaders in the field to look for commonalities. Exploratory interviews will also help reveal what types of knowledge are shared by studio glass artists.

Formal institutions for transmitting knowledge.

Formal intuitions of learning are a good indicator of whether or not an occupation displays this attribute for two reasons: 1) it implies that the knowledge needed to perform the work is complex enough that any lay person is not capable of it; and, 2) it enables the field to be more protective of its body of knowledge, creating a mechanism to better control access (Denzin & Mettlin, 1968). However, DiMaggio (1991) cites the production of university trained experts in particular as indicating that an occupation is achieving professional status.

Evidence of this indicator would be the existence of internships, apprenticeships, professional schools and university programs. Of particular interest is the career path for determining the minimum amount of education necessary for achieving success as a studio glass artist.

Systematic evaluation and standards.

This indicator suggests that there should be established theories for criticism and evaluation of the work being performed by the occupation. Work should be judged objectively and those within the occupation should be aware of the criteria (Social Science Encyclopedia, 1956).

Evidence of this attribute may be found in exhibit and show requirements, which would require consistent or rising qualities and qualifications. Further evidence would be

the existence of established standards of criticism for the art form and recognized distribution channels for criticism.

Field Structuration

Field structuration refers to attempts by the occupation to shape itself through institutionalization and homogenization, which allows the occupation to further its professional authority and garner more community recognition. As the name implies, indicators within this attribute deal with organization, uniting individual practitioners. Field structuration helps determine the culturally by more narrowly defining the occupation.

Field Structuration diagram with radiating arrows to the following items:

A. Shared identity communicated through journals and articles

A. Existence of a professional association that represents collective field
B. Study professional associations to determine who joins which and why, searching for overlaps and gaps

A. Regional and national conferences
B. Regional and national advisory activities

A. Same set of organizations always cited in journals, web sites and bios
B. Public and private grants and awards given to same set of organizations

A. Demonstrations and workshops
B. Retreats and residencies
C. Increased resources, such as books, journals and web sites

Arrow labels:
- Collective definition of the field
- Organization of professional associations
- Increasing density of contacts
- Emergence of a center-periphery structure
- Increasing flow of relevant information

Central circle: **Field Structuration**

Figure 3.3 Indicators and Evidence for Field Structuration

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Collective definition of the field.

One of the most significant aspects of field structuration is that there is a shared understanding of the field and that individual practitioners identify with one another (DiMaggio, 1991). A profession tends to be characterized as having a professional culture, meaning that individual practitioners share a common identity and perceive themselves to have similar destinies. This culture is the result of the other attributes of professions; it may be the manifestation of similar education and training, professional association's associative strategies, individual's internalization of the code of ethics or some other combination of shared experiences. Often, individuals working within this field are identifiable with their profession by outsiders as well because of the distinctive culture. Culture refers to the norms that develop within the field. This indicator is important for various reasons but in particular because without a collective definition political and social influence is limited for the field as little can be accomplished when an occupation is fragmented.

Evidence for this indicator will be gleaned from journals and articles to assess whether or not a shared identity is communicated through these resources. Exploratory interviews with individual glass artists will be used as well to help garner additional insights.

Organization of professional associations.

Professional associations can serve many functions, not the least of which may be to advance the culture among its members, form alliances inside and out of the field and promote a certain image of the occupation to those outside it, in order increase its professional authority (Collins, 1979).

This indicator will be explored by determining what professional associations exist for glass artists, who joins which association and why, what overlap occurs between associations and if there appear to be any gaps for the types of professional associations that should exist.

Just as there should be a collective definition of the field and the existence of professional associations to advance the occupation, the emergence of a single, collective association to represent the field can be a powerful political and social activist on behalf of the occupation. Through the analysis of the previous two indicators, this investigation will evaluate whether any such organization exists.

Emergence of a center-periphery structure (DiMaggio, 1991).

This concept refers to the emergence of several prominent and key players within the field; organizations that become the stars and are held up as the model to the rest of the field.

This indicator will be explored by reviewing journals, web sites and bios to determine whether or not particular institutions are mentioned repeatedly. The investigation will also assess which organizations tend to garner more attention via public and private grants and awards.

Increasing density of inter-organizational contacts (DiMaggio, 1991).

This is the idea that everyone knows everyone as the field is becoming increasingly smaller. This may be the result of controlling who enters and/or because the primary audience is the practitioner's professional peers.

Evidence for this indicator would be the existence of regional and national conferences and advisory activities.

Increasing flow of organizationally and professionally relevant information (DiMaggio, 1991).

This indicator refers to the development of the easy exchange of ideas and information in the field. This is important as it helps bring individual practitioners together and fosters new ideas. It is also an impetus for isomorphism as norms become more established.

Evidence for this indicator would be increased opportunities for continuing education, such as demonstrations, workshops, retreats and residencies as well as a greater number of resources such as book, journals and web sites.

Professional Authority

Professional authority refers to the occupation's ability to regulate and control itself; the degree of autonomy it establishes for itself or is awarded by society. Professional authority is often garnered from the occupation's establishment of a systematic theory, which ascertains the occupation as the expert. As mentioned before, occupations need to monopolize the knowledge necessary to perform their work in order to increase their professional authority. An economic concept, monopolies allow those in control greater flexibility with regard to service, price and quality because there is no competition as an alternative. Hence, if the good is a necessity, the monopoly's power has fewer limits, because as the only source of the good the monopoly will have to be patronized to obtain it. This concept may also be applied to knowledge and professions often have a monopoly of necessary abilities, for example, medicine. There are many ways an occupation can try to monopolize on its knowledge.

A. Examination, licensure or degree requirements
B. Industry norms for work (pay, hours, conditions)

A. Specialized language
B. High admission standards

A. Peer-juried exhibits, awards and shows
B. Articulation of field standards

A. Recruitment of people already committed to norms and values of the occupation
B. Exposure of members to influence of informal work groups and isolate them from outside contact
C. Selection of individuals who have acquired occupation's norms and values through education

A. Evidence of shared experiences, educational attainment, etc from glass artists' bios and resumes
B. Common definition of "success" exists

A. Formal (written)
B. Informal (unwritten) - exploratory interviews

Ability to regulate members

Closure strategies

Peer Validation

Associative strategies

Benchmarks / Career path

Code of ethics

Professional Authority

Figure 3.4 Indicators and Evidence for Professional Authority

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Peer evaluation.

As Collins (1979) so well described it, the basic premise of this indicator is that the work performed by the occupation has results that are predictable enough to be consistent but not too reliable. The work needs to be consistent in order to demonstrate knowledge and be able to pass on the ability but if the work is too reliable anyone would be able to judge it. Hence, the primary audience for the individual practitioner is their professional peers (Silva, 2000).

Evidence of this indicator would be juries for exhibitions, awards and shows comprised only of other glass artists. The standards for artistic excellence in the field would have been established by those working within the occupation and they may actually write criticism as well.

Associative strategies to assimilate competitors.

An occupation may use associative strategies to assimilate competitors. Evidence of this would be the existence of financial rewards or normative controls: the recruitment of people already committed to norms/values; the exposure of members to influence of informal work groups and isolate them from outside contact; pensions or fringe benefits tied to length of service; or, the selection of individuals who have acquired the proper values and attitudes through education (Silva, 2000).

Benchmarks of success are widely understood (career path).

This indicator refers to the idea that benchmarks exist. These benchmarks would be found within an individual's career and should be easily recognized by others within the field. In essence, these individuals set the bar for the rest of the field and create the standards for determining success and advancement. Within a professionalized

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occupation, one would expect to find a model career path for how to achieve similar success. This career path makes it clear to someone entering an occupation how they should go about doing so. As such, this career path would include various benchmarks of success. Before a career path can be acknowledged, it must be determined what a successful career entails.

The first step in assessing this indicator is to determine whether or not an agreed upon definition of success exists for the field. If a clear definition of success is recognized by practitioners in the field, the next question turns to the existence of a career path. Evidence of whether or not a clear career path with benchmarks exists may be found in successful glass artists' bios and resumes. If a clear career path exists, these bios and resumes might reflect shared experiences in terms of awards, education and training, collections, and distribution venues. Exploratory interviews will also be used to determine whether these individuals share a common perception of their chosen occupation's career path.

Code of Ethics.

Code of ethics refers to the norms, symbols and standards of the occupation as established through formal and informal networks (Greenwood, 1957). A more formal definition is offered by Silva (2000): a code of ethics is a "regulative set of principles, both written (formal) and unwritten (informal), that declares ideals or standards of behavior which compel certain behavioral action from members of the organization" (p. 95).

The most straight-forward of all the indicators, the clearest evidence for is the existence of a formal, written code of ethics that is recognized and accepted by the field

as a whole. If a formal code of ethics does not exist, an informal code may be discovered through exploratory interviews.

Ability to regulate members.

This indicator is fairly self explanatory and regards the ability of the field to control who enters (and exits) the occupation, how the work is performed, how individuals are compensated, etc (Social Science Encyclopedia, 1956).

Evidence of this indicator would be examination, degree or licensure requirements to perform the work. Other evidence might be the existence of industry norms for work (hours, conditions, etc.) and pay (monetary or otherwise).

Closure strategies to shut out competitors.

An occupation may use closure strategies to shut out competitors. Evidence of closure strategies would be the development of specialized language, high admission standards or certification requirements.   (Silva, 2000)

Community Recognition

Community recognition, as its name implies, relies on society to grant an occupation certain benefits, such as autonomy, power, etc. This recognition may be subtle as an occupation being left to its own devices to as formal as legislation regarding who can grant access to the work. Because this attribute is controlled externally it is the most difficult to obtain, so fewer occupations display indicators of this attribute.

A. Increased validity and public appreciation
B. Awarded public funds to perform work

A. Licensure or accreditation requirements to perform work established through policy

A. Advocacy and/or lobbying occurs, either through grassroots efforts or organization

A. Evident in formal or informal code of ethics
B. Professional associations will emphasize when promoting the organization

Increasing salience of occupation's expertise to the society

Granted control of work by the public

Increased political standing

Expect work to be motivated by service

Community Recognition

Figure 3.5 Indicators and Evidence for Community Recognition

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Increasing salience of occupation's expertise to society.

This indicator refers to the public's need for the occupation's work. If the occupation is performing work that is highly important to society, society will want to foster the occupation.

Evidence of this indicator would be the awarding of public funds to the occupation through contracts, grants, scholarships or subsidies. Other evidence would be the existence of not for profit organizations that rely on charitable contributions to operate.

Expect work to be motivated by service.

This indicator refers to the public's expectation that professional work is motivated by service, unlike unskilled labor which tends to be motivated only by self-interest. Hence, some consider the professions to be a "calling," implying that those individual's who chose this work do so for the betterment of the greater good rather than their own personal ego. This belief can be an important assertion for why an occupation can be entrusted with professional authority and greater autonomy. It is also an important belief if society is to entrust the occupation with the knowledge.

This indicator may play a significant role in how an occupation frames its work and discusses its motivations. Evidence of this indicator may exist in formal or informal code of ethics. Professional associations may also emphasize this motivation when promoting the occupation.

Increased political standing.

An occupation may try to increase its political standing in order to advocate on behalf of the profession (Silva, 2000). In order to receive public funds or garner a monopoly through legislation, an occupation may enhance these possibilities as a political player. However, it is just as important for an occupation to have political clout in order to protect itself from policies that may indirectly affect it. Examples of this may be tax laws or provisions that would inadvertently change the way the occupation could perform its work. Or, legislation may regard another occupation but as mentioned in the literature review, shifts along the continuum for one occupation will have a ripple affect on others. Hence, there is an invested interest on the behalf of the occupation to take an active role in the political process.

Evidence of this would be the existence of advocacy/lobbying efforts either through grass roots initiatives or organizations.

Granted control of work by the public.

This indicator builds on the concepts in professional authority, only now society is formally granting control of the work to the occupation through policy. An example of this is a medical license, as those practicing medicine without one are criminally culpable. Occupations with this kind of control have a true monopoly over their knowledge.

Evidence of this indicator would be the establishment of public policy that requires a license to perform the work or accreditation to teach the skill/knowledge of the occupation.

Conclusion

This investigation will use the analytical framework developed in this chapter to draw

conclusions about the process and extent of professionalization of studio glass artists in

America. Before applying this framework though, the next chapter will give the

background information to be used as evidence in applying this framework, such as

demographics, an industry map and a brief literature review of portfolio careers.

CHAPTER 4

INTRODUCTION TO STUDIO GLASS ART AS A FIELD

This chapter will explore what it means to be working as a studio glass artist in the United States today. Beginning with an introduction to the field using demographics and a map of the industry, this chapter will establish the context for assessment in Chapter 4. Similarly to Chapter 2, this introduction to the field is a generalized picture and is not meant to be understood as a thorough examination. The intended purpose of this chapter is to introduce the reader to the field and identify issues in the field. A quick literature review of portfolio careers will reveal why this budding concept is so pertinent to the arts and the work of studio glass artists, which is often through multiple job holdings, as a career to be included in the discussion of professionalization.

Studio Glass Artists Demographics

As was discussed in the previous chapter, the arts are a field where little is known about those who undertake this occupation relative to other careers. Little statistical information is available and often information about median ages/wages/etc are extremely subjective because of who is counted and who isn't: "changes [in numbers] not only rely on demand factors, but also raise definitional issues concerning what the artistic occupations are, where the boundaries of the artistic sector lie, and whether one should rather adopt a more expansive approach, both in terms of cultural occupations, so as to include arts-related occupations, and terms of the cultural-sector" (Menger, 1999, p. 543). However, there are some generalizations that are commonly accepted:

Artists as an occupational group are on average younger than the general work force, are better educated and better looking (just checking to see if you are paying attention:), tend to be more concentrated in a few metropolitan areas, show higher rates of self-employment, higher rates of unemployment and of several forms of constrained underemployment (nonvoluntary part-time work, intermittent work, fewer hours of work) and are more often multiple job holders. They earn less than workers in their reference occupational category, that of professional, technical and kindred workers, whose members have comparable human capital characteristics (education, training and age) and have larger income inequality and variability. (Menger, 1999, p. 545)

Researchers are starting to explore the demographics and working conditions for more narrowly defined occupations in the arts as well. Roland Kushner's (2005) interests in human resource management for choral conductors lead him to carry out a study of more than 600 conductors. In an attempt to determine if certain characteristics correlate to job satisfaction, he observed eleven criteria, including education, associations, income and benefits, satisfaction level and intention to remain in the field. He discovered that most choral conductors have multiple jobs, with the median conductor leading 2.5 choruses. As is often the case in the arts, despite the typical correlation between educational attainment and income found in other careers, Kushner found that most choral conductors are earning an income near the poverty line in spite of the fact that half of the respondents had an MA and a quarter had a PhD. More fascinating still was the fact that in spite of the low earning potential, most choral conductors said they hoped to be conducting for the rest of their lives, demonstrating a strong commitment to their profession. Another interesting finding was that higher incomes and satisfaction among choral conductors seemed to correlate to membership in certain professional associations.

Studio Glass Artists

For all of the reasons previously discussed very few statistics are available regarding the

demographics of studio glass artists. Little is documented regarding the number, gender,

age, income or location of artists in this medium. In order to get some sense of the scope

of the field and its workers, information will be gleaned from various sources published

within the last five years.

The first source to look for demographic information about occupations is often

the U.S. Census Bureau. Menger (1999) gives a concise and comprehensive overview of

the problem with using data from the Census:

> The list of limitations and discrepancies of Census data as well as non-Census
> data opens almost every research report on artistic occupations: to mention only a
> few issues, such a list may identify as problems the definition of who is a
> professional artist and how his or her occupation is determined; the delimitation
> of each specific artistic field, and the inclusion or exclusion of peripheral
> specialties within a field in a way that may be inconsistent over time or vary from
> one survey to the other; the variations in job classifications and the periodic
> addition of new occupations to the artists' subset in the Census classification; the
> lack of any serious treatment of multiple job holding, which is pervasive in the
> arts, whatever the combination of jobs and occupations inside or outside the
> sphere of arts may be.

Unfortunately, the Census information is just as problematic as described in regards to

studio glass artists. There are two categories where these individuals might self-identify,

creating a potential for error. The first is "Glass Making and Blowing by Hand," which is

one of thirty eight distinctions within the category of "Other Pressed and Blown Glass

and Glassware Manufacturing." In the 2002 NAICS, twenty three establishments were

identified in the category "Handmade Pressed and Blown Glassware, made by Glass

Producers" and employed 1,485 people, 1,092 of which were production workers. While

this is the most direct reference to glassblowing, it seems unlikely many artists would be

identified here because it represents manufacturing; however, it is not entirely clear. The other, potentially more likely classification, is "Individual Artists" within the category "Arts, Entertainment and Recreation." This option is very broad though and is not very useful for gathering information about studio glass artists specifically, since it includes artists working in many other mediums.

Another source for information is the Occupational Outlook Handbook, Ed 2006-07 (OOH), which is published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the US Department of Labor. This publication is based on the census and is revised every two years. According to the Bureau's web site, the OOH "is a nationally recognized source of career information, designed to provide valuable assistance to individuals making decisions about their future work lives." Information for each career includes: the training and education needed, earnings, expected job prospects, what workers do on the job and working conditions.

In the OOH, artists who work with glass may again fall into two categories: they are included among "sculptors" in the category of "fine artists" or may be counted among "craft artists," both of which are included in the career tract "Artists and Other Related Workers." This category includes four distinct careers: art directors, craft artists, fine artists and multi-media artists. Four "significant points" highlight the major characteristics of this category, as described in three pages:

- About 63 percent of artists and related workers are self-employed.
- Keen competition is expected for both salaried jobs and freelance work; the number of qualified workers exceeds the number of available openings because the arts attract many talented people with creative ability.
- Artists usually develop their skills through a bachelor's degree program or other postsecondary training in art or design.

- Earnings for self-employed artists vary widely; some well-established artists earn more than salaried artists, while others find it difficult to rely solely on income earned from selling art. (p. 1)

It is interesting to look at the distinction the OOH makes between craft artists and fine artists, since these are the two categories glass artists might be counted in:

> Craft artists hand-make a wide variety of objects that are sold either in their own studios, in retail outlets or at arts-and-crafts shows. Some craft artists may display their works in galleries or museums. Craft artists work with many different materials – ceramics, glass, textiles, wood, metal and paper – to create unique pieces of art, such as pottery, stained glass, quilts, tapestries, lace, candles and clothing. Many craft artists also use fine-art techniques – for example, painting, sketching and printing – to add finishing touches to their art. (p. 1)
>
> Fine artists typically display their work in museums, commercial art galleries, corporate collections and private homes. Some of their artwork may be commissioned (done on request from clients), but most is sold by the artist or through private galleries or dealers. The gallery and the artist predetermine how much each will earn from the sale. Only the most successful fine artists are able to support themselves solely through the sale of their works. Most fine artists have at least one other job to support their arts career. Some work in museums or art galleries as fine-arts directors or as curators, planning and setting up art exhibits. A few artists work as art critics for newspapers or magazines or as consultants to foundations or institutional collectors. Other artists teach art classes or conduct workshops in schools or in their own studios. Some artists also hold full-time or part-time jobs unrelated to the art field and pursue fine art as a hobby or second career. (p. 1)

It appears that the major distinction made by the OOH between craft artists and fine artists is the outlets through which their work is sold. To those inside the field, this is an overly simplified explanation of a very complex issue. Comparisons have long been made between art and craft, with art often being held up as the superior form. The line between the two has been blurring though as craft artists have become more sophisticated and fine artists have pushed the boundaries of what is included within "art."

The OOH further complicates this by referring to these two categories simultaneously while talking about training and advancement as well as job outlook:

> Postsecondary training is recommended for all artist specialties. Although formal training is not strictly required, it is very difficult to become skilled enough to make a living without some training. (p. 2)

> Craft and fine artists advance professionally as their work circulates and as they establish a reputation for a particular style. Many of the most successful artists continually develop new ideas, and their work often evolves over time. (p. 2)

> Craft and fine artists work mostly on a freelance or commission basis and may find it difficult to earn a living solely by selling their artwork. Only the most successful craft and fine artists receive major commissions for their work. Competition among artists for the privilege of being shown in galleries is expected to remain acute, and grants from sponsors such as private foundations, State and local arts councils, and the National Endowment for the Arts should remain competitive. Nonetheless, studios, galleries, and individual clients are always on the lookout for artists who display outstanding talent, creativity, and style. Among craft and fine artists, talented individuals who have developed a mastery of artistic techniques and skills will have the best job prospects. (p. 3)

Furthermore, emphasis is placed on the need for fine artists to augment the sale of their work through various other means, which is not mentioned at all for craft artists, implying that craft artists can rely solely on their work. However, a quick review of the numbers reported tells a different story. While 208,000 jobs were held by artists in 2004, 29,000 of those jobs were reported by fine artists while only 6,100 reported as craft artists. Meanwhile, the median annual earnings for salaried craft artists was $23,520, with the middle 50% earning between 18-33K, the lowest 10% earning less than 15K and the highest 10% earning more than 45K. When compared to salaried fine artists, whose median annual earnings was $38,060, with the middle 50% earning between 25-52K, the lowest 10% earning less than 17K and the highest 10% earning more than 69K, it seems

obvious that earning a living as a craft artist is typically at least as daunting as that of a fine artist.

Some information is also available from various associations interested in arts and crafts. These studies and surveys are plagued by similar limitations as the government documents, their credibility being further undermined by a possible conflict of interest in the information to be collected.

The Crafts Report (2006) is a monthly magazine for craft professionals whose mission is to "inform, instruct and inspire the craftsperson and crafts retailer at all levels by providing them: how-to articles on all facets of crafts business management and related topics; relevant industry news, as well as information on current issues and trends; a forum for exchanging ideas and concerns; and, encouragement and recognition." Since 1999, The Crafts Report (2001, 2002, 2003) has been conducting surveys of its readers that tried to capture income levels for artists working in various mediums. These surveys are conducted by The Crafts Report staff through their print and on-line publications by providing a window of opportunity for readers to respond via mail or e-mail. The year-end results are then compiled and published as a brief overview of average sales among mediums. Response tends to be limited (less than 250 full-time artists) and there is a real bias in who responds as well as who has the potential to respond. Full findings are never published as statistics are used to highlight changes or trends.

The following chart shows the number of respondents and the average gross salaries for full-time and part-time craft artists for 2001, 2002 and 2003. (Although the survey results have been published annually since 2000 these were the only results found by searching The Crafts Report's web site.) It is important to note that survey

participants self-selected whether they working full-time or part-time and no definition of how these terms should be applied was provided. Nothing is revealed about whether the work is done part-time or what these respondents do the rest of the time.

	2001	2002	2003
# of total respondents	756	435	388
# Full-time	389	222	197
Average gross sales	$68,097	$86,117	$65,904
# Part-time	367	213	191
Average gross sales	$9,324	$12,414	$20,425

Table 4.1: The Crafts Report Survey Responses from 2001, 2002 and 2003

The total number of respondents is limited and has declined each year, which could indicate that fewer craft artists are working or might just be a problem with the collection mechanism. It is interesting that in each year almost an equal number of part-time and full-time craft artists respond, although as mentioned previously there is most likely a selection bias. Because no definition was given for these terms, it is unclear what the working conditions for each may be, so it is difficult to use the average gross sales figures in a meaningful way. Even with these caveats, the usefulness of these figures is questionable. While one might hope that the explanation for the upward trend in sales among part-time artists is the result of them being more successful, it could also be the case that an outlier is affecting the figures, since no median is given. Neither do the

survey results indicate whether the mediums artists are reporting for is changing from year to year, which could greatly affect the average sales figures.

The only other information reported consistently was sales for markets reported by artists. These results seem the most useful because they remain steady for all three years, although half of the information is not reported for the year 2002. Each year, the top market remains retail shows, and this trend actually strengthens from 2001 to 2003. Meanwhile, the worst market across the board is through the internet, which on average comprises only 2% of the total sales for the craft artists who responded.

Sales by market	2001	2002	2003
Retail shows	31%	43%	43%
Wholesale shows	28%	23%	22%
Sell direct to galleries	21%	?	23%
Consign to galleries	6%	?	6%
Other	13%	?	4%
Internet	2%	2%	2%

Table 4.2: Sales by Market for 2001, 2002 and 2003

Interestingly enough, the headlines for the articles announcing these survey results often proclaim the top medium for average sales for full-time artists, yet only in 2001 does the article give complete information about sales for the other categories, as shown in the chart below. Rendering this information even less useful is the fact that each year the

survey results show additional categories of mediums, which makes it unclear whether

these mediums were included before but in other categories or if they weren't being

represented. And finally, the legitimacy of these average sales figures is further called in

to question when the 2003 article reveals that craft artists who make furniture had

average sales of $239,250 but that this number was the result of five respondents, a

sample size that is too small to give this figure much validity.

Average sales/medium for full-time artists	2001	2002	2003
Jewelry	$99,876	?	?
Glass	$77,517	?	?
Fiber (wearable)	$73,888	?	?
Fiber (decorative)	$68,333	?	?
Metal (not jewelry)	$64,728	$107,994	?
Wood	$63,628	?	?
Ceramics	$52,628	?	?
Mixed Media	$48,281	?	?
Other	$41,181	?	?
Polymer Clay	n/a	?	?
Beads	n/a	?	?
Recycled Material	n/a	?	?
Furniture	n/a	?	$239,250
Book art	n/a	n/a	?
Paper art	n/a	n/a	?
Handbags	n/a	n/a	?
Mosaics	n/a	n/a	?
Leather	n/a	n/a	?
Clocks	n/a	n/a	?
Toys	n/a	n/a	$27,000

Table 4.3: Average Sales/Medium for Full-time Artists for 2001, 2002 and 2003

Overall, the information from The Crafts Report surveys is limited in its usefulness

because of missing or incomplete information about the respondents and their answers.

Furthermore, these figures are also problematic because they use average sales. Average

sales represent these craft artists gross rather than profit. So while $200,000 might sound

like a lot, without knowing average costs this figure reveals very little. Sure, furniture

makers might gross more than $200K, but if they are spending on average $250K, the

picture is much different than if they are spending $50K.

In October of 2004 the Craft Emergency Relief Fund (CERF) published survey

results from its National Craft Artists Research Project. Founded in 1985 to "strengthen

and sustain the careers of craft artists across the United States," CERF first fulfilled its

mission by raising funds and making grants to craft artists. Wanting to expand the

services it offered, CERF conducted this national study to inform the field and their

program planning. The survey instrument was created by Dreezen and posted on-line

where invitations were e-mailed to various craft associations' membership to respond

during a three month period. Responses were received from 1,554 craft artists, of which

CERF qualified 1,189 as professional based on whether or not respondents spent half

their time or earned half of their income from their craft (Dreezen, 2004). Following are

many of the key findings from this study. (*Indicates results based on all responses, not

just those defined as professional.)

- Demographics
  - *The largest number of all responding craft artists live in cities or other urban settings, however, they were fairly evenly distributed. Overall 58% live in cities or the suburbs and 41% in rural areas, towns, or villages.
  - *The largest number of all respondents were most comfortable with the label "artist." Next most popular was a label specific to their media, e.g., jeweler, wood turner, or ceramic artist. CERF's use of "craft artist" virtually tied for third place with artisan and craftsperson.
  - *We heard from craft artists in all media. Most respondents worked in metal, clay or glass.

- Validation
  - *Craft artists most often receive validation or affirmation for their work from family and friends, other craft artists, and buyers/collectors. They get the least validation from grant panelists and award judges, news media (editors, critics, reporters), and from cultural organizations. Artists sought validation from all these sources.

- Material Supports
  - Professional craft artists report the most growth in sales and income from retail sales from their own studio or sales room, followed by retail from craft shows, retail internet, and consignment to galleries. The biggest declines were reported in consignment to galleries and wholesale through craft shows.
  - Over a quarter of professional craft artists provide three quarters or more of their family's total income from their craft businesses. Overall, nearly four in ten (39%) reported providing half or more of their family's income. A slightly smaller number (37%) provided less than a quarter of their family's total income.
  - Over a quarter (28%) of professional craft artists employed or contracted with sub-labor or contractors. The average full time equivalent employee is a bit over one and a quarter (1.28).
  - Nearly six in ten (59%) professional craft artists reported some business debt. About 300 professional respondents had business debt greater than $10,000 and of these, 64 had debt equal to or greater than $40,000.
  - 52% said most or much of business debt was financed with credit cards. Many financed with bank loan/line of credit. Overall 25% said most or much of debt financed with bank loans or lines of credit.

- Demand/Markets
  - Most professional craft artists report that they distribute their work to multiple markets: national, regional, and local. National and regional marketing are most common. International marketing is less common but still significant.
  - The most common marketing methods are retail sales from one's own studio or sales room (73%) and retail from craft shows (70%). Next most often used is consignment to galleries (61%) and wholesale direct to galleries and stores (53%). Least used are wholesale through reps (10%), wholesale print catalogs (11%), and retail print catalogs (12%).
  - The most common barriers to marketing -- by far -- are time pressures, particularly balancing time spent on production vs. marketing for the craft artist who has to do everything alone. Increasing cost of marketing, especially for craft shows, advertising, and photography, is also identified as a significant barrier.
  - Many artists described a troubling convergence of increasing show fees and travel costs combined with increased competition, decreased show attendance, and decreased show sales…A series of factors were barriers to markets for many craft artists: the need for increased public awareness about craft, limited

production capacities, competition from other artists and domestic manufacturers, competition from cheap imports, and increasing costs (especially craft shows) vs. decreasing sales.

- Information
  - *Craft artists report that information about grants is most difficult to find. This may be more about the scarcity of grants for craft artists than scarcity of information. Other information that craft artists reported most difficult to find was legal, marketing, business insurance, business management, and health insurance.
  - *The Internet tops the list of sources of information. Other craft artists, books and periodicals, and discipline-specific craft organizations are also very important sources of information. National and state craft organizations are important for many as well.

- Training and Professional Development
  - *Most craft artists (70%) report they have access to the professional development workshops and courses they need. A significant number (30%) do not. Most often craft artists said they needed business management training. Marketing is the most often cited skill needed. Next most frequently reported was access to craft or art skills and technique instruction. Also frequently named are computer and Internet instruction; accounting, financial management, and taxes.
  - *Only four in ten of all survey respondents found their formal education had adequately prepared them for their craft careers. More often (60%), craft artists said their education had not been adequate.

- Community and Networks
  - *Craft artists maintain peer relations through many sources, most significantly local or state craft associations or discipline specific organizations. Galleries and craft stores, and the craft show circuit are important for many. Educational institutions, teachers and, cooperative studios are important peer networking systems for quite a few artists.
  - *Nearly three quarters of craft artists participating in the survey feel they have adequate connections to other craft artists and other people in the cultural sector. A quarter do not.
  - *Eight in ten craft artists felt confident (58%) or very confident (23%) about the future of their craft career. Only 2% were not at all confident.
  - *Nearly all (93%) felt the need for a national organization working to strengthen and sustain the careers of craft artists. Of these 69% reported "definitely yes" and 24% reported "yes." (p. 4-8)

This survey was more carefully constructed than the one by The Crafts Report, but again there is a possible selection bias since the survey was conducted electronically. For the

purposes of this investigation the survey results are most useful as anecdotal information about how craft artists work. Although the report states that a majority of responses were from craft artists who work with metal, clay or glass, the survey does not break out information for these mediums.

Meanwhile, a more comprehensive picture is created by the Craft Organization Development Association (CODA). Founded in 1986 as the Craft Organization Directors Association, CODA began as a way for craft organization directors to network and share information. Today, CODA serves organizations with "education and professional development to foster public appreciation and understanding of craft" (CODA, 2006).

In 2001, CODA conducted an economic impact study to capture the impact of craft sales on the American economy and did not use a multiplier. The CODA survey attempted to determine the national impact of craftspeople on the economy. In order to determine this, a mean sales/revenue was determined for crafts workers and then multiplied by the estimated number of workers. The number of workers was estimated using a low- and high-estimate to determine a range and attempted to capture those individuals not affiliated with a craft organization as well as those that are. The study determined that there were approximately 83,200 affiliated craftspeople, and only 78% of the survey respondents were affiliated. It was estimated that in 1999-2000 there were between 106,544 and 126,544 individuals working in the craft industry. (Note the discussion about counting in the arts from earlier – even the "low" estimate differs significantly from what was reported by the Census, which reported that only 6,100 individuals were working as craft artists in 2004.) The economic impact of this workforce was calculated to be almost $14 billion. However, for the purposes of this investigation,

the CODA study is most useful because of all of the information it published about the demographics for those working in craft.

This demographic information in this report is the result of a national survey that was distributed to a pool of 99,806 individuals. Only 7,263 usable surveys were returned, for a response rate of 7%. The researchers who performed CODA's study pointed out several limitations: reluctance from respondents to provide financial information, confusion over terms (income versus revenue), deriving the number of craftspeople working in the US, defining who should be included. The study focused on individual craftspeople and did not include craft schools, publications, shops and galleries, organizations, or suppliers. The objectivity of this study's interpretation and presentation of data is also questionable since CODA intended to use the results as an advocacy tool. However, of the resources discussed, this survey provides the most comprehensive and useful information so far.

From the respondents, CODA found that the average craftsperson was forty-nine years old, with almost half of all the respondents falling in the age range of 46 to 55. The second largest group was slightly younger, between the ages of 36 to 45. The table below is from The Crafts Report (2001) and illustrates the distribution of craft artists according within each age range.

Figure 4.1: Craft Artists' Age Ranges from The Crafts Report (2001)

The study also reported information regarding the sex and race of craft artists, finding a majority of the respondents to be female (64%) and predominantly Caucasian (93%). Meanwhile, Native Americans are the next highest ethnicity represented at 1.7% with African Americans, Asian Americans and Hispanics representing 1% respectively. The survey also found that 4% of respondents were disabled or handicapped and 9.2% were veterans. While these demographics seem to reflect the glass field for the most part it would be interesting to see if the statistic for sex would vary from medium to medium. This is suspected because the glass field is known to be predominantly men but, unfortunately, the study does not break down the data by medium.

Most of the survey focuses on craft artists' sales and income, even revealing where on average most sales are occurring across all mediums. Over half of all sales were revealed to be through retail markets, including craft fairs, commissions, out of the artist's studio or some other retail outlet. However, while this was the favorite outlet, wholesale accounts in the United States were the most successful outlet, averaging more

than $70,000 versus retail outlets average $35K. The chart below shows the average

percentage of sales and the average amount of sales earned through each outlet (these

figures were based on responses from 7,042 surveys).

Distribution Methods	Mean % of Sales	Mean $ Sales/Yr
Direct retail sales	52.87%	$35,126
Craft fairs	51.80%	$16,076
Studio	27.09%	$11,632
Commissions	14.80%	$4,954
Other	6.31%	$2,263
Wholesale in US	27.03%	$73,373
Wholesale, international	4.70%	$16,257
Gallery consignment sales	11.27%	$8,339
Other	8.36%	$9,150

Table 4.4: Percentage of Sales by Distribution Method

What's more, the survey revealed that 60% of gross annual sales/revenue was earned in

the artist's home state.

From the information gathered on craft artists' income, CODA reported an

optimistic outlook for the average craft household. Using the median family household

income, family household's that earned some part of their income from craft were higher

than the national household income for the US. The chart below shows this relationship

as well as the median amount of income contributed from craft.

$60,000
$50,000
$40,000
$30,000
$20,000
$10,000
$0

$40,800
$50,000
$22,000

Median National
Household Income

Family Household
Income (Including
Craft)

Craft-related Income

*(Source: U.S.
Census Bureau)*

Figure 4.2:   Median National Household Income vs. Craft Family Household Income vs.
Craft-related Income from The Crafts Report (2001)

CODA noted that it used median's because that is what is used by the U.S. Census

Bureau and pointed out that the average income was even higher than these figures, at

$65,208 and $32,624 being contributed on average from crafts-related income. The

contribution from crafts-related income for most respondents represented about half of

their household income while 22% were only source.

Even more useful for the purposes of this investigation, CODA broke income and

sales figures down by medium and includes glass as a category. The chart below shows

average sales and income for each medium as well as the response rate for that medium.

Income & Sales by Craft Medium			
Medium	Sales	Income	Response Rate
Glass	$111,051	$38,237	10.95%
Metal	$108,133	$35,484	21.83%
Other	$81,709	$32,292	5.09%
Leather	$58,586	$32,182	1.03%
Enamel	$53,247	$29,612	58.00%
Clay	$60,704	$29,008	18.36%
Wood	$67,907	$27,819	10.61%
Plastics	$53,760	$26,360	2.57%
Mixed media	$69,670	$26,033	8.54%
Paper	$37,529	$24,195	3.65%
Fiber/textiles	$60,665	$22,629	15.79%
Organic material	$42,681	$21,270	1.00%
Overall/Average	$77,897	$29,939	100.00%

Table 4.5: Income and Sales by Craft Medium

This chart also illustrates the discussion earlier about the difference between revenue and income. As quickly seen in the chart the difference is drastic, with income often being less than half of overall sales/revenue for some mediums. The bar graphs below illustrate the revenue/sales and income from craft by medium.

Figure 4.3: Sales/Revenue from Crafts by Medium (Mean) from
The Crafts Report (2001)

Figure 4.4: Income from Crafts by Medium (Mean) from The Crafts Report (2001)

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Of particular interest is the fact that glass as a medium tops the charts for revenue and income in CODA's report, followed closely by metal. Because the response rate for glass as medium was 10.95% of 7,263 responses, this figure represents 795 individual craftsmen and would seem like a reliable indication for the field.

The survey also asked participants to indicate whether or not their studio was located on a residential property and found that this was predominantly the case, as only 21.1% of respondents' studios were located elsewhere. Most craft artists work alone in their studio, with over 64% of respondents working in solitude. The next most likely arrangement was for artists to work with a partner or family (18.5%). The graph below illustrates the responses.

Figure 4.5: Craft Artists' Work Environment from The Crafts Report (2001)

Interestingly enough, the survey revealed that craftspeople who had employees typically earned higher incomes than those who didn't, but only 16.3% of respondents employed others. The respondents who had at least one paid part-time employee had an average household income of $87,992 (vs. $65,208 overall).

Finally, one of the largest professional associations for studio glass artists is based in Seattle, WA and is called the Glass Art Society (GAS). Their membership information can help provide more information but has some limitations. First of all, membership is voluntary and requires a fee. Benefits include a reduced rate for their annual conference and the corresponding journal, access to their membership rosters, and a newsletter. Not only do individuals self-select into the association, but they also self-select how they categorize themselves when joining. Members classify themselves within several categories and are able to select more than one option. Categories include occupational or institutional indicators, which are distinguished here but lumped together by GAS:

Occupational Indicators	Institutional Indicators
Artist	Gallery
Educator	Museum
Collector	Library/Organization
Press/Critic	Manufacturer/Supplier
Hot Shop Owner	School (Studio)
Other	School (Graduate)
	School (Undergraduate)
	Other

Artists are asked to further distinguish themselves by again self-selecting their technique for working with glass: glassblower, casting, leaded/stained, flame/lampwork, kilnforming, fusing/slumping, coldwork/engraving, beadmaking, neon and/or painting. Because individuals self-select from these options when registering for membership, terms may be interpreted differently. Hence, these descriptors may be applied very differently. For example, there isn't a clear option for students, so one might check the box next to school, which is probably intended to refer to an institution of learning. Or one artist might check all the techniques they use while another checks only the primary technique he or she uses.

When their membership was initially looked at in the spring of 2005, numbers on the full membership were not available so an on-line membership guide was used to garner the following information by manually counting. This creates yet another selection bias, as only those members with a web site that self-selected to have it listed are represented in the guide. One hope though is that this variable may actually help differentiate the hobbyists and students from the "professional" members. By using this information, the top 8 locations for GAS members who identified themselves as educators (217), schools (113) or artists (659) was determined. The following chart shows a side-by-side comparison of which states ranked highest for each of these categories.

Educators (217)	Schools (113)	Artists (659)
California, 25, 12%	Washington, 13, 12%	California, 121, 20%
Washington, 20, 9%	California, 12, 11%	Washington, 73, 12%
Oregon, 18, 8%	New York, 8, 7%	New York, 53, 9%
New York, 16, 7%	Ohio, 8, 7%	Oregon, 39, 7%
Ohio, 15, 7%	Michigan, 6, 5%	Massachusetts, 31, 5%
Pennsylvania, 10, 5%	Oregon, 6, 5%	Ohio, 29, 5%
Florida, 9, 4%	Colorado, 5, 4%	Texas, 28, 5%
Massachusetts, 9, 4%	Texas, 5, 4%	Florida, 26, 4%

Table 4.6: Geographic Distribution of GAS Members that Self-identified as Educators, Schools and Artists (by State) as of 2005

It is interesting to note that California and Washington vie for the first two spots in all categories, with Oregon and New York competing for the third and fourth spots and Ohio being the only other state to consistently appear in the top 6.

This data can serve as a comparison for current information about their membership. However, this time Patty Cokus of the Glass Arts Society kindly aided in the process by querying their complete database, so the information for 2006 is more inclusive then the first look at GAS's membership. Cokus noted that the information she provided represents a snapshot from October 2006 since the numbers constantly change as memberships expire and renew and new people join.

Membership Level	Cost	Count
Student	$25	377
International Student	$35	31
Individuals	$50	1,453
International Individuals	$65	258
Family	$75	521
International Family	$90	40
Sponsor	$100	220
Corporate/Business	$250	158
Associate	$500	21
Benefactor	$1,000	3
Complimentary Memberships	N/A	42
Life Memberships	N/A	30
Total		3,154

Table 4.7: Number of Members Contributing at Each GAS Membership Level as of October 2006

When individuals submit their membership registration they are also asked to self-identify a category, as mentioned previously. If they identify themselves as an artist, they are then prompted to indicate the technique they use. The form states that more than one option can be selected. Below is a chart of how many people have self identified with each category.

Category	Membership
Artist	2152
Glassblower	1325
Fusing/slumping	787
Kilnforming	745
Casting	711
Lamp/flameworker	625
Coldwork/engraving	585
Bead making	295
Stained glass	290
Painting	286
Neon	128
Educator	542
Collector	438
Gallery	209
Manufacturer/supplier	204
Library/organization	64
Museum	49
Press/critic	44

Table 4.8: Number of GAS Members who Self-identified in Various Categories as of October 2006

Of the GAS membership, 2,647 members are located in the United States.

Members come from forty-nine of the fifty states, with only North Dakota not being

represented, and of the 49 states represented over 75% of the membership is located in

fifteen states:

Figure 4.6: Geographic Distribution of 75% of GAS Membership in 15 States as of 2006

When comparing the ranking of states to the numbers from 2005, most of the top six locations remain the same: California, Washington, New York and Ohio. Surprisingly though, Oregon has been replaced on this list by Illinois, dropping down to 13th.

From the GAS database, Cokus was also able to look up how many hotshops were registered by their membership. Below is a chart showing the number located in these top fifteen states as well as which city within these states had a predominant number of shops, if any.

While these figures have focused on the membership located here in the United States, it is important to note that the Glass Art Society has an international membership. Although GAS membership is primarily here in the United States, more than 10% of its

membership is from abroad and in 2005 their annual conference was held in Australia. It is not surprising that GAS includes international members as most associations for the medium do. The field is characterized by its international collaboration and reach. This is also evident in some of the publications about glass art, examples of which are the International Commission on Glass's "Dictionary of Glass-Making: In English, French and German" as well as the "English-Spanish-Portuguese Dictionary of Glassmaking."

Industry Field Map

In order to further understand the glass industry, an attempt was made to map what this industry and its infrastructure would look like, as can be seen in the next two pages of this section. On page 120, Figure 4.7 illustrates the various relationships necessary for this industry to function by highlighting the individuals, firms and industries that enable work to be produced and distributed by studio glass artists. Hence, the center of this map is defined as the Craft Core Creative Work (Creative Core). Moving farther away from this center signifies that contributions from these individuals, firms or industries are less closely related to the creation of the core craft work, though still crucial for its production and distribution. Firms and industries are symbolized by circles while individuals are represented by diamonds.

It is important to note that there is no real relationship established between the symbols to signify how interactions are occurring as one moves from the center to the outer rings. This was done intentionally because it was perceived that individuals at the creative core may or may not be interacting with any or all of the different individuals, firms and industries at any one time and, that, most likely, different combinations will be occurring for each artist. Whether or not any one combination of interactions increases

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that artist's chances for success has not yet been explored, but provides a window of opportunity for policy if it could be determined. For these reasons, individuals are included as Intermediaries that help initiate contact from the core to the various rings as well as within the rings. Hence, there are Intermediaries included between each transition: from the Creative Core to the Creative Cycle Outlets (Outlets) are Close Intermediaries, because they work more closely and/or frequently with the artist; and, from the Outlets to the Infrastructure are Broad Intermediaries, because these individuals work less closely and/or less frequently with the artist.

The Creative Core is defined as artists working in glass. The individuals in the Creative Core would all be working to create artistic products in glass and, hence, would be seen as the pinnacle creative workforce.

The Outlets are defined as firms and are thought to be those organizations that enable the artists from the Creative Core to distribute their work, either through exhibitions, informal displays, sales or commissions. Hence, the individuals in the Outlets are likely to be characterized as the administrative, technical or presenting workforce in relation to the Creative Core, though they still may act in a creative capacity. Firms included within this ring are characterized as: Wholesale Shows, Commercial, Public Sector, Non-Profit Arts Organizations (NPAOs), Educators Network, Education, Family Network and Self-Market. On page 121, Figure 4.8 shows a close-up of the middle three rings of the map and includes examples for each type of outlet as well as explanations of the role of the Intermediaries between the Creative Core and the Outlets. Each of these outlets is characterized by its own personnel and resource needs in order to function and may not cater only to glass artists, hence, their exclusion from the

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Creative Core. However, because these outlets represent the channels of distribution available to glass artists they are integral to the Craft Core Creative Work and are therefore located at a closer proximity than the Infrastructure. Figure 4.8 also includes an outlier that is not shown in Figure 4.7: work space. For many glass artists appropriate work space is crucial to their creative work. For techniques such as glass blowing and sculpting, the appropriate work space (and equipment) can determine whether or not the work can be produced at all. However, work space does not seem to fit well within the current map, as it is obviously more closely linked to the Creative Core than the Infrastructure, but doesn't seem to fit as an Outlet, though many Outlets may provide work space.

The final ring of the map represents the Infrastructure, which is comprised of other industries that enable the Industry to prosper. The Infrastructure includes many industries that are pertinent for the production of various creative products and often for industries outside the Creative Sector altogether. In relation to the Creative Core there may be specializations pertaining to glass art but these industries serve a much larger constituency than glass artists and artisans. One example of this is "Law." While there may be law firms or lawyers that specialize in art law, the law industry fulfills a much larger purpose. Hence, the Glass Art Industry's Infrastructure will overlap with many other industries and, one can assume, be almost identical to any other Creative Sector Industry. Industries included that seem most likely to have specializations for glass art are indicated by normal font type and include: Journals & Reviews, Awards & Prizes, Conservation, Services & Equipment, Material Supplies, Retreats, Professional & Trade Associations and Self Published Materials. Those industries that seem least likely to

have firms dedicated to glass art, though exceptions might exist, are in bold and include: Consulting Firms, Funders, Policy & Advocacy, Law, Higher Education and Information & Research. These latter industries represent a significant network of support and are apparently underdeveloped in regards to glass art, representing an opportunity for policy makers to help strengthen support for glass artists and artisans.

Intermediaries are extremely important, as may be inferred from the explanations given in Figure 4.8. The same Intermediaries that appear between the Creative Core and the Outlets also appear between the Outlets and the Infrastructure. However, there are more Intermediaries between the Outlets and the Infrastructure. This occurs because as one becomes farther removed from the Creative Core it can be assumed that he or she will become more dependent on the assistance of Intermediaries. These Intermediaries become more crucial as one attempts to maneuver within the Infrastructure.

As previously stated, this map is a rough attempt to visualize the network of individuals, firms and industries necessary to the creative work of glass artists and artisans. By furthering our understanding of the glass art industry's necessary components we will be better suited to create policies that strengthen the development of this industry.

Figure 4.7: Craft Industry Map

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CREATIVE CYCLE OUTLETS

INTERMEDIARIES (People)

CRAFT CORE CREATIVE WORK (Products)

Studio Glass Artists

Self Market
Family Network
Education
Educators' Network
Public Sector
Non-Profit Arts Organizations
Commercial
Wholesale Shows

Peers
Family
Education Admin
NPAO Admin
Agent
Gallery Admin

Peers help craftsmen make connections; create network; word-of-mouth commissions

Self Market
Retail Shows & Festivals, Cultural Festivals, Fairs, Arts & Craft Shows, Clubs, Guilds

Family Network
Informal network that can provide resources.

Family supports and nourishes craftsman, often providing financial backing and other forms of support. Often significant other acts as business partner.

Education
University Programs, Apprenticeships, Continuing Education, Conferences, Guild Workshops, Informal Workshops, Classes, & Prof. Development

Education Administrators includes educators, teaching artists, faculty and administrators that mentor craftsmen; may create opportunities for exhibitions and sales

Educators' Network
Professional associations, peers at other schools

Public Sector
% for Art Programs, Public Art Commissions, Grants, Fellowships

NPAO Administrators create opportunities for craftsmen to exhibit and sell work through galleries, special events, and commissions

Non-Profit Arts Organizations
Private, Public, Special Collections, Museums, Libraries, Slide Archives

Agents create networks that link craftsmen to galleries, NPAOs, public sector projects, commissions, foundations

Commercial
Retail Galleries, Magazines, Internet

Gallery Administrators scout for new craftsmen and create networks; opportunities for commissions

Wholesale Shows
Discipline-based, Professional Associations

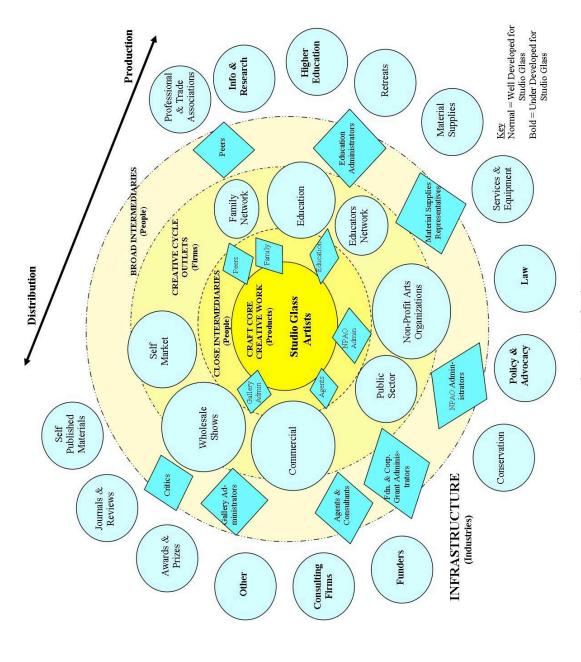*Outlier:* Work Space
Private, Non-profit, Public Studio, Co-op, within an Educational Facility

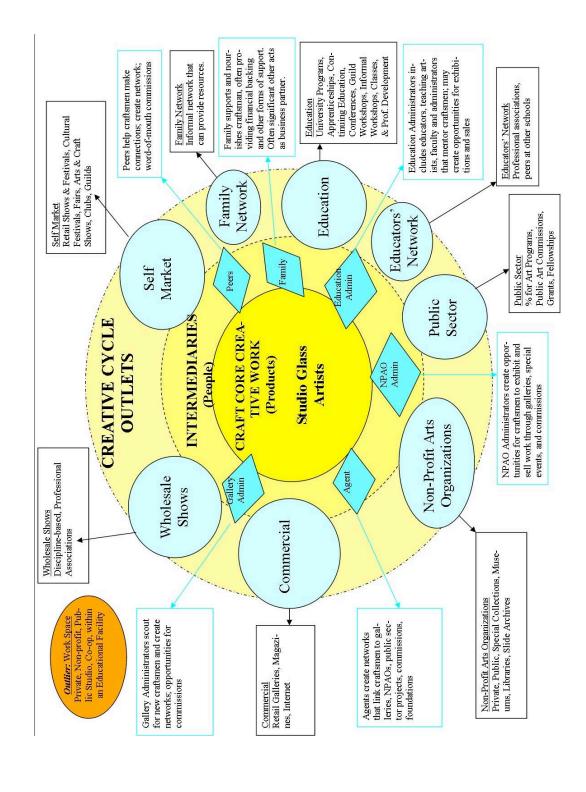Figure 4.8: Craft Industry Map Detail

Portfolio Careers

The transition from career paths to portfolio careers may seem like a drastic one, but the relevance will quickly become clear. Artists and artisans have always worked to maintain a balance of clients and jobs to earn a living from their artwork, as only those at the top of the pyramid tend to make enough money from their artwork to sustain off of that alone. Often artists will augment income from the sale of their art through other work that is related to their art form, such as teaching, assisting other artists in creating their work or the execution of designs for a company. An example of this last work is a glass artist who makes the prototype for a for-profit company from the company's designs that is then manufactured in a factory. While this work is not the creation of their art, it does rely on the skills the artist has developed that directly relate to his or her art work. Because artists often work in more than one capacity their careers have not fit the traditional model of one job for one employer or firm. However, in the past few decades the traditional model has been evolving to include a phenomenon that is being referred to as portfolio careers. The impetus for this new way of looking at how people work has only emerged since other sectors, such as business and information technology, have been experiencing a similar phenomenon to that which has historically been the case in the arts. The following brief literature review explores this concept, which makes room in the notion of careers for artists who would formerly have been excluded.

What is a Portfolio Career?

Portfolio career refers to the phenomenon of people having several paid opportunities that are the equivalent of a full-time job. Hansen (2006) describes the concept aptly, "instead of working a traditional full-time job, you work multiple part-time jobs (including part-

time employment, temporary jobs, freelancing, and self employment) with different employers that when combined are the equivalent of a full-time position" (p. 1). He describes the benefits of a portfolio career as flexibility, autonomy and variety but warns that those who undertake a portfolio career will need organizational skills and be able to tolerate the risk of managing their own work. These various experiences may utilize different skills but they all build off of the same base of abilities and interests. Hence, the name "portfolio," which King (2006) explains "is a collection of different items, but with a theme" (p. 1). King attributes the concept to management guru Charles Handy, who in the "early 1990s predicted that workers will be more actively in control of their careers by working lots of small jobs instead of one big one" (p. 1). Another implication of this name is that those who choose a portfolio career have to develop a portfolio of skills and a portfolio of clients in order to be successful:

> A portfolio career [evolves when] individuals develop a portfolio of skills that they sell to a range of clients. Individuals recognize that their value to organizations (clients) comes from the skills they possess, which produces results for their clients. (Templar, 1999, p. 71)

Because of the contractual or temporary nature of the work, those building a portfolio career have to be constantly honing their abilities in order to remain competitive. Hence, there is a built-in impetus for innovation and growth.

Why Are Portfolio Careers Being Recognized Now?

As mentioned before, the concept of portfolio careers has developed to recognize a phenomenon occurring in the workplace. Templar (1999) states, "the problem is that career development, as traditionally envisaged, no longer matches the changed nature of competitive advantage" (p. 70). These changes have evolved with the new economy,

which is in response to globalization and the technological revolution. Economic necessity is driving employers and employees to work in new ways, and the Independent Direction Directors Advisory Service (IDDAS, 2006) predicts that work relationships will continue to move in this direction: "The combination of an aging population, sustained downturn in the overall economy, increased interest in personal flexibility and control, and corporate demand for experienced, part-time resources, are conspiring to create an environment that will increasingly provide support and encouragement to portfolio working" (p. 1).

Shifting Assumptions

The recognition of portfolio careers is important because historically, contingent work has corresponded to "to the secondary labor market where workers are highly mobile and poorly skilled and jobs are very routine" (Menger, 1999, p. 547). However, in fields like the arts where workers are highly educated and skilled but work in much the same manner – moving from one employer to the next or juggling multiple-jobs – this understanding of contingent work doesn't fit. The concept of a portfolio career reconciles our understanding of contingent work with these exceptions.

By recognizing portfolio careers as being comparable to a traditional career, employers and employees also have to change their assumptions about working relationships. Because employees are being hired for a specific task rather than a long-term position, different considerations have to be made. Templar (1999) explores this idea from the employer's perspective. His examples (p. 72) are listed below and are followed by what this means for the potential portfolio employee.

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- Instead of dealing with the pattern of positions in the organization…have to understand the skill requirements needed to accomplish the contract
- Instead of finding best individual with long-term potential…have to find individuals with precise skill set needed
- Orientation shifts from socialization to contract and performance definition

These examples recognize the fact that hiring is less about finding an employee with the right fit for the organization and more about finding someone with the right skill set. Important implications for the employee in these positions is that they are not going to be part of the organizational team, per se, as indicated by the fact that socialization is no longer important. Hence, this work will most likely be more isolated than a traditional position with the organization. Emphasis is also placed on the temporariness of the position, and is important for the person who takes this job to not get to comfortable and being thinking ahead to where they go next. For this reason it is also important that the potential portfolio careerist have an excellent self-awareness so that they are able to sell themselves accurately. If they are unable to meet the organization's expectations for the job, they will have a difficult time building relationships and referrals that will allow them to find other work.

- Instead of developing progressive training programs…shift resources from training and development to identifying individuals with needed skill sets
- Evaluation/career planning shifts to short-term outputs

These examples are important because they indicate the emphasis on the portfolio careerist's ability to not only self-manage their time and work, but also their personal and professional growth. The organization is not interested in developing a temporary or

contract employee, so development opportunities will not come on the job and become the individual's responsibility. This also means that the hiring party needs good information about workers and their skill sets, so they can hire the best individuals for the job.

- Health and safety issues are more problematic

- Labor relations shift from negotiating and administering the contract to negotiating the terms of entry and exit

Finally, because the portfolio careerist is hired for part-time, contractual or temporary work, the traditional medical and worker's compensation coverage may not apply to them. While the hiring organization should clarify its coverage and responsibility, the employee needs to make it their own imperative to make sure they are adequately covered and compensated. Not only do contract negotiations become extremely important for employers, but also for the portfolio careerist.

Benefits and Costs of a Portfolio Career

The phenomenon of portfolio careers has obvious benefits for employers; allowing them to hire the best people for various jobs that are not as closely related to their core:

> Portfolio-centered career development enables top management to focus on the organization's core competences and shifts strategic directions from filling positions to requirements. As the pace of change accelerates, the resulting flexibility becomes an overriding competitive advantage. (Templar, 1999, p. 75-6)

But why would an individual want to risk the security of a traditional job to pursue this type of work? King (2006) rattles off a long list of pros and cons for working this way:

1. Pros: flexibility, creativity, change, autonomy, excitement, achievement, development of expertise and many skills, fast pace, leisure time, money, emotional health, meaning, continual learning

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2. Cons: risk, change, lack of stability, overwhelming when deadlines overlap, fast pace, lack of leisure time, lack of money (or financial stability), pressure, other people's opinions, lack of company benefits and of a regular routine (p. 1)

Most of the items on King's con lists are on her pro list as well, and whether or not they would be a pro or a con would depend on the individual. For instance, King lists flexibility and change as pros but lack of a regular routine as a con. Hence, depending on the individual's priorities and preferences, they may or may not find a portfolio career appealing. However, those that do find it appealing, tend to be satisfied with their choice, as indicated in a study by IDDAS (2006). They found that a majority of those surveyed (65%), where happy with their portfolio career because they were able to control their work and time, enjoyed the variability and unpredictability of the work and had freedom from corporate policies and agendas. Another reason an individual might opt for a portfolio career is as an alternative to retirement. With the average life span continually increasing, many people want to keep working even after reaching retirement age in their traditional job. Portfolio careers offer a more flexible alternative that allows them to capitalize on their years of experience (Hansen, 2006).

Undertaking a Portfolio Career

As indicated in the discussion so far, undertaking a portfolio career requires an individual to be self-motivated and have direction in order to find the right mix of work. The type of work they seek may be any combination of the categories suggested by Templar (1999): "regular full-time and part-time; direct-hire temporary; casual part-time employees; agency temps and independent contractors" (p. 71). Hansen (2006) suggests many of the abilities need to be successful in a portfolio career:

- Decide on types of jobs to seek

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- Find employment

- Balance competing demands on time

- Manage the effort

- Constantly need to network

- Continuously self-market

His suggestions are supported by the results of a survey done by IDDAS (2006). IDDAS

asked a group of 213 former executives who switched to a portfolio career what advice

they would have for those wanting to build a portfolio career based on their own mistakes

and they had three main suggestions: network and self-market more actively; consider a

broader range of options; and, choose roles/clients more carefully.

Another key aspect of a successful portfolio career is being aware of the

environment. In order for portfolio careerist to be competitive, they need to pay constant

attention to what is going on around them. IDDAS revealed that many of the directors

working in portfolio careers that they surveyed cited their business contacts as their most

important source of advice and support (61%) and their family as second (22%). Over

half of the respondents also said that their number one source for finding new roles was

through networking.

Relevance to the Arts

As mentioned before, artists have been successfully managing portfolio careers long

before the concept was even acknowledged. The transition from viewing multiple job-

holding as a problem to a successful adaptation to their environment is one that is still

taking place. Because success is often defined in the art world as making a living entirely

from the sales and commissions of ones artwork, artists are plagued by notions of "selling

out." However, by accepting the notion of portfolio careers, the arts field could redefine

success in ways that will allow more productive planning, work force preparation and

policy development.

Evidence of this being the unspoken truth for the arts is found in a chapter of a

book by Moody (2002) titled, "Equipment and Service as A Side Business." The book

was written to advise would-be designers on how to make a living but this chapter in

particular suggests that artists use side businesses related to their art to augment income

from their art. Hence, while Moody is suggesting that readers should assume a portfolio

career, he never uses that term. He alludes to the artist's resistance to stray from their

core creative work, beginning the chapter by saying,

> The notion of a side business may seem a little out of place in this book, but there
> are opportunities for additional income for designers who provide physical
> services to the theatre and entertainment community… there are two primary
> reasons to get involved in a side business while keeping your design career as the
> number one priority: it can increase your contacts and it can bring in additional
> income. (p. 211)

And two paragraphs later he rebuts the idea that this is straying too far from the artist's

calling, saying "I know there is a fear the client will start to think of you as a salesperson

for a rental house. But you can create a separation simply by using two different

company names" (p. 211). Rather than acknowledge the various uses of the attributes

and skills the artist has in a way that is positive, as a portfolio career does, Moody is

careful to explain how these other arts-related jobs can be separated to maintain the

integrity of the work the artist would prefer to be doing. Even as Moody suggests side

businesses as ways of creating a successful career in the arts he has to rationalize the

validity of doing so.

Meanwhile, an in-depth exploration of artists' portfolio careers is found in an

Annual Review of Sociology article titled "Artistic Labor Markets and Careers" by Pierre-

Michel Menger (1999). Again, Menger never uses the term "portfolio career" exactly but

does compare artists' multiple jobholding to a financial portfolio and makes similar kinds

of analogies. Menger's article focuses on four main issues: "the status of employment

and career patterns, the rationales of occupational choice, occupational risk

diversification, and the oversupply of artists" (p. 546).

Menger explains that while the number of artists is increasing internationally, this

growth seems inexplicable because the demand for artists hasn't increased and

underemployment and unemployment have been increasing. He states that this

phenomenon is leading to increased competition that makes multiple jobholding an even

greater necessity for artists:

> If there is more work but an ever more rapidly growing number of individuals, a
> fiercer competition takes place that implies higher inequalities in the access to
> employment, more variability in the level and schedule of activity, and, on the
> whole, work rationing for those who share the labor pie and cycle more often
> from work to unemployment or from arts work to arts-related or non-arts work.
> (p. 542)

This theory is upheld by research done in America, Britian, Australia and France where

surveys show that the trend even for salaried cultural workers is to work on a short-term

contractual basis.

Menger notes that, while many working in the arts today are self-employed, the

autonomy it suggests may not be as easily obtained as just striking out on one's own, nor

success as easily conjured as working harder or longer hours:

> Self-employment is today the most frequent work status in the arts. Proportions
> vary with national contexts and occupations, but trends are similar: self-

employment increasingly acts as a driving force in the expansion of artistic labor markets. The careers of self-employed artists display most of the attributes of the entrepreneurial career form: the capacity to create valued output through the production of works for sale, the motivation for deep commitment and high productivity associated with their occupational independence—control over their own work, a strong sense of personal achievement through the production of tangible outputs, the ability to set their own pace, but also a high-degree of risk-taking, as shown by the highly skewed distribution and high variability of earnings, as well as the low amount of time allocated on average to their primary creative activity (Alper et al 1996). Thus, as stressed by Freidson (1986), self-employment may bring with it only an illusory independence and autonomy: The freelancers who fail to move into the inner circles of successful colleagues get locked in a precarious situation.

In theory, because most creative artists are self-employed, it would seem meaningless to equate fewer working hours with unemployment spells or underemployment levels. Their income, which reflects whether their works are in demand (that is, whether they are sold and at what price), does not derive from a quantity of working time at a given wage rate (Frey & Pommerehne 1989). Creative artists and craftspeople decide whether or not to continue work in their chosen field according to their income and to the stream of their expected earnings. If their income is low, because of low demand for their work, a simple increase in production, through more work, may have no effect, and an excess supply of works for sale at a lower price may not easily trigger an equilibration process because the price acts as a signal of quality and a decrease in the price of works by a contemporary artist will promptly be interpreted negatively. Oversupply of the works they produce cannot be defined at any given price. That's why so many creative artists, since they can make their own work opportunities, may, despite working hard and being fully committed, suffer from low or very low income levels, and develop a sense of null or even negative correlation between effort and earnings, an effect reported in many studies (e.g. Jeffri 1991, Moulin 1992). (p. 552 – 553)

Hence, artists are often forced to diversify their risks and may do so through a number of methods. They may have support from friends and family, augment their income with public subsidies or grants, work in co-ops to pool resources, or hold multiple jobs.

As evident in studies like the National Endowment for the Arts' *More Than Once in a Blue Moon, Multiple Jobholdings by Artists*, multiple jobholding is prominent

among artists.   In order to better understand artists' work within multiple jobs, Menger

suggests a three prong division:

1) The creative activity itself, which corresponds to the primary creative labor and the tasks associated to the preparation of the artistic product (thinking, dreaming, searching for materials, rehearsing, practicing);
2) Arts-related work, which includes the various activities within the particular art world that do not contribute directly to producing the artistic product, but still rely on the skills and qualifications possessed by the professional artist; common examples of such work would be teaching activities and management tasks in artistic organizations;
3) And, non-arts work, which may differ considerably both among individuals, among the arts, and over the individual lifecycle in an artistic career. (p. 563)

It is important to note that the arts-related work is preferable to the non-arts work, as it

relies on the skills and abilities the artist has developed in pursuing his or her creative

activity. Using Menger's division, the dream for artists then is to sustain themselves

through the creative activity alone. But, as it is known that very few are able to do that,

the goal for most artists is to augment their creative activity with arts-related work. Non-

arts work being a last resort of course. For example, an emerging artist may augment

more of their income with non-arts work and gradually transition away from it as he or

she establishes his or her career. And it is also possible for an artist that has been

successful to find themselves out of favor and seeking non-arts related work again.

CHAPTER 5

APPLICATION OF ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Having explored what it means to be a studio glass artist working in the United States of

America today, the analytical framework from the end of Chapter III can be applied to

determine approximately where along the professionalization continuum studio glass

artists are currently located. This chapter will use the following resources and sources to

determine to what degree each indicator has been achieved for studio glass artists and/or

whether or not any attempt (intentionally or not) is being made to change the status of

these indicators.

Information Sources

Having set up the context for this investigation, it is important to articulate how the

analytical framework from the end of Chapter 3 will now be applied in Chapter 5. In

other words, what information will be used to determine whether and to what extent an

indicator is manifest for studio glass artists?

Not being a glass artist, it will be important for me to tap as many glass artists and

professionals as possible to ensure that the information gathered and the interpretations

made from these sources resonates with those working in the field. Fortunately, my

husband is a glass artist so making these connections is not particularly difficult. The

following individuals have all contributed to my understanding of the glass field through

conversations, demonstrations and shared experiences, which will inform my application

of this framework:

> Adam Kaser, *glass artist and hot shop owner*
> Rahman Anderson, *glass artist*
> Jason Antol, *glass artist*
> Brian Becher, *glass artist*
> Ken Carter, *glass artist*
> Oliver Doriss, *glass artist*
> Anthony Gelpi, *glass artist*
> Ellen Grevey, *glass artist*
> Richard Harned, *glass artist and undergraduate and graduate glass professor at The Ohio State University*
> Sherrie Hawk, *owner of the Sherrie Gallery*
> Tom Hawk, *owner of the Hawk Gallery*
> Dawson Kellogg, *glass artist and undergraduate glass professor at the Columbus College of Art & Design*
> Charles Lotten, *glass artist, hot shop owner, and owner of Lotten Gallery*
> Conor McClellan, *Museum of Glass cold shop technician*
> Mike McNerney, *glass artist*
> Kami Meighan, *glass artist*
> Justin Rager, *glass artist*
> Dan Schreiber, *glass artist and hot shop owner*
> Jake Stout, *glass artist*
> Jason Waggoner, *glass artist and hot shop owner*
> Andrew Neubold, *glass artist and instructor at Temple (Tyler) University*
> Nick Russo, *glass artist*

Some of these individuals were also willing to sit down for an in-depth discussion. In

particular, I had the chance to sit down and talk in depth with a couple of glass artists

from Tacoma, Washington – the heart of it all in America, some might say. These two

young men had very different portfolios, the one the Cold Shop Technician for the

Museum of Glass and the other an independent artist who has recently been giving

demonstrations at various nonprofit glass facilities across the country. Conor, the cold

worker, didn't have a college education but, having grown up in Tacoma, had been

working with glass since he was sixteen (he is now twenty-six). Meanwhile, Oliver (32),

the glass blower, did have a B.F.A and had worked for ten years as a craftsman before trying to take the plunge into the contemporary art scene. Oliver had also spent some time working with Bryan Rubino. We were joined by Rahman (32), a recent Ohio transplant from Washington and the instigator of this meeting, and my husband Adam (30), an Ohio native. Rahman and Adam had both attended undergraduate programs but neither had completed their degree. Rahman has worked assisting artists for the last ten years, including the likes of William Morris and Bryan Rubino, and currently splits his time between assisting Adam and other local glassblowers. As mentioned in the introduction, Adam built and currently operates his own hot shop, spending most of his time filling wholesale orders he received from the Rosen shows. When and where they were tapped will be cited as exploratory interviews and included in the bibliography (R. Anderson, O. Doriss, A. Kaser and C. McClellan, personal communication, January 9, 2007).

Although I don't know them personally, another significant source of information for this analysis is the transcripts of interviews with Harvey K. Littleton and Henry Halem from the Smithsonian Archives of American Art. These interviews were undertaken for the Nanette L. Laitman Documentary Project for Crafts and Decorative Arts in America. Both Littleton and Halem played significant roles as pioneers of the studio glass movement. Harvey K. Littleton (2001) helped develop the small furnaces that enabled glass to be worked with in studios rather than factories, hosted the first glass workshops at the Toledo Museum of Art and then started the first college program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Henry Halem (2005) was pursuing an M.F.A. at UWM for ceramics when he worked for year as Littleton's assistant. He went on to start

the glass program at Kent State University in Ohio, helped found the Glass Art Society and became the first president of the organization. Excerpts from both interviews will be found throughout this analysis.

Armed with the Halem and Littleton interviews as well as the personal experiences and contacts, I will use a combination of historical and field research to apply the framework from the end of Chapter 3 to the glass field. Historical resources will include primary sources such as web sites, catalogues, conference schedules/programs, and newsletters as well as books, journals and criticism, which are secondary sources. Meanwhile, information from the field will all be gleaned from primary sources such as artists' bios and resumes, exhibit and show criteria, records of awards and grants, the existence of public art and curriculum and training requirements. The demographic and associational information presented in Chapter 4 will also be interpreted for further insights. The framework will be applied by exploring each indicator in the order of their development for the attribute, with the most well developed being discussed first.

<div align="center">Systematic Theory</div>

Systematic theory may be considered the primary attribute from which all others must follow because without specialized knowledge or skill an individual within this occupation would be indistinguishable from one in another occupation. It would seem apparent that to work as a studio glass artist requires a great deal of skill. Indicators will be explored to reveal to what degree systematic theory has been established for the field. Figure 5.1 reminds us of the four major indicators of systematic theory: specialized knowledge and skills; lifelong learning expectation; formal institutions for transmitting

knowledge; and, systematic evaluation and standards. Evidence for each indicator is also

listed on Figure 5.1. Each indicator and its evidence will now be examined in detail.

A. Reward of innovation (awards, profiled in journals and exhibitions)
B. Historiography and theory as evident in publications, textbooks and research

A. Exhibit and show criteria entry requirements
B. Established criticism standards and channels for distribution

A. Educational curriculum, training and requirements
B. Record of education and training experiences of recognized "stars" (leaders)

A. Internship and apprentice systems
B. Professional schools and university programs

Lifelong learning expectation

Systematic evaluation and standards

Specialized knowledge and skills

Formal institutions for transmitting knowledge

Systematic Theory

Figure 5.1: Indicators and Evidence for Systematic Theory

Specialized Knowledge, Technical Skills and Ideational Skills

There are two different aspects to this indicator, both of which will be discussed in relation to

studio glass artists. The first focuses on the fact that the skill needed to perform the work

requires creativity in addition to the technical manipulation of objects, that there is a theoretical

aspect to the work. The second aspect of it is the idea that workers develop professional skills in

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addition to technical skills. These professional skills might include administrative, managerial and business skills.

Being artistic work, the very nature of what studio glass artists are doing requires that they be creative. This creativity is not only reflected in the artistic product they create but in problem solving as well. Studio glass artists are constantly challenged to improve upon their technique and creativity is also needed when finding their niche, marketing their work and even in maintaining the studio.

The second part of this indicator appears a little less certain and is definitely not uniform across the field. While many glass blowers understand the chemistry and physics of their technical skills, administrative, managerial and business skills are seemingly not taught within formal or informal settings. Some workshops are provided through nonprofits to tackle such issues as booth design and slide quality, such as the Arts Business Institute, but these topics seldom are addressed specifically in regards to the needs of glass artists. Often, these types of professional development resources are provided for a larger discipline, such as craft, which encompasses glass.

Lifelong Learning Expectation

Lifelong learning in the arts is second nature. As an art form, studio glass artists have a built in impetus for improving their skill and style. In the arts generally and for studio glass artists specifically, innovation is constantly sought. The tendency for those within this field to be committed to it for life is evident in how glass artists discuss their work. I once overheard my husband say that someone had caught "the glass bug" and when I asked what he meant he said they called it that, "because once you've got it, it's all you want to do." This resurfaced during my conversation with the Seattle glass blowers, who

talked about life long commitment to the medium and the fact that they can constantly keep growing and improving upon what they are doing, which was part of the appeal for them (R. Anderson, O. Doriss, A. Kaser, and C. McClellan, personal communication, January 9, 2007).

This investigation found evidence of innovation being highlighted and rewarded for new works, techniques and technologies. One way this is done within the field is through demonstrations at conferences, like those organized by the Glass Art Society or Wheaton Village, and nonprofit glass arts facilities, like Pilchuck or Penland School of Craft. These demonstrations provide artists opportunities to show-off their skills and techniques, providing a learning opportunity for others while recognizing the demonstrating artist's achievement and furthering their reputation.

Awards are another form of recognition. Each year the Glass Art Society and UrbanGlass honor several individuals within the field for their contributions. For example, commitment to the medium is recognized annually by the Glass Arts Society (2007) through a "Lifetime Achievement Award for exceptional achievement in the field of glass." Recipients of this award include: Jiri Harcuba, Czech glass engraver (2006); Richard Marquis, American blown glass artist (2005); and, Paul Marioni, American blown glass artist (2004). Artists may also be recognized through inclusion in exhibitions or collections that highlight innovation and achievement in the field. An example these two forms of recognition being combined is the Corning Museum of Glass's annual program called the Rakow Commission, which started in 1986 and awards an artist $10,000 to create a work to be added to the Corning Museum's collection. The purpose of the commission is to "encourage artists working in glass to venture into new areas that

they might otherwise be unable to explore because of financial limitations" (CMOG, n.d.). Past commissions have gone to the likes of Australian artist Tim Edwards (2006), American artist Nicole Chesney (2005) and Argentinean artist Silvia Levenson (2004).

Meanwhile, there are four types of publications regarding the field: the documentation of artists' works and its exhibition; technical skills; the business and management of studio glass blowing; and, criticisms and commentary about the work. Historiography and theory have only recently started to develop for the field, and very few examples were found of scholarly publications. While there are hundreds of show and exhibition catalogues or overviews of artists' work, there are few publications that help the artist work on a daily basis. Four technical books in particular that every glass artist seems to own or at least be familiar with are: Dudley Giberson's *A Glassblower's Companion* (1998); Henry Halem's *Glass Notes* (1993), which is currently in its fourth printing; and, Ed Schmid's *Advanced Glassworking Techniques* (1997) and *Beginning Glassblowing* (1998). All four of these books give broad overviews of glass blowing, from building equipment to the chemistry of what is happening, from definitions of terms to introductions to techniques. Little is mentioned about markets, marketing or other administrative tasks that might come with having a career in glass blowing.

A better source for practical advice tends to be the journals and magazines that are published for glass artists. These may focus on the larger craft market or on glass specifically. Some of the most popular publications will be briefly highlighted below.

American Craft Magazine, which has been published by the American Craft Council (ACC) in New York since 1941 (previously called *Craft Horizons*). According to the ACC's web site (www.craftcouncil.org), this magazine "celebrates the excellence

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of contemporary craft, focusing on masterful achievements in the craft media – clay, fiber, metal, glass, wood and other materials – with the goal to create intellectual and visual interest for the reader on today's craft." Features include artist profiles, exhibition reviews, book review, reports on commissions to artists and a portfolio of emerging artists.

Launched by The Rosen Group in 1995, *American Style*'s mission is "to inform craft enthusiasts and art collectors about the significance of handmade objects of art" (www.americanstyle.com). Regular features include decorating and interior design tips, display and lighting ideas for craftmakers, and a Datebook section that lists festivals, gallery exhibitions and museum events as well as artists' profiles and pictorial tours of collectors' homes. Annually the magazine also publishes a list of the top 25 arts destinations. The Rosen Group also publishes *Niche Magazine*, a quarterly featuring works by hundreds of artists and offering business advice to independent retailers and gallery owners. *Niche* also has an annual awards competition for professional and student artists.

The Crafts Report (TCR) was established in 1975 by Jones Publishing, Inc., who also publish such magazines as *Fired Arts & Crafts, Teddy Bear Review* and *Dolls*. *The Crafts Report* is a "monthly business publication for the crafts professional" (www.craftsreport.com). Features includes editorials from the field, craft artists profiles, as well as articles offering suggestions for business administration, festivals and shows information, etc. TCR also conducts an annual survey of its readers called the "Insight Survey" to further knowledge of the field.

The bi-monthly magazine *Glass Art* was first published in 1998 and bills itself on its web site (www.glassartmagaznie.com) as "the magazine for the art glass industry." Features include technical and business articles regarding hot and cold glass as well as artist profiles.

Glass Magazine is a monthly magazine published by the National Glass Association, the largest trade association representing the flat glass industry, and also publishes *Autoglass* and *Window & Door* magazines. This magazine serves the architectural glass and related industries.

UrbanGlass has published *Glass Quarterly* since 1979. It describes this publication on its web site (www.urbanglass.org) as:

> …[presenting] serious discourse about glass as a medium for contemporary art. In over 100 issues, the magazine has provided a critical context to the most important work being done in the medium of glass. Its contributors include some of the most important critics and curators in the field.

Features include show and exhibition reviews as well as artist profiles.

Contributors to these publications are often easily recognized in the field because of their work as curators, gallery directors, or as artists themselves. These same individuals have typically authored a publication or catalogue as well. Examples of such household names include William Warmus, former curator of the Corning Museum of Glass and past editor of Glass Magazine, or Dan Klein, professor of glass at the University of Sunderland in England who is identified as a writer, curator, collector and dealer. Many times, artists who are established in the field will be profiled or interviewed as well to share their perspective and experiences. Sometimes these individuals are asked to identify who they see as up and coming in the field, recognizing

them as an established artist and providing them the opportunity to shine the light on someone emerging.

Formal Institutions for Transmitting Knowledge

One way in which the arts have more closely followed other occupations is into academia. In April of 2003, Gail Gregg wrote an article for *Art News* titled, "What Are They Teaching Art Students These Days?" A little late to jump on the academic ban wagon, the arts were primarily taught in trade schools, private studios or nondegree institutions until the 1930s. It was at that time that the first Bachelor's of Fine Arts (B.F.A.) degrees were offered, though primarily in art history. This has rapidly changed as today almost all universities and colleges offer a B.F.A. and many graduate programs offer an M.F.A. in all the arts disciplines. At the time of Gregg's article, the National Association of Schools of Art and Design (NASAD), an accrediting organization for higher education institutions dedicated to the teaching of art exclusively, had an institutional membership of 239 organizations. These organizations collectively enrolled approximately 100,000 art majors and 8,000 grad students each year. Meanwhile, the College Art Association (CAA), a professional association which represents programs connected to a larger university or college, had 2,000 university art and art-history departments, museums and libraries as well as 13,000 artists, art historians, scholars, curators and educators among its membership.

One effect of the creation of so many arts programs, schools and departments has been the increased demand for M.F.A. trained professionals. By including the arts in academia, universities require certain credentials for teaching, most often an M.F.A. These academic positions tend to be coveted opportunities in the arts, providing security

in an otherwise unstable occupation. Hence, those wanting to teach realize they need the

degree to be competitive at obtaining this "day job" and the university has created a

demand for the good it supplies.

With increasing pressures to provide young artists with professional training,

some academic programs are not only teaching art making but business and social skills

as well. Today, art educators across the country are debating whether to teach art through

a great breadth of skills and understanding or in-depth as it had been taught historically,

with an emphasis on technical ability. Gregg states that, "In the end, art school is as

much about that community as about anything else…In an art market where who you

know can help win introductions to dealers, collectors and museums, these friendships

can prove critical to a career."

As the inclusion of the arts in degree granting institutions happened quickly,

today, many people, including art educators, art students, program alumni and those

outside the field are beginning to more critically assess what a degree in the arts garners

its recipient. With education costs rising, graduates of these programs often have

difficulty making a living with their art. This pressure along with "countless other

challenges have art-school faculties reexamining their missions and values… [including]

the professionalization of art practice."

However, Gregg's discussion is not an entirely new for the field. In 1962

Frederick Logan wrote an article for the *Journal of Higher Education* titled, "Graduate

Work in the Visual Arts: Professionalism and University Education." While Logan

makes some arguments against the teaching of art in universities, he does cite two

benefits of its inclusion. Logan makes the point that "the rapid spread of artist-faculty

members in college centers nation-wide has been the largest single influence in creating a wider audience for the visual arts" (p. 434). He notes that the inclusion of the arts in academic programs across the nation has spread art from major metropolitan areas to even the smallest communities, greatly increasing the geographic reach of the arts and creating a new, more diverse audience. He concludes by saying:

> The proportion of excellent students in art to students in all other professional pursuits is small indeed. Even so, there are admittedly more young people who want to work in art than there are specific ready-made jobs for them. In the arts there are no man-in-space projects, no atomic-energy billions, no corporate promotional ladders. But if we cut down our advanced-education programs in this field to adjust the supply of artists to the demand for them, the arts in American life will be infinitely poorer than they are. The perseverance and ingenuity with which graduates of art programs somehow continue to find work to do in their chosen fields are unbelievable to their handsomely paid former classmates in other professions; but these artists do persist, and they are raising the arts to higher professional levels. The student generations to come will profit by every improvement in graduate education that can be made. (p. 435)

Glass has followed on the heels of the fine arts into academia. Historically, glass blowing was taught through the apprentice model. While arts programs began being incorporated into the university setting in the 1930's, the first glass program wasn't established until 1962 at the University of Wisconsin in Madison by Harvey Littleton. The next program would be established two years later by Marvin Lipofsky at the University of California Berkeley followed closely by Dale Chihuly at the Rhode Island School of Design (Hecksher Museum of Art, 2004). Littleton explains what was happening to allow for this growth and the difference it made for American art students during his 2001 interview. He states that government programs like the WPA (employed artists) and the GI Bill (paid for more than 10 million veterans to attend college) played a significant role in creating an environment for the study of arts to flourish. He also notes

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the difference between American and European programs, saying that in Europe art isn't taught in the university and thereby is not offered to their brightest students, while in the U.S. anyone is able to take an art course while pursuing higher education. He cites his own experience teaching as an example,

> In 1970, 70% of our graduate students at the University of Wisconsin had come to art with other degrees. I always use Fritz [Dreisbach as an example], because Fritz in 5,000 years of glassmaking was the first glassmaker who handled the blowpipe with five university degrees on his back. Now, that was never possible anywhere in the world, at any time, in those 5,000 years. (p. 13)

Since these first programs began approximately thirty years ago, glass programs have sprung up in most major university art programs and almost all art and design colleges: "[Littleton's] model was subsequently taken up by other universities from coast to coast, and students of glass acquired an education with the same theoretical grounding in critical theory and artistic practice as that offered to those whose artistic media were paint on canvas or photography" (Lynn, 2005, p. 27). Today, some university glass programs may only offer electives while others offer a specialized focus in glass. The sudden growth of programs created increased opportunities for glass artists, as an M.F.A. became the requirement for working as a professor in such programs. Today, the university and college programs still compete with less formalized institutions of learning and there are even a few associate's degrees available in glass throughout the U.S.

Meanwhile, many learning opportunities are also available outside the university system through nonprofit organizations, residencies and retreats. These learning opportunities play a significant contribution to the development of skill and often are the first introduction individuals have to the medium. These programs are less formal and tend to be more varied regarding what they offer – be it an intensive retreat experience or

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a quarterly course or private lessons. These institutions will be discussed more in-depth in regards to next attribute, field structuration.

While most of these learning opportunities, whether within academia or without, incorporate some form of apprenticeship or internship within their course of study; these experiences also exist independent of institutions with individual glass artists. These relationships tend to develop through informal networking, and little information was found regarding the frequency or number of these opportunities.

Systematic Evaluation and Standards

Criticism and evaluation are particularly important in the arts, since how an individual's work is judged determines its value. This judgment is typically not made by the artists themselves, but by collectors, galleries and curators. These individuals are still a part of the field though, and their judgment may varly greatly from that of the general public, whose understanding or conception of what glass art may be different. Hence, the most respected glass artist within the field may not be the most popular or the highest paid for his/her work. Established glass artists may influence the field by helping to identify emerging artists, either by recognizing or acknowledging them in a public fashion, taking them under their wing, introducing them to their networks or by hiring them to work on their team.

Whether or not the standards for evaluating glass are systematic is a tricky criterion because art tends to prioritize uniqueness, making the establishment of standards more difficult. Unlike a triple heart bypass, which one hopes is performed consistently from one doctor to the next; art is innately about variation and individualism. Innovation is key, even if reinterpreting historical work, so standardized artistic vision is an

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oxymoron. However, because glass's roots are in craft and factory work, standardization

is possible when evaluating technical skill. As a highly difficult medium to work with,

technical skill is easily assessed within the field.

As for written evaluations of work, informed commentary about glass can take

three formats: promotion, profiling or criticism. The first two are commonly found in

specialized journals and magazines for the field, but the latter seems to be lacking.

Australian critic Ioannou (2005) criticizes current glass criticism for not actually

critiquing the work: "If it is possible to discern a trend in critical writing on glass, I'd say

that there seems to be an avoidance of value judgments, an avoidance of discussion about

artistic value, a lack of dialogue about why only certain artists are elevated and profiled

in text, and why others are marginalized or avoided" (p. 89). Ioannou raises several

important questions and concerns for this analysis; in particular, he implies that who rises

to the top as the stars appears to be arbitrary, even to those within the field, due to a lack

of dialogue about why they are elevated. He goes on to discuss this phenomenon for

Australia in particular:

> In the late 1980s and 1990s, the craft community in Australia continually called
> for more critical writing. Since then I have come to realize the essential things
> that interest most glass artists is, understandably, profile and promotion. Much
> critical writing today tends to do just that…(p. 89).

Another important implication about professionalization is reflected here, in that the

artists recognized a need for informed commentary, which serves as a form of validation

that can drive professionalism, although Ioannou acknowledges that their motivation was

self-serving.

This critique of arts criticism is not only in the glass arts though, as evident in Charlesworth's (2004) article, "What has happened to art criticism?" Charlesworth states that a recent "crisis in the arts" actually reflects a crisis in arts criticism, as criticism is no longer occurring and "art writing," passive and affirmative in nature, has taken its place. He posits that everything has become acceptable as art because of the revolution in pluralism, "Postmodernism's assault on the 'false' universalism of modernity has only produced an artificially enforced pluralism, in which relativism and fashion merge to reduce critical choice to the level of unaccountable subjective taste: As Peter Suchin's art student knows too well, 'that's just your opinion.'" He goes on to say that "The art world's increasingly weary disinclination to engage in an open discussion regarding the significance of the art it promotes, and to declare its authority over the choices it makes, leads to a situation in which such contingent, partisan evaluations occur as if by magic."

Charlesworth is in part influenced by Hudson (2003) who credits the culture wars and beauty with the downfall of arts criticism: "Beauty, that most conciliatory of philosophical rubrics and justifications, is back with a vengeance, while beautiful writing about beautiful objects and their beautiful makers additionally denotes the triumph of academic philosophy as well as the democratization of the no-longer autonomous and privileged realm of aesthetic" (p. 117). As such, glass, a medium previously beleaguered for its innate beauty, has risen to the top – crossing over from a crafts to arts medium.

Meanwhile, Rubinstein (2003) discusses in greater depth the disservice that a lack of criticism creates for artists:

> Too few painters seem willing to enter the ring with great artists of the past, to really grapple with their strong predecessors…Even among contemporaries, there's a general unwillingness to get into artistic tussles, or even dialogue.

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As a result, new artists emerge, new bodies of work are shown, countless group exhibitions are touted as revelatory, to strangely little consequence. Styles change with seasonal predictability. No one articulates the grounds on which certain artists become famous and others are marginalized…Instead, everything seems to happen without explanation, as if the realm of contemporary art were simply following the rule of some natural order. There's no need to spell things out in today's art world, and in any case, value judgments and the quest for historical significance are so yesterday, it's all about spin, about discussing the artist's self-declared subject matter rather than hazarding any potentially invidious comparisons between one artist and another. More often than not, critical and curatorial activity consists largely of gathering works according to theme or genre. (p. 1-2)

As this passage suggests, a lack of dialogue makes it unclear how art is being valued and what makes some artists more successful than other, making it difficult for those entering the field to know how to proceed.

Iaonnou's cry for better glass criticism echoes a similar sentiment from William Warmus expressed in an essay he wrote in 1995:

Criticism of glass exists, but is sporadic and tends to be published in specialized journals. We need forceful criticism as a gauge of originality and corrective to excesses, whether of taste, price, or commercialism. Forget the endlessly distracting quarrels over "Is it Art?" We need critics and historians to engage in the debates from which consensus will emerge about the key artists and objects of the studio glass era, even if some turn out to be industrial designers, some objects made by production studios. And we desperately need critics who will generously champion and defend the individuals they support.

Unfortunately, ten years later the need for critical criticism in the glass arts still exists.

It is also questionable whether or not evaluation of glass works can be deemed consistent and fair. Exhibit and show requirements quickly reveal that decisions are almost entirely in the hands of a jury, which typically consists of other artists, curators, gallery representatives, etc. The standard application (recently applications have truly been standardized, as companies like Zapp and Juried Art Services have created on-line

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forms that many shows are beginning to use) calls for little background information from the artist, with the primary focus being on the slides submitted. Typically asked to include 4 to 6 slides, the significance of these images have created a subsidiary market for photographers, as image quality makes or breaks an application. The importance of this was stressed by Bruce Baker (2006) at an Arts Business Institute training workshop, where he explained the importance of not only quality images, but considering how the images will flow when viewed next to each other. He shared insider tips that ranged from background color choices to finding the flow between images if viewed at the same time, even suggesting that artists chose their most photogenic works rather than their best works.

Field Structuration

As a young field, the studio glass movement quickly moved the occupation from its comfortable craft position to jostle in the art world. In doing so, the field has been structured haphazardly, institutions and support springing up here and there. Because it is such a small field though, these disparate parts have come together, as the following indicators will reveal. This evolution in the glass field follows on the heels of the changing crafts industry, where the model shifted from making to making money. This is evident in an article titled, "Closing the Generation Gap" from *The Crafts Report:*

> At a business workshop for craft artists last year, a speaker told the audience the dollar amount she sold at a show and how much she expected to gross in the next year. Later, a veteran craftswoman privately remarked how times had changed. When she started working in craft in the 1960s, she reflected, artists never talked about money in such specific terms. "We wouldn't have mentioned dollar figures," she said.
>
> Thirty years ago, no one would have referred to the craft field as an "industry" either. Back then, it was a "movement." The craft show circuit was in its infancy.

Precious few artists started out with marketing plans. Arts-related business consultants, particularly for craft artists, were virtually non-existent.

Whether the changes of the last 30 years have compromised the spirit of art is arguable. But few would dispute that today's new generation of craftspeople – whether they're recent college graduates in their 20s or people making career changes at mid-life – are entering a fiercely competitive and sophisticated business world, one that is very different from the "movement" that began so long ago. (Marquand, 1997)

Hence, the glass field, too, has had to quickly evolve in order to compete in an ever changing industry – be it craft or art.

Figure 5.2 reminds us of the five major indicators of field structuration: collective definition of the field; organization of professional associations; emergence of a center-periphery structure; increasing density of inter-organizational contacts; and, increasing flow of organizationally and professionally relevant information. Evidence for each indicator is also listed on Figure 5.2 and will be examined in detail.
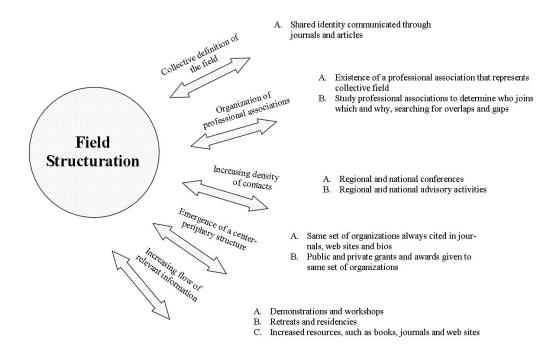

Figure 5.2: Indicators and Evidence for Field Structuration

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Collective Definition of the Field

A collective definition of the field and strong culture are significant indicators that an

occupation is united and enables those in it a greater sense of identity. As discussed in

Chapter 2, the glass field seems to be largely organized around the medium, with

individuals then identifying more closely with those working with a similar technique,

and then, finally, further narrowing their definition of peers by the intended market. This

organization around the medium seems to have unconsciously occurred at the beginning

of the studio glass movement:

> Many (often disparate) art styles are linked under a single named movement (as in
> the case of impressionism or abstract expressionism); however, the artists who
> chose glass as their medium did not espouse a unified set of goals or a unified
> formal identity, nor did they have a written manifesto that was supported and
> adhered to by members of the group. With no overarching uniformity of vision
> relating to their artistic goals, the makers were linked by raw enthusiasm for the
> material itself and for its unlimited potential for artistic expression. As the artist
> Dana Zámečníková states, "My idea was to use glass simply as one of the many
> materials available because it offered the best possible way for expressing my
> ideas – not to use glass because I am a 'glass artist." (Lynn, 2005, p.27)

Today, this unity through medium is cited as a strength though, as suggested by William

Warmus (1995):

> Communities grow from a mixture of common attributes and interest, and I
> challenge readers to find any art communities that are more unified than the one
> focused on glass. As the American art scene expanded from the 1960s onward it
> became increasingly difficult to capture the sense of community shared by earlier
> groups such as the abstract expressionists, unified by location (New York and the
> Hamptons), dealers (Peggy Guggenheim), collectors, and critics (Greenberg and
> Rosenberg). The current art situation mirrors the present political situation in the
> United States: it is too diverse and factional to be called a community in the
> traditional sense. But the glass world, the glass ghetto so disparaged in some
> circles, is not. It has remained a community on the order of the earlier ones that
> are now disbanded. That is something to celebrate, not dismiss and discourage. If
> you are an insider and have forgotten the warmth of individual members and the

strength of the crowd, or a newcomer and want to see for yourself, visit any of the great gatherings of the clan (the phrase of one prominent critic): the October Pilchuck School benefit auction, the springtime Glass Art Society conferences, the great exhibition and collector reunion at SOFA Chicago every fall.

Here, Warmus celebrates the unity of the occupation, declaring it unique among the arts.

The success of the studio glass movement is often linked to the open and sharing culture of the field as well. As previously discussed, artists often share their techniques through demonstrations and lectures. During Warmus's interview of Halem (2005), they discuss how this differentiated the American studio glass movement from glass fields abroad:

> MR. WARMUS: There is a kind of tradition in some forms of glassmaking of the secrecy of glass, for example, in Murano. So this is an interesting contrast because yours was almost like an evangelical approach; it was the opposite of secrecy. How did that come about?
>
> MR. HALEM: That is a good question. I don't think we ever knew there was anything like secrets; it wasn't in our vocabulary that there was an alternative to not showing. It was an automatic; it was a given. Why wouldn't you show somebody how to make it? We weren't selling anything, we didn't have studios; it wasn't our livelihood. Why shouldn't we show someone the magic and share it? I don't think it was a matter of, "Well, if I show him this, he's going to do that," or whatever; as I said, not showing somebody was never in the vocabulary.
>
> MR. WARMUS: It seems like that became a hallmark, do you think, of American studio glass-that willingness to show and to go out and spread the word.
>
> MR. HALEM: I think so. I definitely think so. (p. 34)

This openness continues on today through all of the educational opportunities offered by higher education, retreats, residencies and demonstrations. Some, like Warmus, question whether or not the field is becoming more secretive as so many people have entered the occupation and make their livelihood from it.

Further antidotal evidence of the close knit culture and shared identity of glass artists came from a personal experience my husband and I shared while attending an Arts Business Institute (ABI) workshop. Before one of the sessions had started we were casually talking with the instructor from ABI. She asked what medium Adam worked in and when he responded glass she said that she would have guessed that. When we asked why she said that all glass artists just have a certain presence and look and that they were easy to pick out among all the other artists.

Organization of Professional Associations

Historically in the arts skills have been passed from one generation to the next through the apprenticeship model, with the master instructing his pupil until he deemed him ready to work on his own. While they may not have realized what they were doing, master artists and craftsmen were maintaining the scarcity of their resource by closely guarding their secrets. They even formed professional associations, often called guilds, which would help broker the relationship between artists and patrons and sometimes would attempt to control who could work as an artist within the region. An example of the modern notions of professionalism being applied to the arts in a historical context is Bram Kempers (1992) book, *Painting, Power and Patronage: The Rise of the Professional Artist in the Italian Renaissance.*

Bram Kempers actually applied the concepts of professionalism to painters in Renaissance Italy. He observed that artistic commissions were given sporadically so craftspeople from other cities would create work; because demand was low, supply was limited, and often found in highly established professional groups. However, as demand heightened it created the opportunity for more artists and more types of artists. Painting,

which was his focus, was in even higher demand than other decorative artists because

materials were cheaper and less labor-intensive and the medium reached its pinnacle by

1350. This increased demand created improved and new skills, which created a cyclical

response, further increasing demand. Amazingly enough, in the late 1400s knock-offs

began appearing on the market, creating a hierarchy of products.

From his research Kempers found that, "craftsmen's associations were highly

influential, monitoring as they did standards of training, the quality of work, members'

conduct and standing in society and their proper participation in communal rituals" (p.

165). Because of the geographic isolation, these associations were actually able to

control their membership and influence those outside of it. Kempers observed these

painters to have risen in status through a series of sequential steps: specialist skills were

developed, organizations formed to supervise training and compensation, theorizing

began to take place in writing and, finally, a code of ethics was developed.

Along with the studio glass movement there has been the rise of professional

associations, although these associations certainly don't display the type of professional

control Kempers revealed for Italian Renaissance painters. Eighteen of associations

related to the glass field were looked at for this investigation:

American Scientific Glassblowers Society (Madison, NC)
Art Alliance for Contemporary Glass (online)
Art Glass Association (Zanesville, OH)
Art Glass Association of Southern California (San Diego, CA)
Association of Clay and Glass Artists of California (San Francisco, CA)
Glass Alliance of Northern California (Fremont, CA)
Glass Art Society (Seattle, WA)
Glass Manufacturing Industry Council (Westerville, OH)
Gulf Coast Glass Alliance (online)
International Guild of Glass Artists (online)
International Paperweight Society (online)

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James Renwick Alliance (Bethesda, MD)
National American Glass Club (online)
National Capital Art Glass Guild (Washington, D.C.)
Paperweight Collectors' Association (Emerald Isle, NC)
Peninsula Glass Guild (Virginia)
Society of Arts and Crafts (Boston, MA)
Society of Glass Beadmakers (Mid-Atlantic Region)

These associations tended to be organized around medium, a few dedicated to the studio glass field as a whole, with most focused on a particular technique (e.g. paperweights or stained glass). The scope of the association might also be limited to a geographic area, such as the Peninsula Glass Guild, which serves glass artists in the state of Virginia. Typically, these associations were organized for the general advancement of the medium and focused either or artists or collectors, with open membership. In step with the studio glass movement, most formed in the 1970s, 80s and 90s. Two of the oldest associations looked at were focused on crafts rather than just glass, the Society of Arts and Crafts, which was founded in 1897, and the Association of Clay and Glass Artists of California, which formed in 1945. The American Scientific Glassblowers Society was organized in 1945, before technologies made glass art possible, and is one of the few associations that restrict members to certain standards, requiring a certain number of years working in the occupation for a particular membership status to be granted.

While most of these associations are organized and operated by a volunteer board or committee, four have staff, indicating a higher level of organizational resources. These four include: Art Alliance for Contemporary Glass (AACG), Art Glass Association (AGA), Glass Art Society (GAS), and Glass Manufacturing Industry Council (GMIC). These four represent distinct groups within the field – AACG is an association for glass collectors; AGA states that membership is for anyone in the field but focuses on

stained glass artists; GAS brings together members from across the field but does not include many stained glass artists; and, GMIC (n.d.) "is a trade association of the U.S. Glass Industry that includes among its members, representatives of all four sectors: Flat, Container, Fiber and Specialty."

The largest of these four, and the one of particular interest for this study, is the Glass Art Society (n.d.). Founded in 1971, GAS is an international non-profit organization "whose purpose is to encourage excellence, to advance education, to promote the appreciation and development of the glass arts, and to support the worldwide community of artists who work with glass." With a staff of four and more than 3,000 members, GAS offers a variety of program benefits, including: an annual conference that features artists' demonstrations, lectures and panel discussions; an annual journal of conference proceedings; a bi-monthly newsletter; membership rosters; and, mailing lists. Founded in the U.S. and based out of Seattle, WA, GAS has been expanding its international appeal. It currently has almost 300 international members and since 1989 has repeatedly held its annual conference abroad, everywhere from Japan to the Netherlands to Australia.

Henry Halem (2005), one of the founding members and first president, talks about the start of the Glass Art Society in 1970 while being interviewed by William Warmus. He explained that Joel Myers, Marvin Lipofsky, Fritz Dreisbach and Mark Peiser were aware of the National Council on Education for Ceramic Arts and wanted to start something similar for glass. They hosted their first meeting during the summer at the Penland School of Crafts in North Carolina. Halem was unable to attend so he sent a student, but said the student wasn't welcome because they only wanted educators to

participate. At the meeting everyone shared techniques and technology and by the end

set up the date for another gathering the next summer to be held at Penland again. At this

meeting there were again probably ten people and they blew glass together and swapped

ideas. Halem states,

> …yeah, we drank beer, but boy, there was a hell of a lot going on. It was not a good-old-boy's thing here; it was-we had gone the next step beyond Harvey; we were now our own-we were masters of our own future, and we wanted it to be rich with what each of us knew because in our own way, we were all teaching. We were all teachers even if we weren't set up in an institution; we were still spreading the gospel-fundamentalists. (p. 42)

This recounting of the Glass Art Society's first meetings reveals the laissez-faire way that

the association came to be. It also suggests the isomorphic nature of the formation, as

Halem states that the founders wanted to create a group similar to what existed for

ceramics. This exchange also further illustrates the lack of secrecy in the field that was

discussed in the previous section on culture. Halem also notes that the founding of glass

focused on serving educators, eventually broadening to include artists and then later on

collectors, today refocusing on artists again as indicated in the organization's current

mission.

Small, local professional associations also play an important role in the field.

These groups have often developed in areas where multiple glassblowers are working out

of necessity, because the cost of glass blowing facilities is so great. Often a group of

studio glass artists will start a cooperative, sometimes incorporating as a non-profit. An

example of this is Glass Axis in Columbus, Ohio or UrbanGlass in Brooklyn, New York.

The primary purpose of these organizations is to provide members with studio access.

However, glass artists with their own studios nearby will often maintain membership

with these organizations as well because of the networking and technical skills development opportunities they present.

Hence, while associations exist in the field, there is not one association that unites the field as a whole and no group commands the kind of control Kempers discussed in regards to Italian painters. It also does not appear that any of these groups are advocating on behalf of the profession in the political arena, except for possibly GMIC, since it represents manufacturing firms.

Emergence of a Center-Periphery Structure

As the field becomes smaller one would expect that certain organizations would rise to the top as the stars. These institutions would be held up as the models to those working in the field and would be more likely to receive awards and public support. As evident in this investigation so far, in that several institutions have come up repeatedly throughout this writing, this is true for studio glass arts as well. Those institutions that most quickly come to mind in the field for various categories, such as museums, glass collectives and galleries, will be briefly highlighted.

Nonprofit hot shops and collectives.

As previously discussed, nonprofit hot shops and collectives offer an alternative to studio glass artists from having to build or purchase their own equipment, which can be quite time consuming and expensive. These spaces not only provide access to equipment, but may also provide studio space and educational programming:

Creative Glass Center of America in Millville, NJ
Eugene Glass in Eugene, OR
Glass Axis in Columbus, OH
Pittsburgh Glass Center in Pittsburgh, PA
Public Glass in San Francisco, CA

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Pratt in Seattle, WA

UrbanGlass in Brooklyn, NY

Artists retreats and residencies.

Retreats and residencies allow artists to further develop their technical skills will

honing their artistic vision. These experiences not only provide personal professional

development but are also seen as prestigious experiences because of the application

process. They also allow for greater networking. Two significant retreats are the

Pilchuck Glass School (Seattle, WA) and the Penland School of Crafts (Asheville, NC).

Pilchuck Glass School (n.d.) was founded in 1971 by Dale Chihuly and patrons

Anne and John Hauberg to offer a secluded residency experience focused on glass.

Today, Pilchuck has "become the largest, most comprehensive educational center in the

world for artists working in glass." The fifty-four-acre wooded campus features two hot-

glass shops, a studio building, kiln shop, coldworking studio, flat shop for neon and

flameworking, wood and metal shops and a glass-plate printmaking studio as well as a

gallery space. Two-and-one-half-week courses are offered throughout the summer, five

running consecutively for a total of twenty-five offerings, limited to ten students, and are

lead by renowned instructors. These courses "emphasize experimentation and teamwork

while fostering individual initiative and expression." During each session, an artist in

resident is also present on campus to further challenge students.

The Penland School of Crafts was founded by Miss Lucy Morgan as a gathering

spot for women who made handwoven goods in 1923 and quickly evolved into a school

for many craft forms, raising funds and acquiring property. Today, Penland's campus

includes forty-one structures on four hundred acres and over 1,200 people attend their

sessions each year. Classes vary from one to two weeks in the summer or eight weeks in the spring and fall. Lead by a teacher, most include a mix of demonstrations, lectures, individual studio work and field trips.

Higher education institutions.

Many of the most well known higher education institutions are recognized because of their alumni. Most often, these institutions were the pioneers for the field and their early inclusion of glass programs may often be seen as the result of the reputation of their ceramics program. These programs have stood the test of time and today are still recognized as producing emerging leaders in the field and cutting edge innovation: Alfred University (Alfred, NY), Kent State University (Kent, OH), Rhode Island School of Design (Providence, RI), Ohio State University (Columbus, OH), Tyler University (Philadelphia, PA), and University of Wisconsin-Madison (Madison, WI).

Art encyclopedic museums that include a glass collection.

Identifying the top glass collections in American museum was made a little easier by Marth Drexler Lynn's 2005 publication, *Sculpture, Glass and American Museums*. In it, Lynn profiles twenty-six museums from around the nation, choosing them for "their commitment to and significant holdings of sculptural glass" (p. 34). The museums profiled by Lynn are:

Chrysler Museum of Art (Norfolk, VA)
Cincinnati Museum of Art (Cincinnati, OH)
Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland, OH)
Corning Museum of Glass (Corning, NY)
Detroit Institute of Arts (Detroit, MI)
M.H. de Young Memorial Museum (San Francisco, CA)
High Museum of Art (Atlanta, GA)
Indianapolis Museum of Art (Indianapolis, IN)
Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles, CA)

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Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, NY)
Milwaukee Museum of Art (Milwaukee, WI)
Mint Museum of Craft and Design (Charlotte, NC)
Museum of Arts and Design (New York, NY)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MA)
Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (TX)
Museum of Modern Art, New York (NY)
National Liberty Museum (Philadelphia, PA)
Norton Museum of Art (West Palm Beach, FL)
Oakland Museum of Art (Oakland, CA)
Racine Art Museum (Racine, WI)
Renwick Gallery (Washington, D.C.)
Seattle Art Museum (Seattle, WA)
Speed Art Museum (Louisville, KY)
Tacoma Art Museum (Tacoma, WA)
Tampa Museum of Art (Tampa, FL)
Toledo Museum of Art (Toledo, OH)

Museums focused specifically on glass.

The first two museums dedicated to glass in the United States that come to mind are the Corning Museum of Glass (Corning, NY) and the Museum of Glass (Tacoma, WA). The two organizations are similar in that both offer programming beyond displaying their collection, including the administration of a hot shop.

The Corning Museum of Glass (n.d.) was established in 1951 by Corning Glass Works to "engage, educate and inspire visitors and the community through the art, history and science of glass." With a staff of 19 as well as a resident team of glass artists and visiting artists, CMOG offers the full gamut of glass related experiences. A large facility, the museum includes a gallery space, exhibition spaces, hot shop and amphitheatre, studio space, library and café. The CMOG glass collection includes over 45,000 objects from over 3,500 years and the Rakow Library boasts a collection of more than 50,000 monographs, 850 active periodical subscriptions, 20,000 auction sale and trade catalogs, 230,000 slides, and 2,000 video and DVD titles. Major funders of the

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institution include Corning Inc. (obviously), Arthur Rubloff Residuary Trust, Greater Milwaukee Foundation, Getty Foundation, and the New York State Council on the Arts. In 2005, the organization's earned revenue and contributions were more than $32 million and over 30,000 people visited the museum. Programming includes exhibitions, demonstrations, lectures, seminars, tours, curriculum development for use in schools, the annual publication New Glass Review, research, residencies and grants.

Meanwhile the Museum of Glass (n.d.) was established much more recently, opening its doors in 2002. The museum was founded by Phil Phibbs, former president of the University of Puget Sound, and Dale Chihuly in collaboration with the City of Tacoma to "provide a dynamic environment for visitors to experience and appreciate the medium of glass and the creative interaction between artists and art forms in contemporary art." Major funders include the City of Tacoma Arts Commission, the Washington State Arts Commission and Arts Fund, Comcast and Poncho (no information was found regarding the organization's annual revenue). The state of the art facility includes a gallery shop, exhibition space, outdoor exhibition area, hot shop and amphitheater, theatre, studio space, library and café. Programming includes exhibitions, demonstrations, tours, curriculum development for schools, and a newsletter. The studio team of six is also joined regularly by visiting artists.

During the course of this investigation, many small glass museums were also discovered. These museums were dedicated to collecting the work of the many glass factories that were in operation throughout the U.S. As an area that has historically been a significant producer of glass, many of these institutions were found in and around Ohio:

Dorflinger Glass Museum (PA)

Fostoria Ohio Glass Association Gallery (OH)
Kelsey Museum of Glass (MI)
National Cambridge Collectors Inc. (OH)
National Duncan Glass Museum (PA)
National Heisey Glass Museum (OH)
Oglebay Institute Glass Museum (WV)
Ohio Glass Museum (OH)
West Virginia Museum of American Glass (WV)

Galleries dedicated to glass.

Just as there are museums dedicated to glass, there are also galleries focused on the medium. Carrying the work of the pioneers in the field, any emerging artist whose work is picked up by one of the following galleries will know they have arrived:

Elliott-Brown Gallery in Seattle, WA
The Glass Gallery in Washington, D.C.
Habatat Galleries in Michigan, Illinois and Florida
Hawk Galleries in Columbus, OH
Heller Gallery in Manhattan, NY
Holsten Galleries in Berkshires, MA
Marlborough Gallery in New York, NY
Maurine Littleton Gallery in Washington, D.C.
Pismo in Colorado
Riley Gallery in Cleveland, OH
William Traver Gallery in Seattle, WA

Retail and wholesale shows.

Retail and wholesale shows also play a significant role in the field, with the largest and more prestigious retail shows giving artists exposure to collectors while the wholesale shows grant access to galleries from around the nation. Many excellent retail and wholesale shows exist but only three will be highlighted here.

American Craft Council (n.d.) began hosting retail and wholesale shows in 1966 and has grown to be one of the largest producers. Retail shows are held every year in: Baltimore, MD; Atlanta, GA; St. Paul, MN; San Francisco, CA; Charlotte, NC; and,

Sarasota, FL. The ACC also produces one of the largest wholesale shows on the East Coast every February in Baltimore, MD in conjunction with the retail show there.

The Rosen Group was founded in 1981 by Wendy Rosen and hosts the Buyers Market of American Craft. This show is one of the main competitors with the ACC wholesale show on the East Coast. Each February more than 2,000 artists exhibit at the Rosen Show in Philadelphia. A second wholesale show is also held during the summer in Philadelphia.

SOFA (Sculpture, Objects, Functional Art) group is based in Chicago and has two annual art expositions, one in Chicago and New York. Galleries are invited to participate in these expositions and select which artists they represent that they want to feature at the shows. Hence, in this model the galleries are serving as gatekeepers to the expositions.

Material and equipment suppliers.

Finally, as the field continued to evolve and artists pushed the boundaries of what they could create, technology and materials were an important factor. While the pioneers for the field had to build their own equipment, order tools from abroad and create their own batch and color, today's glass artists can purchase nearly everything they need from various retailers. Following is a limited list of suppliers and what they offer:

Bullseye Glass (supplies for fusing)
Charlie Correll in MA (equipment)
Eddie Bernard in Louisiana (equipment)
Gaffer Glass (batch, color)
Hub Industries (equipment)
Seattle Batch (batch, color)
Spiral Arts (blow pipes, punties, hand tools)
Spruce Pine (batch, color)
Steve Stadleman in Washington (equipment)
Walter Evans in West Virginia (wood molds)

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Increasing Density of Inter-Organizational Contacts (DiMaggio, 1991)

Historically, as a field becomes more focused or controlled, either from peer evaluation

or regulating who enters, it would seem smaller, in the sense that those working in the

field would be familiar with each other by name or their work. Today this has become

true for many fields, not because of increased control, but due to globalization, and the

arts are no exception:

> Rapid technological advancements have created a smaller world, making global
> politics and economics increasingly important factors in today's world.
> Globalization has not only allowed us to connect in new ways with people all over
> the world but has also provided new business opportunities for artists abroad and
> at home. The result has been a shift in how creative professions are viewed. No
> longer are artists limited to traditional roles in the fine arts as the new model of
> the creative sector offers boundless possibilities in the nonprofit sector, the
> commercial sector, and portions of industries relying heavily on creation, such as
> advertising. (Kaser, K. S., Pennington-Busick, S., & Rhoades, M., 2004, p. 19-
> 20)

The same is true for studio glass artists, who now, with the click of the button, can

auction their work on ebay or consign work to on-line galleries to be sold around the

world. Not only have the markets expanded but so have the exchange of ideas, as e-mail

and web sites have made it possible for artists to interact with one another the world over.

Globalization isn't the only reason for the close connections among the field

though. The studio glass movement represents such a narrow field that it is possible for

artists to increasingly interact with the stars and others in their field. One way in which

this happens is through regional and national conferences. As mentioned previously, one

of the major program offerings by the Glass Art Society is an annual conference. This

conference is attended by hundreds of people from around the nation and abroad.

Nonprofit arts organizations will also host conferences, such as Glass Weekend at

Wheaton Village in New Jersey. These conferences will feature demonstrations and lectures by those established in the field and innovators, providing a formal opportunity to interact and then an informal opportunity throughout the duration of the conference.

Further evidence of the close knit culture is the fact that many institutions in the glass field have advisory councils with members from a broad geographic area. For instance, UrbanGlass in New York has an advisory council of glass artists from across the U.S. and even institutions abroad, such as Glasmuseet Ebeltoft in Denmark, include American artists among its board.

Increasing Flow of Organizationally and Professionally Relevant Information

Since the beginning of the studio glass movement in the 60s, the field has followed those before it in the art world, creating learning opportunities and resources. Today, continuing education can be pursued independently through journals and web sites or communally through demonstrations, workshops, retreats and residencies. Ideas and information are easily exchanged as well through national and regional conferences and symposia, such as the aforementioned GAS conference, whose proceedings are published annually.

Professional Authority

Unlike systematic theory and field structuration, professional authority relies more heavily on external control, as the ability to regulate oneself and situate oneself as the expert requires either permission or indifference from the larger community. Professional authority is key for establishing autonomy, a characteristic relished by artists of any medium. Often, a way for an occupation to establish this authority is to monopolize their systematic theory so that they may regulate who can perform the work.

Figure 5.3 reminds us of the six major indicators of professional authority: peer validation; associative strategies for assimilation; a clear career path; the existence of a code of ethics; the ability to regulate members; and, the use of closure strategies. Evidence to be explored in the following section for each indicator is also listed on Figure 5.3.
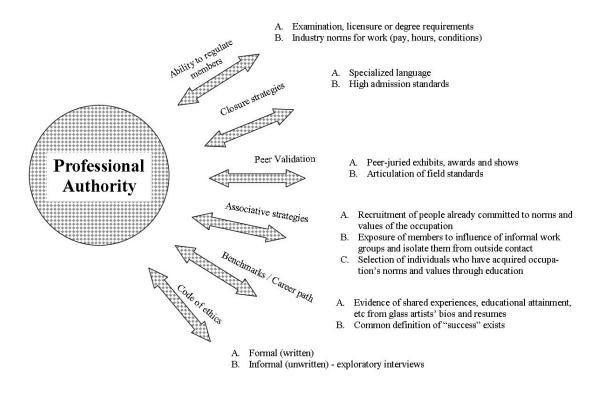
A. Examination, licensure or degree requirements
B. Industry norms for work (pay, hours, conditions)

A. Specialized language
B. High admission standards

Professional Authority

Ability to regulate members

Closure strategies

Peer Validation

A. Peer-juried exhibits, awards and shows
B. Articulation of field standards

Associative strategies

A. Recruitment of people already committed to norms and values of the occupation
B. Exposure of members to influence of informal work groups and isolate them from outside contact
C. Selection of individuals who have acquired occupation's norms and values through education

Benchmarks / Career path

A. Evidence of shared experiences, educational attainment, etc from glass artists' bios and resumes
B. Common definition of "success" exists

Code of ethics

A. Formal (written)
B. Informal (unwritten) - exploratory interviews

Figure 5.3: Indicators and Evidence for Professional Authority

Peer Evaluation

Peer evaluation exists in the arts but not as the term implies. Peer evaluation has been significant for professions because peers were the informed experts who could evaluate the work. In the arts this role is filled outside of the peer group – other artists – by

intermediaries within the field such as gallery directors, curators and critics. However, these intermediaries are still informed experts, fulfilling the function but in a different manifestation.

Caught between the craft and art industries, glass art does have some advantages for evaluation. Because of its craft roots, glass artists have to develop a certain level of technical competence with the material that can be consistently judged by others and taught. However, because of the emphasis on innovation and uniqueness, the artistic quality of the work is more difficult to judge. Like all arts though, glass is caught in a precarious situation for evaluation. Peers may not include just artists but others within the field, like gallery directors, curators and nonprofit administrators. And, because of the emphasis on pluralism in contemporary arts (discussed regarding criticism in systematic theory), those outside the field will often have an entirely different set of criteria for evaluating the work.

Tony Hanning (2005) discusses the relationship between artists and curators/gallery directors. Hanning discusses artist-run spaces as being the equivalent of peer evaluations of work based on who is included but states that "many artist-run spaces anxiously await the arrival of the curator and gallery director to cart them off into the real world of art" (p. 95). Hanning goes on to state that much of what occurs in the glass (and art) world relies on the reputation of an individual based on their peers' evaluation of them, creating a catch-22 of sorts:

> Because in the real world there is a hegemony which requires that any elevation of status is sanctioned by a number of people whose judgments are used to elevate their own. That is, curators judging artists are being judged by other curators concerning their judgments. (Now there is a line straight out of Gilbert and Sullivan!) This eventually leads to a kind of homogenous decision-making where

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the predictable, safe and established artists are privileged over the unknown and
emerging…

So now, we have a dichotomy: artists and curators, each essentially the best
judges of their peers and each dependent on the other to survive, but with a
hegemony that sees the curator as master and artist as servant, with the master
being judged by his peers and the servant being judged by the master. (p. 95)

Hanning creates a grim picture for peer evaluation among glass artists, this assessment of

the relationship recalling the discussion of systematic evaluations and standards for the

field.

This relationship between the artist and curators/gallery directors is reflected in

other mediums as well. The New York art scene in the 1950s and 60s is the setting for

Bystryn's (1978) article, "Art Galleries as Gatekeepers: The Case of Abstract

Expressionists." In this article Bystryn discusses professionalism without ever using the

term, focusing on the function of galleries as gatekeepers. Bystryn describes the supply

of artists as unwieldy and, hence, a party other than a professional association has stepped

in to help gain control – galleries, museums, and critics. Thus arts are also evaluated by

standards set by an outside party.

Bystryn explores the gallery's role in the arts by setting up the following market

scenario:

One can conceptualize this market in terms of an industry system. This system is
comprised of the organizations which filter the overflow of information and
materials intended for the consumer, and it allows us to examine the process by
which new products are filtered, on their way from producer to consumer.
Implicit in this is the notion that there is an overabundance of supply…as a result
there is continuing filtering-out process occurring in the through-put sector. (p.
390-391)

In Bystryn's scenario the overabundance of supply are the many artists vying to have

their work shown while the organizations that filter the overflow include galleries,

museums, and critics – all gatekeepers. The final recipient the artist hopes to reach is the collector.

Knowing this about the market, Bystryn states that there are two types of galleries at work then:

1. Type 1: fostering of invention, allocation of symbolic rewards to the artist, personal ties with the artist, cultural goals, personnel who are artists themselves, close connections with the artistic community
2. Type 2: more involved with innovation than invention, rational economic goals, allocation of monetary awards to the artist, business personnel, close ties with the institutionalized art market

These two galleries constitute a division of labor, with the first serving as a gatekeeper for the second. The first has close ties to the artistic community, fostering what is new and inventive until it is successful, or popular, enough to be picked up by the second type of gallery. Byrstyn suggests that a similar relationship exists today among the modern commercial galleries and co-ops and alternative spaces.

Meanwhile, Harrison White's (1993) discussion of professionalism in the modern American theatre portrays theatres as playing a similar role to Byrstyn's galleries. Theatre is one of the few art forms to have labor unions, with three unions representing professional actors. Actors may have membership in one or all three organizations, but have to have a membership to perform in a professional production. Like galleries, these professional unions serve a gatekeeping function, as it is the one venue that can validate a new play and is the primary conduit for international exposure. White distinguishes two types of professional theatre; much like Bystryn indicated there were two types of galleries:

1) Institutional: tends toward high arts, internal focus is on career and reputation within career

2) Commercial: tends toward the popular, internal focus on reputation, prestige and fame. Unsurprisingly, professionalism is highly correlated with commercial theatre.

Much like Byrstryn's description of galleries, the institutional theatres provide the safe space for invention that, if successful, will eventually be featured on the commercial stage. However, White's first distinction appears to correlate most directly with Byrstryn's Type 2 galleries, the commercial market representing a third type of outlet in addition to her two.

The relationships described by Byrstryn and White seem to be reflected in the glass field. Nonprofit glass centers and educational facilities often correlate to Byrstryn's Type 1, museums with Byrstryn's Type 2 and White's institutional model, while galleries are obviously commercial spaces. This is evident in Lynn's (2005) introduction to her book on glass in American museums:

> Over the past twenty years, glass sculpture has entered American museum collections in unprecedented numbers. A new phenomenon, this reflects new attitudes: an understanding that art making occurs in every medium and a willingness to see glass as an art medium suitable for inclusion in museum collections. This also signals the confluence of focused collecting and promotion by donors, the increased artistic sophistication of the artists working in glass and the active encouragement of curators and directors. Additionally, it marks the decline in barriers that critics have erected against the acceptance of glass as art…

> Glass sculpture continued to be viewed with suspicion. Yet it did enter the collections of important American museums (the watchdogs of artistic legitimacy) and has been placed there in context with other art masterpieces. (p. 9-10)

Here, Lynn refers to the museum as watchdogs, or gatekeepers. Lynn goes on to further explain the significant role museums play in validating art:

> Public institutions of collecting (that is, museums) are an integral part of the art-world complex. They are the end point sought by most practitioners and they work handily with the intermediary players, the gallery owners and collectors. Acting through curatorial staff and museum directors (and sometimes through

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activist boards of directors), museums select and display works of art deemed worthy of honor in perpetuity. These judgments place the museums in the role of ultimate validator of cultural and aesthetic taste for the public. Because museums are mandated to display and educate using their collections, the simple inclusion of a class of artwork in a gallery display indicates that it is deemed to be art. This classification is reiterated and endorsed in acquisition policies and is manifest to the public through museum display practices. (p. 10)

Lynn also cites the role of galleries as a liaison between what is happening in the field and the museums, by bringing the work before collectors and curators.

Harvey Littleton (2001) also expressed the significant role galleries and collectors play in the arts field during his interview:

Yeah. Well, I think that you have to realize that – you have to ask your market to pay you. And your gallery system has to encourage this. To get a little more for your work so that you can take that economic freedom to allow you to take chances, to go beyond the ordinary. You can't be so concerned about selling something that you can't do that, any more than you can let your gallery tell you, oh, we love your teapots, we sell them all, why do you do this other stuff? You see? You make such beautiful teapots. Well, yeah, we need teapots, and that's good. But if you break the teapot that you've had for 15 years like that one, to go back to the same artist and say, I want that teapot, he can't just go back to his calendar and flip the pages back and arrive at that point and make that teapot again. That's a denial of his value as an individual. It's a denial of his growth. It's a denial of him as a person.

…The collector makes a contribution. The dealer makes a contribution by being able to say, this is a growth situation here. We have to put in a little extra so that ten years from now when you buy another one, it'll be better. Otherwise, you're just squeezing the person down to nothing. (p. 24)

Littleton implies that without galleries and collectors recognizing the need for growth and improvement, the field would stagnate. Warmus (1995) also notes the important role collectors played in the movement:

The market for studio glass matured from roughly 1979-1989, led by legendary dealers, notably Ferdinand Hampson and Douglas Heller, who in many ways took the place of art critics as promoters of the "new glass". In my mind, the key innovation in this market was the development of a close knit and highly involved community of collectors on a national (not regional) scale, unlike anything in the

artworld, who for many reasons found that they enjoyed each other's company, enjoyed taking glassblowing lessons, founding philanthropic societies to support emerging artists, etc.

Furthermore, on the same panel at the Glass Art Society 2005 Conference that Hanning's article developed from, Dan Klein (2005) suggested that the glass field suffered from "too few judges (with the same old battle axes wielding their weapons and reciting their mantras time and again)" (p. 96). He goes on to describe what he feels is one of the better juries he has sat on, stating that it included: "a glass collector, a glass historian, an architect, a designer, a journalist, and an arts administrator" (p. 96). Klein indicates that a well-rounded jury may actually result in a better selection process.

Another important indicator of success is the New Glass Review, published annually by the Corning Museum of Glass. Started in 1979, the publication features jury-selected work from emerging and established artists around the world. Inclusion in the New Glass Review is a hallmark of success from the field.

Associative Strategies to Assimilate Competitors

Associative strategies perform the polar opposite function as closure strategies and are reminiscent of the old adage, "if you can't beat 'em, join 'em." Associative strategies use financial rewards, mutual support or normative controls to make the field more attractive and/or homogenous. There are several ways this can be done.

One associative strategy is to recruit people who are already committed to the norms and values of the profession. In other words, the occupation attracts individuals with similar concerns who are working in the field – they find the current culture appealing, which seems to be true for glass artists, as discussed during the previous attribute, field structuration. Another indicator discussed in field structuration that is an

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associative strategy is the formation of professional associations, which has occurred for many different players in the field, including gallery owners, dealers, collectors and material suppliers in addition to the artists.

Another strategy that may be seen at work in the glass field is the exposure of members to the influence of informal work groups, isolating them from outside contact and allowing them to bond both professionally and socially. Retreats, like the experiences participants have at Pilchuck Glass School, Penland School of Crafts or Haystack Mountain School of Crafts, are a perfect example of this. Participants are invited to an art campus in a remote location, where they are surrounded by other artists and submerged in an intensive experience.

A strategy that doesn't appear to be as prevalent in the glass field is financial rewards, like pensions or fringe benefits tied to length of service. While some of this may occur on a very limited basis between the most successful glass artists and their gaffers, the extent to which it occurs is too insignificant to consider this a strategy at play in the field.

A final normative control is using the selection process for who enters the field to choose individuals who have acquired the proper values and attitudes through education. While this normally occurs formally through credentials or licenses, which doesn't happen in the studio glass field, it does occur on a more subtle basis through student memberships and exhibitions, which help introduce students to those already working in the field and their culture. Because of the significant impact an artist's network may have on his career the connections made though education also help influence the individual's success in the field.

Benchmarks of Success are Widely Understood (Career Path)

Before a career path can be acknowledged, it must be determined what a successful

career entails. Without a doubt the most successful and publicly recognized glass artist is

Dale Chihuly. Chihuly, who was introduced to the medium while an MFA student, had

the honor of being one of the first Americans invited to study in an Italian glass studio.

He went on to teach at the glass program at the Rhode Island School of Design in the

1970's and today has work in more than 175 collections. His business includes a

glassblowing and warehousing team of forty artisans, packing and shipping operations,

and a chemistry lab, employing more than 200 individuals (engineers, lighting experts,

glassblowers, installers and sales reps). His work is so sought after that a store in the

Bellagio, a Las Vegas casino, sells Chihuly authorized replicas that sell from $2,500 to

6,000, which are referred to as "Cheapulys." While he refuses to disclose his revenue, in

2000 alone he sold more than 200 glass sculptures priced from 10,000 to 2 million

dollars. And if imitation is the highest form of flattery, Chihuly should be honored that

his work has been counterfeited on numerous occasions (Forbes, 2001).

Within the field there are many other "stars" who highlight what success can

mean. Their names surface often among collectors, journals, exhibitions and awards.

Warmus (1995) discusses their influence as pioneers:

> Studio glass is at a pivotal point in its history. The recognition of established
> masters including Tom Patti and Dale Chihuly (the alpha and omega of technique
> and marketing), Richard Marquis and Dan Dailey (our humorists), Paul Stankard
> and Mark Peiser (pioneering naturalists), Howard Ben Tre, Mary Shaffer and
> Marvin Lipofsky (all sculptors) and the increasing attention paid to their work by
> writers, museums and collectors indicates the passing of the era of isolated
> innovation within the field. First wave work has the fresh, innocent quality
> typical of profound innovation and when the history of studio glass is written, the
> period from roughly the founding of the Glass Art Society in 1971 into the late

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1980s will be theirs as originators and educators. And as innovators, they became the ones to challenge.

These individuals have set the bar for all those to follow.

Within studio glass art, there are many indicators of success. These may be the usual suspects such as money, reputation, degree attainment, awards, and/or coverage in magazines/journals, indicators common throughout many professions. Unique to the arts though are such indicators as public and private commissions as well as acceptance of work into juried exhibitions and collections. Another indicator of success that may come earlier in a studio glass artist's career is invitations to attend retreats and residencies, which may include emerging as well as established artists. One such example is the Pilchuck School of Glass in Seattle that was established by Dale Chihuly which offers competitive month-long workshops with internationally renowned artists to glass blowers from all stages of development. Furthermore, a real sign of achievement comes when an artist is no longer attending workshops and is asked to give demonstrations or instruct a workshop. Even when working on a team of glassblowers there is a hierarchy, which may be linked to the history of glass production:

A Gaffer was paid by the company and then would hire and fire at will "unskilled laborers" to assist him. These laborers included:

Crack-off boy—would remove a finished piece of hot glass from the end of the blow pipe by cracking it off

Lehrboy—would carry the hot glassware to the annealing lehr

Mold boy—would sit at the feet of the gaffer opening and closing the hinged blow mold as required.

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Girls often worked as inspectors and packers of the finished product. (Corning Museum of Glass, n.d.a)

Similar to this, glass artists today may work in one of several capacities when creating a piece: as the gaffer, who is basically the artistic director and controls the production of the work; as the head assistant, who controls the reheating of components and occasionally controls the piece; as the middle assistant, who brings bits; or, as the gopher, who opens doors and shields the gaffer and head assistant from the heat as necessary. How these positions are viewed is based on the reputation of the gaffer as the more esteemed the employer is the better the employee is assumed to be. For instance, even being a gopher can be prestigious if one is blocking the heat for Chihuly.

Once success is defined, one has to determine how to achieve it. However, for studio glass artists, there doesn't appear to be any set career path. Unlike medical, legal and educational professions, there is no one way to achieve success as a studio glass artist. Historically, individuals have had extensive apprenticeships before being recognized as successful glass artists but with the introduction of university programs more aspiring glass artists choose to study in the university. University programs have institutionalized the apprentice experience and provide alternative access to equipment. It would appear that the field is becoming more professionalized in this sense, but there currently is no stipulation that one has to have a degree to be successful. Because there doesn't seem to be any publication regarding a studio glass artist's career path, a review of renowned glass artists' biographies revealed that most had either been apprenticed at a very young age or received a B.F.A., and often an M.F.A., in glass. There appeared to be many entry points to working with the medium:

- Apprenticeship: The oldest model for learning, apprenticeships offer an in-depth experience with a "master" glass blower. Often beginning at a very young age, the apprentice works his way up until his ready to go out on his own. This model is still commonly used today in Italy.

  - World renowned Italian glass artist Lino Tagliaepietra began an apprenticeship at the age of 11.

- Family tradition: Similar to the apprenticeship model, some glass blowers are born into the field, following a tradition passed down from past generations. These artists typically begin in the medium at a very young age.

  - Examples of this are Dante Marioni who began blowing glass with his father, Paul, when he was nine years old, or the Lotten clan, heirs to Charles Lotten's throne.

- Nonprofit organizations and co-ops: As the art form has become increasingly popular, nonprofit organizations and co-ops have been founded that often offer courses to the community and are a great means of introduction to the medium.

  - This entry point is too recent of a phenomenon to be the starting point for any contemporary stars but could this change?

- Higher education: Since glass facilities have become increasingly common in institutions of higher education, many students are first exposed to the medium while in school.

  - Already mentioned was Dale Chihuly, who was first introduced to the medium while a graduate student.

It is important to note that self-taught glass blowers are rare, although Tom Patti is an early example, and it would be surprising to learn that anyone was trying to undertake this task today with the prevalence of learning opportunities. This is assumed because the equipment and resources necessary for working in the medium are technically complicated, expensive and potentially dangerous. While someone could potentially develop the equipment and skills in isolation, enough entry points are available that it seems unlikely an interested individual would not seek them out. However, there are a few how-to books that can be referenced while learning, such as the aforementioned Henry Halem's *Glass Notes—A Reference for the Glass Artist, 3rd Edition*. Halem's promotional web site speaks to the small size of the field, as it exclaims on the homepage, "Over 15,000 copies sold." A seemingly small number for book sales, 15,000 represents quite an accomplishment in the glass field.

Once an individual has been introduced to the medium and wants to learn more, there are several avenues for continued learning. These include:

- Private Tutoring Sessions: Individuals may sign up for private lessons through nonprofit organizations, co-ops, or by connecting directly with the individual artist.

- Apprenticeships: As previously discussed, apprenticeships are still common among contemporary glass artists and offer another opportunity for learning, although they tend not to be as formally structured as they were historically. Many glass artists will work for another artist until establishing their own work enough to go out on their own. These opportunities cannot be sought out though, and have to develop from a relationship.

- Courses: As mentioned before, many nonprofit organizations and glass co-ops offer learning opportunities that individuals can enroll in by paying a fee. Courses may be offered by local artists or a visiting artist. Two examples of organizations that do so are the Studio of the Corning Museum of Glass in New York and Glass Axis in Ohio.

- Retreats: Retreats offer an intensive learning experience, often requiring participants to stay over night on the grounds. Typically an experience where participants learn from someone who has established a reputation for a particular skill, retreats may last anywhere from a few days to a month. Two of the more well known retreats for artists are the Pilchuck Glass School in Washington, which was established by Chihuly specifically for glass artists, and the Penland School of Crafts in North Carolina, which offers retreats in most craft mediums.

- Residencies: Typically offered by museums with studio space and higher education institutions, artists are often invited or apply for residencies; hence these opportunities are an honor. Often housing and studio space is provided and the artist may even receive an honorarium, making these experiences highly sought after. Residencies may range anywhere from a couple of weeks to a year or longer. The Wheaton Village in New Jersey and UrbanGlass in Brooklyn, NY both offer prestigious residency opportunities for glass artists.

- Formal Degrees: Since the 1960s many university and college programs have begun offering degrees in glass and today individuals can pursue an associates, bachelors or masters in glass.

- Associates Degree: Salem Community College in New Jersey and Bucks County Community College in Pennsylvania

- Bachelors of Fine Arts: Appalachian Center for Crafts in Tennessee and Rhode Island Institute of Design in Rhode Island

- Masters of Fine Arts: Kent State University in Ohio and Temple University (Tyler) in Pennsylvania

Hence, the career path for glass artists in the United States is unpredictable as there are many opportunities for learning and no specific requirements for success. This is in contrast to Italy, where artists can still earn the title "Master Glass Blower." In the U.S. many artists have proclaimed themselves master glass blowers but no one has awarded them that distinction.

While many of the field's pioneers have M.F.A. degrees, this seems to be coincidental – as university programs where often the location of first exposure. Most often these individuals came to glass having been enrolled in another undergraduate or graduate program, Henry Halem being a prime example (attended UWM for ceramics). While the high number of graduate degrees among the stars would appear to set a precedent, today the career path is still not so clear, as many individuals choose a combination of experiences. In his interview, Halem (2005) even implies this might be the preferential way to do things:

> And in looking back on it, I think there is something to say for letting ten motivated people just knock themselves out and try and figure these things out for themselves. I'm not sure that in a school situation the idea of having to make art or teaching-I don't think you can really teach art. I mean, they call it art school. I am not sure really anymore why they call it art school (after all of my life in art); or, whether this kind of-the way these schools are formalized-whether they can't be reinvented into another-to mobilize them in another way where the students are

more in charge of their own education, than acquiescing to a traditional structure of demonstration and then the student carrying out the orders of the teacher, whatever that is.

I think there is another way to do it and I think by accident, Harvey found that way. And even though you might look at the works that we did and so on, I think there is a vitality to those crude things that we made, that has gone out of what exists now. And I think that camaraderie and that vitality was present then-the need for larger classes, the enrollments are huge. I think success in no small way has been the undoing of glass education, in many ways. (p. 26-27)

However, when asked during an interview whether or not artist's retreats were capable of substituting for university programs, Littleton (2001) had this to say:

I think that the craft schools like Haystack and Penland and Pilchuck are equivalent to the best of the universities in many respects. On the other hand, they are avocational training. The bulk of their training is avocational. Pilchuck, perhaps, has a little more professional background. But, there are an awful lot of people who go there who do not go on. But for those who are going on, it can be a wonderful experience.

Littleton's comments highlight the importance of theoretical knowledge in addition to technical skills for success within the field.

Below is a chart of what the current career path for studio glass artists is assumed to be. Once the initial interest is sparked and an individual catches the "glass bug," they can move in one of three directions, they can begin informal training (red), a formal course of study (blue) or some combination of the two (purple). Note that informal training often results in practical learning experiences while formal studies may introduce more of the theoretical background of glass blowing. The chart is slightly misleading though as an individual does not have to move through the entire tract; both tracts functioning as an ala carte menu, with individuals picking and choosing their course of action. The most frequent and, the assumed, most successful tract is that which crosses over between formal and informal learning opportunities.

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Other indicators of professionalization suggested in the *Social Science Encyclopedia* (Kapur & Kapur, 1996) include institutionalized validation of training, which obviously occurs in the formal education tract but seems highly unlikely to result from informal education opportunities. It also suggests that there needs to exist some institutional means for ensuring socially responsible use of the knowledge once it is obtained. For studio glass artists, there does not appear to be any type of institutionalized means for requiring or enforcing socially responsible use of their knowledge within the field. Any workforce regulations, procedures or code of ethics are ad hoc norms. However, the juxtaposition of glass between craft and art again informs this discussion, as craft has historically been valued for its utilitarian worth, while art has had more difficulty establishing public value.
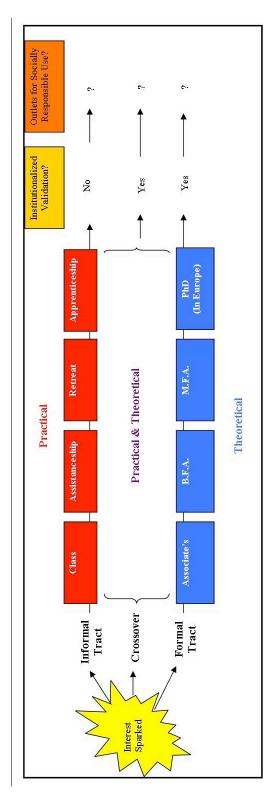
Figure 5.4: Model for Professional Development in the
Glass Field – Potential Career Paths

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Code of Ethics

While there certainly isn't a formal, written code of ethics, it is unclear whether an informal code exists. While discussing the topic with R. Anderson, O. Doriss, A. Kaser and C. McClellan (personal communication, January 9, 2007), it became obvious that if an informal code of ethics exists among glass artists, it is so informal that they are not conscious of it. Some interesting issues did arise during this conversation though, one of which was the notion of authorship.

Authorship tends to be a significant aspect in the definition of art, as most people understand artistic products to be individually crafted, created or designed. This is evident in the definition of studio glass discussed in Chapter II: Adelson (2005) differentiates studio glass from factory glass by saying that "the individual artists complete all aspects of the creation of a piece, from design through signature." However, it is common knowledge among the field, although not necessarily the public, that many glass artists hire other glass blowers to create their work – their only role in the process being the hiring of the team, some design direction and then the name behind the product. When asked whether or not these individual's at least had the artistic vision, carefully laying out the design to the team that will make it, a Seattle glassblower's mantra was shared: "they show us what they want and we show them what they get." The obvious implication here is that the head gaffer interprets the commissioning artist's idea as he or she wishes. Take, for instance, Chihuly, the industry leader. In a recent article for *The Stranger*, Graves (2006) explains the process:

> Chihuly hires a team of glassmakers to craft his art. He claims to come up with all of the designs, and then to relay them to the team in drawings. But at least some of those glassmakers say it doesn't work that way at all.

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"Chihuly relied on those artists he was hiring to come up with creative ideas," said one former Chihuly glassblower, who asked to remain anonymous because he had signed a confidentiality agreement with Chihuly Inc. "We go, 'What if we try it this way or that way?' and he goes, 'Great, yeah, let's do it like that.'" Another Chihuly loyalist, who made the same request for anonymity, put it more plainly: "The stuff I contributed is measurable, and it's out there. I can point to it in galleries. But I was working for hire."

In response to whether or not this was a misleading practice, these young men felt that the notion of authorship was irrelevant for glass making, since, at the very least, almost all glass artists work in teams. Hence, while the art work might bear one person's name at the end of the process, a multitude of people were most likely involved in making the work.

As mentioned previously, an informal code of ethics may also be seen at play in regards to working conditions among artists. While there isn't a labor union or anyone regulating pay and hours, standards do seem to exist. There also appears to be a code regarding the knowledge gained by working for another artist. An example of where this becomes an issue is when an individual has worked for years creating another artist's work and then goes on to create their own product. It becomes an ethical issue for this person to then create work similar to what they were making for the other artist. This very scenario recently became a court case over intellectual property rights when Dale Chihuly sued Robert Kaindl, owner of Art Glass Production, and Bryan Rubino, a former gaffer for Chihuly, for creating work that was too similar to his own. After a lengthy litigation process, Chihuly settled first with Rubino and then, after 14 months, with Kaindl – the terms undisclosed (Kelleher, 2006).

Finally, there is a code regarding the quality of the works glass artists will sell. For instance, because of the chemistry of color, many of the colors used for blowing glass are incompatible with other colors. Hence, a work may be made with incompatible colors and appear fine, only to crack and break at a later date. In similar fashion, most glass artists would deem it unethical to sell a work that has a tiny hairline crack, even though it may not be visible to the buyer.

Ability to Regulate Members

It seems unlikely that the glass field has much control over who enters and exits the occupation, how the work is performed or how individuals are compensated. On one hand, there is no legal certification required to take up the activity, no labor associations to regulate how members are employed or the conditions that they work in. But there are other controls operating in the studio glass field, such as high equipment and materials costs that create an economic barrier to entry. The field does have a degree of monopolization over the body of knowledge because glass blowing requires extremely specialized knowledge that would be difficult to teach one's self. The field is also fairly small, so word spreads quickly regarding working conditions and interactions.

One of the distinguishing characteristics from work in the arts versus most other fields is that there is not a standardized rate of pay for artistic production. Because an artist's work is valued based on its unique artistic vision in relationship to technical mastery of the medium, every individual is going to be compensated as uniquely as their work. Menger (1999) further elaborates on why this is the case:

> Their income, which reflects whether their works are in demand (that is, whether they are sold and at what price), does not derive from a quantity of working time at a given wage rate (Frey & Pommerehne 1989). Creative artists and

craftspeople decide whether or not to continue work in their chosen field according to their income and to the stream of their expected earnings.

A decrease in the price of works by a contemporary artist will promptly be interpreted negatively. Oversupply of the works they produce cannot be defined at any given price. That's why so many creative artists, since they can make their own work opportunities, may, despite working hard and being fully committed, suffer from low or very low income levels, and develop a sense of null or even negative correlation between effort and earnings, an effect reported in many studies (e.g. Jeffri 1991, Moulin 1992). (p. 552-553)

Menger brings up a significant point, noting that each individual artist makes the decision to continue with their artwork based on the income they receive and that the production of more work does not necessarily equate to greater earnings. This brings up the question raised in the introduction as to how an individual knows whether or not it is their artistic work or their marketing capabilities which are holding them back, the answer to which is still not clear.

However, in addition to the artist's role are all of the roles necessary to assist him or her in their production. As mentioned previously, most glass artists work with a team, and industry norms do exist for these relationships and how these individuals are compensated. Throughout the field there is a universal understanding of the roles of the designer, the gaffer, the assistants and how all of these people work together. There is also a clear understanding of a cold worker's role if handing over a piece for them to finish. Standard rates for each of these roles exist (typically calculated by hour, day or piece), though rates may vary geographically due to the concentration of glass artists in any one location. For instance, someone who is a so-so assistant in Ohio may be able to charge a higher rate than they could in Seattle, where glass blowers are plentiful, because there are fewer alternatives for the hiring artist.

Closure Strategies to Shut Out Competitors

Other techniques used to prevent individuals from entering a field are called closure strategies. These strategies work just like they sound, creating a barrier to entering the occupation or field.

One example of a closure strategy is specialized language, or jargon. Jargon is "the continuous use of a technical vocabulary even in places where that vocabulary is not relevant…grates on the reader, encumbers the communication of information and wastes space" (American Psychological Association, 2001, p. 35). As art has been taught in academia rather than apprenticeships, jargon has evolved in the field. Gregg (2003) refers to this as "the proliferation of 'artspeak,' the particular language of critical theory that has become pervasive in academia." There is currently a kind of war occurring between two notions in the arts, the idea that art is for everyone and the idea that the arts should be elitist. The development of artspeak helps further the second notion, isolating the arts from those not academically trained.

The glass field has developed a specialized language, although it has evolved unintentionally. Because of the major influence of Italian artists in the American glass movement, many of the terms used today are the Italian words. While this vocabulary typically relates to tools and equipment, it does add another layer of learning when navigating the field.

Another closure strategy can be certification requirements or high admission standards. While among other glass artists reputation seems to be the main indicator used to determine aptitude, others in the field, like galleries or museums, may use degrees or

participation in various activities to indicate a level of professional success. And should

an individual want to secure a university teaching job, a degree becomes a necessity.

Community Recognition

As the most difficult attribute to obtain, community recognition seems to have eluded the

glass field, in so far as any direct policy or action. By reviewing the following indicators

it quickly becomes clear that the only acknowledgement the field may be currently

receiving is indifference, in that for the most part they are left to their own devices. No

political action has been taken on their behalf and any that currently affect the occupation

do so indirectly, such as tax laws. Figure 5.5 reminds us of the four major indicators of

community recognition: increasing salience of occupation's expertise to the society;

expect work to be motivated by service; increased political standing; and, granted control

of work by the public. Evidence for each indicator is also listed on Figure 5.5.
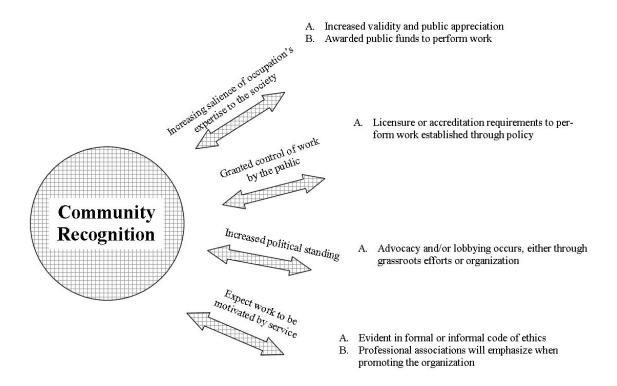
A. Increased validity and public appreciation
B. Awarded public funds to perform work

Increasing salience of occupation's expertise to the society

A. Licensure or accreditation requirements to perform work established through policy

Granted control of work by the public

A. Advocacy and/or lobbying occurs, either through grassroots efforts or organization

Increased political standing

Community Recognition

Expect work to be motivated by service

A. Evident in formal or informal code of ethics
B. Professional associations will emphasize when promoting the organization

Figure 5.5: Indicators and Evidence for Community Recognition

Increasing Salience of Occupation's Expertise to Society

This indicator is really an attempt to determine the value added by an individual's work

to others within his or her field. This value might be the result of recognized

contributions or advancements to the current body or work in the field, through the

development of institutions and/or by adding skills that benefit others.

I believe that this is a new phenomenon within the world of glass. For centuries

master glass blowers have been responsible for passing on the skills necessary to their

successors with relatively little advancement or changes occurring. Many of the

techniques and skills used today have been around for thousands of years. Recently

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though, the studio glass movement has resulted in a surge of innovation and the field is seen to be evolving from a technical trade to an art form.

Today's studio glass artists are recognized for the value they add to the field in all three of the ways discussed by DiMaggio. Innovative studio glass artists are recognized through awards and publications for their contributions to the current body of work. Studio glass artists are also giving back to the community through the establishment of institutions. One such an example of this is the infamous Dale Chihuly, who first established an international artist retreat (Pilchuck School of Glass) and then the Museum of Glass in Seattle, Washington. Studio glass artists are also adding to the body of skills that exist by making resources available. Wet Dog Glass in New Orleans is an example of this, as hot shop owner Eddie Bernard has become one of the foremost builders of glass equipment, he has not only begun producing furnaces for artists around the world but has also made his plans and designs available for a fee and travels to workshops to give demonstrations building equipment. And while the field is evolving, the age old tradition of apprenticeship lives on in the numerous demonstrations given at conferences, workshops and retreats by renowned studio glass artists.

Expect Work to be Motivated by Service

Within the glass, as in all art forms, there is the notion that this is the individual's calling – it is more than an occupation. Hence, the oversupply of artists; they feel compelled to make their work despite critical or commercial success. However, this calling does not necessarily imply a commitment to the great good or some sort of social responsibility; although many glass artists are creating work to stimulate the social conscious. Whether

or not this should be a requirement of art has become a topic for debate among art educators, some believing that it should be:

> Art making, education, and appreciation go hand in hand with confronting societal issues. Art doesn't just react to current events but can define them and clarify them for others. Since art is fundamentally a complicated arena it makes sense that controversy surrounds the teaching of it. How and what to teach art students about the relationship between the arts and social issues is a continual concern in educating artists. While there is a longstanding, traditional belief in art for art's sake and the value of technical expertise and creating "masterpieces" above all else, some artist education programs accept that artists can and should make a difference in the world. Through artistic self expression, artists can go beyond being "concerned citizens" to actually making a difference through means such as public and protest art. Some educators believe that artists have a responsibility to act as agents of social commentary, agitation, and catalysts of change. These programs challenge students to engage communities with their artwork in ways that prove beneficial to society on local, national, and international levels. (Kaser, K. S., Pennington-Busick, S., & Rhoades, M., 2004, p. 12)

Increased Political Standing

Lobbying and advocacy efforts appear to be nonexistent as well on behalf of studio glass artists. While some larger craft associations do attempt to influence public policy, for example the Craft Emergency Relief Fund (CERF), none of the groups focused on glass arts do. No evidence was found of grassroots movements for this occupation either. This makes the lack of policy regarding the occupation's work less surprising, since the field appears to have little or no political clout. Without political standing, it is less likely that those working in the field will receive significant public funds directed to them specifically. What public funds they do receive will be redistributed to them from another source, such as the National Endowment for the Arts.

Like the National Endowment for the Arts, there are some government programs to foster the crafts industry that include glass. One example of this is the White House

Collection of American Craft (n.d.). This collection was founded by President Clinton and the First Lady in 1993 with the belief that, "The support, encouragement, and visibility given to contemporary American crafts in the White House serve as recognition of our country's longstanding tradition of craftmaking and a tribute to the richness and diversity of this important aspect of our heritage." Seventy-two works by seventy-seven craft artists working in clay, fiber, glass, metal and wood were selected based on the "architecture, the historical settings, and the furnishings" of the period rooms in the White House. Another example is the Smithsonian Archives of American Art (n.d.), whose mission is to "illuminate scholarship of the history of art in America through collecting, preserving, and making available for study the documentation of this country's rich artistic legacy," including the craft and decorative arts.

Public policies may also be enacted on behalf of a broader population but may have a direct positive or negative impact on glass artists. An example of this may be tax laws or laws regarding an artist's ability to donate their time or works to nonprofit organizations. Another example is consignment laws, as Littleton (2001) notes in his interview:

> You see there are new developments in the world since the days when I started, one of which is New York and California have pioneered laws on the sale of fine art on consignment. And, these are terribly important. The National Endowment has gotten into the act and commissioned a couple of lawyers to write a book. It's still very valuable: *The Artist-Gallery Partnership*, which explains all of these things very nicely. And, it also lists the states that have consignment laws. Now, it's pretty much all 50 states that have the consignment laws. (p. 26)

These policies may have a significant impact on how an artist works.

Granted Control of Work by the Public

This indicator is most clearly not at play in the glass field, as no type of license or

certification is required by law to pursue the occupation. In fact, very few public policies

ever even take into account the work done by glass artists. Accreditation may exist, but

as implemented by the university system to teach, an internal control not brought about

by the public.

CHAPTER 6

IMPLICATIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Implications for the Field

Having completed the analysis of attributes in Chapter 5, it is important to

summarize what is being accomplished in each attribute and consider in what areas the

studio glass field could benefit from further professionalization. In some cases, choosing

not to pursue an indicator that has traditionally characterized a profession may be the best

decision for artists working in glass. When and where this is the case will be discussed.

Systematic theory is the core attribute upon which the other three can be based

and as such is the first to be developed. Not surprisingly then it is the most well

developed of all the attributes for studio glass artists. As for specialized knowledge and

technical and ideational skills, it seems clear that glass artists are highly trained and

highly skilled individuals. What is less obvious is whether theoretical knowledge is

communally shared. There also seems to be a need for business skill training.

Life long learning is expected and exalted and innovation is rewarded – both

being absolute necessities for survival in the field. Histiography and theory have been

developing: catalogs of exhibitions and collections abound; there are several well

established and useful journals and magazines; and, web resources have proliferated as

technology has advanced. There is still a need for more critical and academic writing

though, as well as information about running a business customized for glass. Another opportunity for further enhancing the field would be to broaden the group of contributors, as the same names constantly appear as authors of texts and articles alike.

An indicator that has been well established for the field is the development of formal institutions for transmitting knowledge. Throughout the last century, art programs flourished in academia for different reasons and glass was quickly welcomed into academia as well, but expensive to establish. Increasing opportunities exist for learning and professional development outside the university as well, through retreats, residencies and classes offered by nonprofit organizations. An apprentice system still exists as well, although little has been recorded about it.

Meanwhile, systematic evaluation and standards is a tricky criterion for the field. While the techniques used when working with glass require a great deal of skill that can be passed on and are easy to judge systematically, the very notion of systematically evaluating the artistic side of that production seems conflicting. Because the arts embrace innovation and difference, having systematic standards could very well be counter productive and seems undesirable. However, there is a definite cry from the field for more critical criticism – a need that could, and should, be addressed.

Once an occupation has established its systematic theory it can begin to organize around it. The first indicator of field structuration is whether or not a collective definition of the occupation and shared culture exists. This analysis revealed that studio glass artists identify closely with one another and that a strong culture exists around the medium. Some question whether or not this culture is being weakened, as more people enter the occupation, but to date the collective definition seems to remain. One

observation that did seem odd was the fact that artists of every technique for working in glass seem to associate with one another except stained glass, which has an independent identity with separate associations and publications. The reason for this is still unclear. This leads to the next indicator, which is whether or not those within the field have come together to form professional associations. Many associations exist, ranging greatly in size, and this investigation looked at four well-established associations that represent various aspects of the field. However, no one umbrella association exists to connect these various communities so it might benefit the field to try to create such a consortium.

Not only do individuals start forming associations, but, as the field becomes more structured, institutions will be founded to support the work of the occupation. This has been true for the glass field, which has seen the establishment of galleries, museums, co-ops, nonprofits and informal and formal educational facilities since it began in the 60's. Institutions can also become increasingly sophisticated as their staffs become more professionalized and often this will result in the emergence of a center-periphery structure, or model organizations. This is certainly the case in the glass field, where within every category of institution there are renowned leaders.

Final indicators of field structuration are an increasing density of interorganizational contacts and an increasing flow of organizationally and professionally relevant information. These two indicators seem directly related, as the first refers to an ever better connected network and the second refers to the exchange of information for continued learning. In the glass field, which is relatively small and well connected, networking is an inherent part of learning. Globalization has made the field even smaller, allowing people to travel and exchange information easily. And the opportunities for

learning continue to increase as more resources and supporting infrastructure are developed and information becomes easier to access, through print publications, video and on-line.

The third attribute discussed in this analysis was professional authority. While studio glass artists have a great deal of autonomy, investigation into these indicators revealed this attribute was much less developed than the first two – as many indicators seemed to be somewhat at play but not comprehensively and others were found to be nonexistent.

Areas where the field has had moderate success are in peer evaluation and associative strategies. For the most part, while artists may not be making the judgments, the respected opinions come from intermediaries inside the field: critics, gallery and nonprofit administrators. However, in a world where Marcel Duchamp claimed that everything was art, pluralism has abounded. The public as well gives some authority to the field, supporting the nonprofits and soliciting the galleries, but, more often than not, form their own opinions of the work rather than relying completely on those within the field. The field also seems to be making use of associative strategies, although unintentionally. Inadvertently, the field has tended to attract like minded people. This may be because of its ceramics roots (many of the pioneers were ceramicists that discovered glass) or because of the very early formation of the Glass Art Society, but the field projects a particular lifestyle that then attracts people to the occupation with similar values and norms. The many retreat and residency opportunities that provide intensive, isolated experiences with others in the field seem to help further reinforce the culture

with those in the occupation. However, this does not appear to be the intention for why these experiences are structured that way.

An indicator that is quite convoluted is whether or not benchmarks and a clear career path exist for the field. Within the field, there seem to be several definitions of success, which fall along a continuum (or money/fame hierarchy). And within these definitions, there appear to be several ways to achieve this success. While the pioneers of the field often had a MFA or an apprenticeship at an early age, it is unclear whether or not this trend will continue. There are many avenues for learning and many combinations of experiences that seem to produce some measure of success for the field. However, it is clear that a combination of theoretical and technical knowledge is necessary.

Another indicator of professional authority is the existence of an informal or formal code of ethics. A formal code certainly does not exist for this occupation and it seems like it may be too late for the field to write one, as there is no over-arching professional association to implement a formal code of ethics. Hence, the question becomes, "who would write it?" and if they did, "how would buy-in be fostered?" It seems like a difficult task to undertake since the culture and norms are already so well established. However, an informal code does seem to be understood through the accepted norms of the occupation.

As with standardization, often full-achievement of these indicators may actually be undesirable. Prime examples of this are the ability of the occupation to regulate its own members and the use of closure strategies to monopolize the knowledge. While art speak might create a sense of elitism and help distance the studio glass field from the

public, these indicators would require the field to regulate who enters (and exits) the occupation. Often in the arts, innovators and stars aren't recognized until after they have been working in the field for sometime. By screening who can become a studio glass artist, the field would run the risk of greatly limiting itself:

> Full employment in the artistic labor market would require, on the one hand, a regulation on entry into the profession, and, on the other, either sufficient homogeneity on the supply-side or a high enough degree of insensitivity to differences in quality on the demand side, such that the substitutability of artists and goods in the various sectors of production ensures against disequilibrium in the market. But, then, on what is that other requirement, that of the free expression of individual creativity, to be based? On artistic individualism; the product of a movement of progressive autonomization and professionalization of the sphere of artistic activities, according to the Weberian analysis, and the force behind competition among artists. To isolate the nonmonetary dimensions of artistic work and imagine that the practice of artistic activity could be at once fully satisfying and risk-free is to ignore the two interconnected principles of the evolution of artistic life. It was professionalization by the market as the organizational form of artistic practices that made possible the triumph of creative individualism; but professionalization also maximizes the role of risk in the choice and exercise of professions in which those who feel called upon to create are infinitely more numerous than those who can succeed. (Menger, 1999, p. 571)

Menger makes the point that the only way to minimize risk and guarantee success is to limit the number of people entering the field, which would most likely deteriorate the quality of the art being produced, since the quality is linked directly to the intense competition of the field.

Without professional authority, community recognition is unlikely, and this was found to be true for the glass field. Little could be said for many of these indicators, as they were almost entirely undeveloped. The two indicators that seemed to be partly in effect were whether or not the occupation's expertise was becoming increasingly salient to the community or if the work of the occupation is expected to be motivated by service. While it seems that most artists do experience a calling to their profession and probably

see themselves as contributing to humanity and culture, this is not necessarily in the same terms as this criterion is applied to other professions. Whether or not the arts should be about social commentary and education is controversial, and is currently being debated by many higher art education institutions. Meanwhile, the occupation's expertise does appear to be becoming more salient, as many artists are giving back to their community; however, this could be further encouraged through the culture of the field and by professional associations.

Another indicator of community recognition is whether or not the public has formally granted an occupation control of their work through policy. As previously mentioned, this does not seem to be something the field would even want to achieve:

> Cultural policies as regarding patterns of public support for artistic labor markets may be at odds with the way firms and entrepreneurs take advantage of the attractiveness of artistic occupations and of individual erroneous expectations. Increasing flexibility, which can be associated with higher rates of artistic innovation or, at least, with increasing differentiation in production, transfers more and more of the occupational risk down onto artists. Artists may only partly manage it through individual strategies of diversification. Public policies are burdened with another part of the costs of insurance against individual risk (that of low income and low reputation) as well as social risk, that of having innovations underrated and of experiencing a suboptimal cultural development. (Menger, 1999, p. 570)

Menger makes an excellent case for why some things in the arts are better left to their own devices and, while a controlled glass field may sound appealing to those working in it, the lack of such power is most likely a blessing for the art form.

Another way is which studio glass artists may be recognized by the community is through either direct or indirect public funding. Therefore, the field should be interested in the final indicator: whether or not the political standing of studio glass artists has increased or is increasing. The lack of advocacy efforts for glass makes it unlikely that

the field's nonexistent political standing will increase in the future. What advocacy and lobbying efforts are undertaken are typically done so in the broader context of crafts, and this seems unlikely to change. However, this may be an opportune time for the field to make some effort to find a seat at the table, as communities throughout the U.S. and Western Europe race to foster their creative industries:
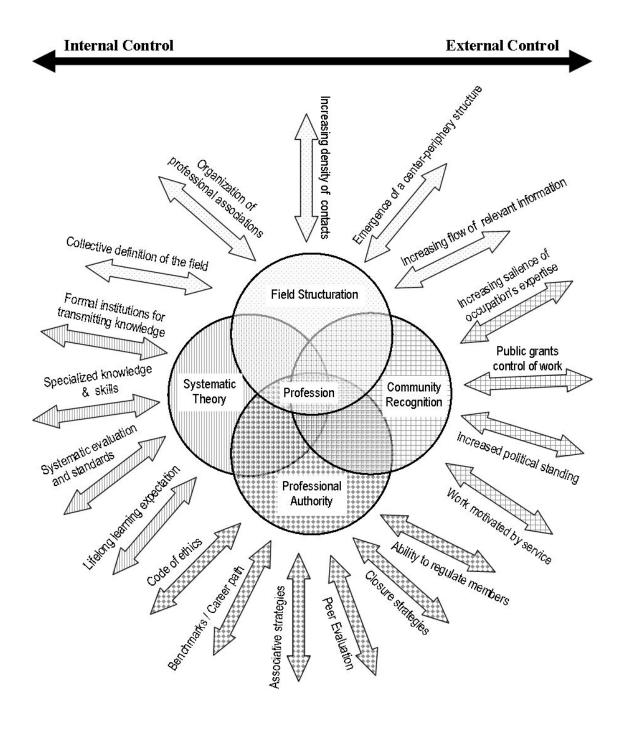
> There is currently an upsurge of interest in the creative industries from both a cultural and an economic perspective. Positioning the craft sector within this wider grouping allows it to benefit from increased public and policy exposure. (McAuley & Fillis, 2005, p. 140)

This interest around the creative industries presents a policy window that the field may be able to take advantage of; although it is rather unlikely they would have much success on their own since they haven't been developing relationships and political resources all along. However, at the very least, studio glass artists could take a more active role through the larger and more active collectives.

In conclusion, this analysis suggests that through its rapid evolution over the last thirty-five years or so, the studio glass movement has been professionalizing and can be considered a semi-profession. The professionalization of the field does not appear intentional but is, for the most part internally, driven. Isomorphism seems to have largely contributed to why the field has evolved the way it has, with many of the pioneers coming from a ceramics background and basing their decisions off that field. While there appears to be several ways in which the field could continue to professionalize, many of the indicators were found to be potentially counterproductive for the field. Because of this, achieving professional status may not be worth what it would cost the art form.

In order to help further illustrate this discussion, the diagram of attributes has been reformatted to represent the findings of this investigation. Those attributes and indicators that are well developed for the field are shown with a wider, darker arrow and bold writing. Items that are partially established but still require more development have regular arrows and fonts. Meanwhile, attributes and indicators that are not developed and are unlikely to develop fade from the picture, with a much narrower and paler arrow and italics writing. By recreating the visual in this way one quickly sees that as the chart progresses from internal to external control, the indicators and respective attributes are increasingly less developed for the studio glass field. The star represents where these attributes most likely overlap, clearly landing within systematic theory and field structuration, as almost all of the indicators were well developed for both of these attributes. A point of the star falls in the area where these two attributes overlap with professional authority, since this attribute is slightly developed. However, none of the star falls within the realm of community recognition, as this attribute is almost completely undeveloped.

In order to further illustrate this difference, Figure 6.1 shows the Attributes of Professionalization as developed at the beginning of this investigation in response to the literature review. This is followed by Figure 6.2, the updated version as it applies to the studio glass field.

Internal Control ←→ External Control

Increasing density of contacts

Emergence of a center-periphery structure

Organization of professional associations

Increasing flow of relevant information

Collective definition of the field

Increasing salience of occupation's expertise

Formal institutions for transmitting knowledge

Public grants control of work

Specialized knowledge & skills

Field Structuration

Systematic Theory

Profession

Community Recognition

Professional Authority

Increased political standing

Systematic evaluation and standards

Work motivated by service

Lifelong learning expectation

Ability to regulate members

Code of ethics

Closure strategies

Benchmarks / Career path

Associative strategies

Peer Evaluation
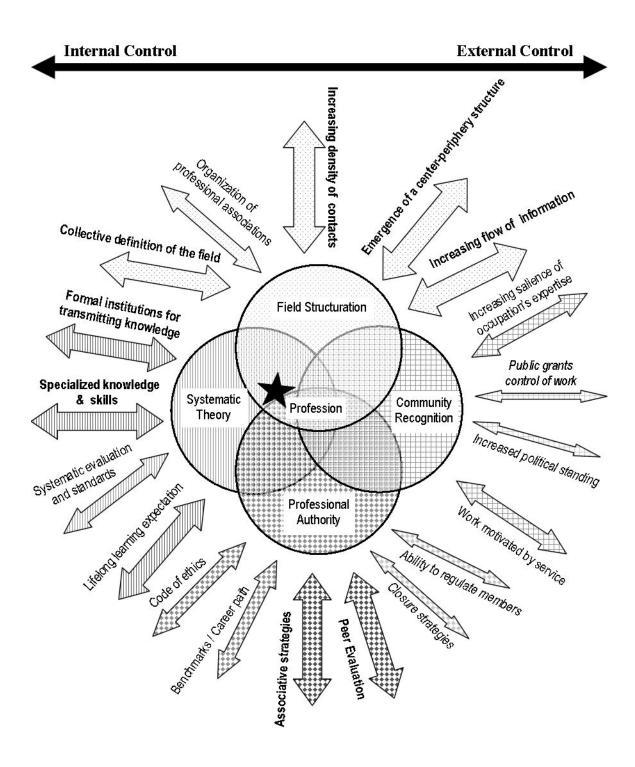
6.1: Attributes of Professionalization

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Figure 6.2 Attributes of Professionalization Applied to Studio Glass Field

Having updated the Attributes of Professionalization figure for studio glass artists, it appears that the model needs to once more be updated. Just as the attributes and indicators were developed from what has been historically used in the literature on professions, it appears that once more this model should be changed in several ways when discussing the arts.

Figure 6.3 on page 209 shows the updated model, with changes from the original figure indicated in bold, capital letters. One of the most significant adjustments is the attribute name change from "professional authority" to "professional identity." While authority implies power or influence, identity signifies uniqueness, which is more characteristic of the arts. This shift is also reflected in two of the indicators for this attribute. "Closure strategies" changes to, "non-closure strategies," and "the ability to regulate members" changes to, "the ability to recognize members." This reflects the earlier discussion regarding the inclusive nature of the arts, which would be detrimental to the sector if changed to determine who could create art. Two other indicators for professional identity change as well. "Code of ethics" changes to, "code of practice," signifying that there aren't really ethical dilemmas during the creation of artworks but there are certainly norms for production. The other indicator to change is the presence of "benchmarks / career path" to "portfolio careers," recognizing the shift in how work is understood.

While the other attributes' names remain the same, a few other indicators change. Two of the four indicators within community recognition are adjusted. "Public grants control of work" changes to, "public rewards work." This is an important change because the indicator still regards public acknowledgment and support of the work being

done. However, being granted control of the work is not something that is that is

desirable for the arts, as previously discussed, while rewards like grants and public art

commissions would be welcomed. Meanwhile, "work motivated by service" changes to,

"work has expectation of public value." While artists work may not be motivated by

service there is often an expectation that a valuable contribution will be made to society

through the creation of their work and this notion may be substituted for the other. The

final indicator to change is in the foundational attribute, systematic theory: "formal

institutions for transmitting knowledge." Here, there is an addition of the word

"informal," as learning opportunities in informal institutions make as significant a

contribution in the arts as do formal.

Internal Control → ← External Control

Increasing density of contacts

Emergence of a center-periphery structure

Organization of professional associations

Increasing flow of relevant information

Collective definition of the field

Increasing salience of occupation's expertise

Formal & INFORMAL institutions for transmitting knowledge

Public REWARDS WORK

Specialized knowledge & skills

Systematic evaluation and standards

Increased political standing

Field Structuration

Systematic Theory

Profession

Community Recognition

Professional IDENTITY

Lifelong learning expectation

Code of PRACTICE

Work HAS EXPECTATION OF PUBLIC VALUE

PORTFOLIO CAREERS

Ability to RECOGNIZE members

Associative strategies

Peer Evaluation

NON-Closure strategies

Figure 6.3 Attributes of Professionalization for the Arts

Implications for Studio Glass Artists

Besides indicating what areas the glass field could improve upon through analysis of the

attributes, this study also brought up some important concepts for glass artists. By

embracing the notion of portfolio careers and diversifying one's risk, studio glass artists

can begin to see themselves as entrepreneurs – an empowering concept.

Ruth Rentschler (2002) explores this concept in her book, *Entrepreneurial Arts*

Leader: Cultural Policy, Change and Reinvention. Like professionalism, the concept of

entrepreneurism is relatively new, Rentschler crediting the coining of the term

"entrepreneur" to "French economist J.B. Say in the early nineteenth century" (p. 42).

Like professionalism, entrepreneurship creates wealth and value. While it does not have

to be in the economic sphere the resources do have to be economic. Entrepreneurs are

seen as change agents and innovators and are characterized by risk-taking, pro-

activeness, competitive aggressiveness and new ideas/techniques. Rentschler applies this

concept to the arts, stating "As the outcome for a particular arts organization is not certain

in any 'income market,' entrepreneurial activity is required to maximize revenue from

each funding source" (p. 44). Hence, entrepreneurism can help explain why some arts

institutions thrive while others don't.

Menger (1999) also states that artists are naturally entrepreneurs:

Self-employment is today the most frequent work status in the arts. Proportions
vary with national contexts and occupations, but trends are similar: self-
employment increasingly acts as a driving force in the expansion of artistic labor
markets. The careers of self-employed artists display most of the attributes of the
entrepreneurial career form: the capacity to create valued output through the
production of works for sale, the motivation for deep commitment and high
productivity associated with their occupational independence—control over their
own work, a strong sense of personal achievement through the production of
tangible outputs, the ability to set their own pace, but also a high-degree of risk-

taking, as shown by the highly skewed distribution and high variability of earnings, as well as the low amount of time allocated on average to their primary creative activity (Alper et al 1996). (p. 552)

Menger's comments illustrate the fact that much of what artists enjoy (autonomy, creativity) and dislike (high-risk, low earnings) about their work is directly linked to the fact that they are self-employed.

Edward Malecki (2006, May), a professor in the Geography Department at The Ohio State University, explored the idea of "Building Entrepreneurial Skills" for artists during a similarly titled lecture at the 2006 Barnett Symposium. He perceived the development of entrepreneurial skills as the answer to artists being able to pursue the arts as their life and livelihood – avoiding a "day job." Entrepreneurs differ from corporate and business school models because the entrepreneur works to supplement his or her skills without trying to learn all of the skills themselves. Malecki stated that this was important because there is just too much to know and the required skills would be endless. Because creative people know their field but not necessarily how to run a business, he argued that artists need to be entrepreneurial and discover ways to have others perform the business aspects of their work. Hence, entrepreneurial artists would need lists of contacts to provide the knowledge they need. And while they might not always trust these contacts, they need to be able to rely on them. An example Malecki gave was an artist determining how much to charge for a work of art. He argued that the artist should rely on others to help guide him or her in the pricing of their work rather than trying to know their market. Malecki also suggested several places for artists to look for help and sources of information:

- ❖ Customers and suppliers

- ❖ Competition
- ❖ Trade shows
- ❖ Experienced mentors

Malecki said from his own research that he had found customers and suppliers to often be the most common sources for information with competitors being a close second. However, he suggested that the best source of information is experienced mentors, who can provide highly relevant expertise. Malecki had three preliminary suggestions for how concepts of entrepreneurialism could be imported into the arts in a more systematic fashion; first off, that incubators with experienced mentors could be created; secondly, that training in the arts should include finance; and, third, informed networking needs to be promoted.

Malecki's sentiment was echoed during the conversation I had with several young men working in the glass field, even discussing the concept of entrepreneurialism without using the term directly. For instance, one glass blower continually referred to himself and the others as "mini-corporations." They also felt that networking is the single most significant way to establish one's self in the field – that it was impossible to have success without it. One stated that a studio glass artist couldn't expect to be successful if they created their work in isolation. These emerging artists also stressed the importance of marketing, but questioned whether or not the person or the product was more important, bringing to mind Malecki's emphasis on the individual's communication skills. When asked how they knew what to do next in their career, the answer was, again, their network. They said the motivation to improve or try something new came from their peers and mentors and that this motivation would be the impetus for then seeking out

tools like journals, demonstrations and classes (R. Anderson, O. Doriss, A. Kaser, and C. McClellan, personal communication, January 9, 2007).

<div align="center">*For Further Research*</div>

This investigation is just the tip of the iceberg for research pertaining to studio glass art. As discussed in the literature review, little academic research has been conducted in the arts, much less on the narrower topic of glass. While individuals within the field like Martha Drexler Lynn have begun to write wonderful historical accounts of the movement, much remains to be done. This study alone has presented nineteen potential topics, as each of the indicators explored in the analysis could be the topic of a much more thorough investigation, and in conclusion has raised many more questions than it has answered. Below are other areas for further research that seem like obvious next steps from this investigation.

Demographic Studies

As so often is the case in the arts, demographic information regarding studio glass arts is difficult to come by. What is available in the field was overviewed in Chapter 4 but the gaps in information were many. A challenging but worthwhile exercise would be to try to collect more in-depth and inclusive information about studio glass artists.

Profiles of Intermediaries

Another area of research that would be interesting to undertake is a more focused look at the various intermediaries at play in the glass field: critics, gallery administrators, agents and consultants, nonprofit glass representatives, and education administrators. These individuals play a significant role in enabling studio glass artists to succeed and little is

written about whom these people are, why or how they are in these positions and what support they need to support glass artists.

Mapping Apprenticeship System

While apprenticeships are an important learning opportunity for aspiring studio glass artists, little is known regarding how they work: how these relationships form, how many people have experienced them, what they are typically like or how long they last. While it is not necessarily recognized formally as an apprenticeship, and may more often be referred to as a mentorship, this system represents an important and under-recognized learning tool in the field.

Understanding the Materials and Supplies Market

In the beginning, glass artists built there own equipment and made their own batch and color. Today, many glass artists would not be able to create their work without purchasing the appropriate materials and equipment. A whole market sprang up in response to the increasing needs of glass artists – from specialized businesses that serve only the glass field to those that serve larger industries – providing a unique opportunity to explore how this subsidiary market evolved.

Mapping Artistic Work among Sectors

Some of the demographic information in Chapter 4 began to make implications about which markets were most successful for studio glass artists. However, a survey titled, "Crossover: How Artists Build Careers across Commercial, Nonprofit and Community Work" by Markusen et al (2006) illuminates how much more could be learned by further research into where and how glass artists are spending their time. This study focused on artists working in the Los Angeles and San Francisco Bay area, defining artists as

"anyone who self-identifies as an artist, spends ten or more hours a week at his/her artwork (whether for income or not), and shares his/her work with others beyond family and close friends" (p. 7). The authors explain why they perceived this to be a significant undertaking in the preface:

> Why artists? The art world or worlds, as Howard Becker (1982) taught us, are highly complex, consisting of tens of thousands of overlapping private, nonprofit and public organizations, intricate supply change relationships, a myriad of informal networks among participants, and changing degrees of separation between artist and audience. Artists are very likely to be self-employed, many of them working on contract or funded on a project-by-project basis and others marketing their completed work themselves. The organizations and individuals that train, hire, fund, commission, produce and present artists often have only a foggy idea of the full extent of artists' activities – where they get their ongoing inspiration, where they are exposed to the best in their fields and to new techniques and media, how they make a living, why they decide to make a commitment to particular art forms, forums, employers, and a place to live, and how they develop a following. We believed at the outset that asking artists directly about their experience across sectors would produce insights that would help the art worlds' many participants work better together. (p. 5)

Not only did this study explore where artists were spending their time in relationship to their earnings but also discovered what they find most rewarding about each of these sectors:

> More artists rank the commercial sector highest in offering greater understanding of artistic and professional conventions, broader visibility, networking that enhances artwork opportunities, and higher rates of return. Artists rank the not-forprofit sector highest for increasing aesthetic satisfaction, exploring new media, collaborating with artists across media, and satisfying emotional needs. The community sector ranks highest as a place to enrich community life, affirm cultural identity, and pursue political and social justice goals. (p. 8)

The report also included "recommendations for removing barriers to crossovers" and outlined these suggestions for the many parties who play a role in the sector: artists; educational and training institutions; artists' service organizations; commercial sector employers and trade associations; nonprofit and community organizations; foundation

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and public sector funds; media; government agencies; arts advocacy groups; and, sector

leaders and managers. Following are the recommendations for artists:

- Develop an open mind towards crossover.
- Aggressively pursue diverse skills and knowledge during and after training.
- Spend more time documenting and marketing one's work.
- Learn business skills and "soft" (i.e. social) skills.
- Devote time to networking across sectors and disciplines.
- Find role models and mentors working in different sectors.
- Volunteer in another sector. (p. 8)

It would be interesting to see if similar findings would be revealed for study glass artists.

International Comparison

As repeatedly mentioned throughout this investigation, the studio arts movement was

aided in large part by knowledge from around the world, as many countries abroad boast

a rich history of glass making. A close knit community to begin with, globalization

increases not only the competition among glass artists around the world, but also

opportunities for collaboration and shared ideas. By comparing and contrasting the

American glass field with others from around the world much could be learned.

International Market Potential

Another impact of globalization is that the market for selling is no longer just local,

regional or national, but international. This is true for studio glass artists as well. Further

research could be conducted to determine the impact this has had on American studio

glass artists, in particular what successes individual's have had and what barriers they

have encountered:

> Most recently, there has been a heightened interest in selling overseas (Knott,
> 1994). Like other firms of similar size – usually [small- and medium-sized
> enterprises (SMEs)] and micro-enterprises (employing less than 10 people) – craft
> businesses tend to be exposed to similar barriers to entry into international
> markets, such as lack of financial resources and marketing expertise, and

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availability of a skilled workforce. They also share a lack of awareness of export information and business support advice (Leeke, 1994). (McAuley & Fillis, 2005, p. 141)

By understanding the opportunities and challenges of competing in the global market, artists will be better prepared to make a decision about whether or not they want to expand their market.

Art versus Craft

With its roots in craft and its art ambitions, glass provides an interesting medium to discuss the relationship and controversy of these categories. The notion of what each is has been changing drastically since the middle of the 20th Century and it would be fascinating to spend more time investigating this distinction in the studio glass field. While some dismiss this topic as irrelevant, the aforementioned quote from the Glass Art Society president reveals that this debate is alive and well, even among the professional association.

The Future of Studio Glass Art

In conclusion, the glass field appears to have many directions to grow in. William Warmus penned an essay in 1995 title "The End?" in which he raises the question of whether or not the studio glass movement has run its course:

> We have perhaps forgotten that studio glass is largely about technique and broadening the definition of the factory: although it began in the United States as a way to get the creative glassmaker out of industry and into a pristine studio, it was also a way to put the artist back in control of techniques and some kind of factory. Today artists like Dale Chihuly and Dan Dailey are the direct heirs to Tiffany and Galle who, in the words of Harvey Littleton, "were trained as artists and had chosen glass, but [who] chose to work within the framework of factories that they founded, factories that were totally under their control so that they made very exciting things". This is why studio glass begins and ends in America, where glassmakers first felt expelled from industry and where many now control their own homemade factories.

Not only does Warmus predict the end of the movement, because of the authorship issues

discussed during Chapter 5, he also notes the fact that the very definition of a movement

implies that there is a beginning and an end:

> Most art movements last only a generation and the styles grouped together under
> the term studio glass are not exempt. Exceptional is the fact that new waves of
> studio glassmakers and collectors often behave as if their world will continue to
> evolve at the rapid pace set by the early innovators. This leads to the marketing of
> "innovations" that repeat, sometimes unknowingly, the early successes of the first
> wave. The terrain of studio glass is only now being charted, its circumference and
> boundaries measured, our susceptibility to imitations lessened. (Warmus, 1995)

Warmus draws the conclusion that the movement has come to its end, paralleling it to

what he envisions must have occurred in the Roman Empire, the last time such a huge

revolution in glass making occurred:

> Studio glass itself is not stagnant, it is complete. There is an uncanny parallel
> between the development of studio glass and of glass blowing in ancient Rome.
> As Donald Harden noticed, in writing for The Glass of the Caesars, "There must
> have been some experimenting before glass-blowing became accepted and well
> understood by glassworkers... but ...within twenty or thirty years they proved
> capable of developing almost all the inflation techniques still present nearly 2,000
> years later in the workshops of their modern successors." I believe the argument
> can be made that the period of innovation in studio glass, roughly from 1962
> through the end of the nineteen eighties, was the most significant period in the
> history of glass since Roman times.

Warmus creates a daunting picture for studio glass arts, insinuating that the great period

of art making is over as the field moves back to its factory and craft roots.

Warmus has obviously shared this hypothesis with others in the field, directly

asking Halem (2005) while interviewing him. But it also comes up during Littleton's

(2001) interview, even though Warmus is not present. Both Halem and Littleton respond

in a much more optimistic manner. Halem (2005) replies that he sees the studios creating

beautiful work and surviving, maybe not in the same way as they did in the beginning of

the movement, but remaining a vital part of the field none the less:

> Well, you know, I think it works-it cuts two ways. One of the things I really like about studio glass from the traditional sense is, is that they have revived the art of the container-the independent, the individual container. And when I go to different cities, I mean, there are these gift shops and they are no more than gift shops, and in all honesty, some of them have some pretty extraordinary, beautiful containers that are coming out of studios. I have never heard of them-people I had never heard of course; there is so many, and some of them are quite beautiful.
>
> Now, they are certainly influenced by all of the other things that they have seen in the container forms, but the skill of them and the surface beauty of them is really there that really never existed, at least in the giftware market before studio glass came into existence, and for that, I have to really thank the studio… …I see it as cottage industries, and those that are good at it make a living at it, and those that aren't, don't make a living at it; they keep another day job. (p. 49-50)

Meanwhile, Littleton (2001) has a more romantic retort as to why Warmus' notion is a

moot point:

> Well, I've been asked especially by people like [William] Warmus, and so on, what do I think is going to happen in glass? Haven't people pretty much done everything? Won't it sort of fade out? And I tell them that as long as children are born – and they're born every minute and more often – each one has unique experiences from the moment of birth that are waiting to contribute to what they will be. Some of them will be influenced by glass as a material. And they will put all of that unique experience, things that we can't understand now, and they'll bring that to glass. What that glass will be who knows? We don't care. We just know that they will have the opportunity to go on with it. The world is their oyster, you know. We've broken the trail for a lot of them. (p. 21)

So who will be right? Only time well tell. But it is the conclusion of this investigation

that there is much more yet to explore about the glass field and much left yet to be

accomplished by studio glass artists.

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