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Margaret Macintyre Latta
University of Nebraska-Lincoln, U.S.A.

Christine Marmé Thompson
Pennsylvania State University, U.S.A.

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Art Integration as School Culture Change: A Cultural Ecosystem Approach to Faculty Development

William Charland

Western Michigan University, USA

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Abstract

While much has been written about arts integration theory, and the various benefits of visual art in the curriculum, the literature is sparse regarding arts integration implementation, and the personal, professional, and school culture barriers to the persistence and dissemination of such interventions. Successful educational interventions are purposefully designed, taking into consideration the culture of the stakeholders, a school's or district's larger contextual factors, and the sequence and timing of program phases. Bronfenbrenner's theory of cultural ecology is employed as a framework to examine the steps involved in the introduction, instantiation, and persistence of an art integration program in an urban school system.

Arts Integration and School Change

Numerous rationales have been offered to justify the integration of visual art in the general curriculum. Whether promoted to demonstrate and support concepts from other subject areas (Kindler, 1987), as a vehicle for themes and life issues across disciplines (Krug & Cohen-Evron, 2000), to assess student learning (DeJarnette, 2002), encourage aesthetic development (Housen, 2002), facilitate open-ended inquiry and intellectual growth (Danko-McGhee & Slutsky, 2007; Darby & Catterall, 1994), support social change (Greene, 1995), or provide unique cognitive benefits (Eisner, 1982), art integration does not occur spontaneously, but must be deliberately introduced to a faculty already deeply invested in multiple other responsibilities (Park, Oliver, Johnson, Graham & Oppong, 2007; Warren Little & McLaughlin, 1993).

The intervention discussed in this article involves integrating Visual Thinking Strategies (VTS) into the general curriculum of an urban public school. A pedagogical practice based on social-constructivist theories of education (Bruner, 1966; Vygotsky, 1978), VTS is designed to facilitate aesthetic development, higher-order thinking skills, and verbal and written communication, among other benefits. Adopted by numerous schools and museums over the past decade-and-a-half, VTS has been studied across multiple dimensions, and the published results are readily available (Housen, 2000-2001; Housen, 2002; Housen & DeSantis, 2002; Housen & DeSantis, 2005; Tishman, MacGillivray, & Palmer, 2002).

Volumes of supportive research aside, the mere fact that an innovation facilitates learning, or even raises test scores (which is not the same thing), does not ensure that it will persist. Joyce and Murphy (1990) offer a cautionary tale regarding the difference between academic success and cultural change. An intervention they had introduced to several schools showed such impressive results that “one school increased its promotion rate from 30 to 95 percent” (p.247). But, when the research data were shared among the teachers and administrators with the intent of reinforcing their efforts and increasing their commitment, a number of teachers and administrators “expressed the hope that reports of success would signal the end of the efforts and a return to normal practice” (p.247).

First-order and Second-order Change

Too frequently, art integration offerings are grounded in common assumptions of their inherent value (Kindler, 1987), with little consideration given to overcoming the pre-existing structural, cultural, and dispositional barriers to teacher professional development that may defeat program acceptance and persistence (Fullan, 1990). Cuban (1990) makes a distinction between first-order and second-order change in schools. First-order changes manipulate personnel, resources, curriculum content and coursework, “without substantially altering the

ways in which adults and children perform their roles” (p.73). Art integration efforts that favor curricular adjustments over pedagogical reform fall into this category.

Second-order changes, on the other hand, alter the business-as-usual model by introducing new goals and new ways of doing things. Second-order changes re-order the essential authority, roles and relationships of teachers and students, and include pedagogical transformations such as moving from teacher-centered to student-centered instruction, or from closed- to open-ended inquiry. First-order change is like a new wardrobe, giving the appearance of a new identity, but easily cast off in favor of the next fashion trend. Second-order change, because it significantly impacts the cultural core of a school and challenges the understandings of its staff, faces “the quiet but persistent resistance of teachers and administrators” (Cuban, 1990, p.75), who may not immediately see value in abandoning deeply held, and culturally reinforced, traditions.

By virtue of its intent to alter fundamental structures and expectations in teaching and learning, the form of art integration described on these pages serves as an example of second-order educational change. Because the intervention is pedagogical, rather than a content-focused, it modifies the practice of teaching and alters the way in which a teacher interacts with her/his students. Because it is characterized by iterative, student-centered group discussions, it changes the role of the teacher, who, for the duration of the lesson, becomes a facilitator rather than the source of information. Because students generate knowledge and build on each others’ insights, it alters the role of the student. Because the exploratory process is open-ended, it encourages students to realize that interpretations may be multiple, variable and subjective (Housen, 1992; Yenawine, 1997), and promotes forms of understanding not recognized through standardized curricula and testing.

This article borrows a framework from cultural anthropology to follow an art integration intervention through its several phases and trace the steps involved in the introduction, dissemination, instantiation and persistence of an art integration project. Setting aside empirical measures of student learning, of greater interest to this study are teachers’ *perceptions* of student learning, and the role such perceptions play in school culture change.

Schools as Cultural Contexts

The notion that a school can be understood as a distinct culture evolved from the field of organizational and corporate research (Maehr & Midgley, 1996). Investigators involved in organization and management studies, turning away from the quantitative methods that had dominated the field through the mid-20th century, found value in the qualitative methods of ethnography as a way to focus on social settings and interactions among occupational groups (Denison, 1996). Just as culture within a social group is evidenced through the values, beliefs,

rituals and behaviors of the people within it, so school culture is made manifest through similarly shared social understandings, relationships, and activities (Bruner, 1996).

Culture, at its core, is invisible, comprising a social group's distinct ways of thinking and understanding. These subjective mental constructs are shared within a group through symbolic means, primarily language, and only when they are manifested through behavior or artifacts are they apparent to others (Boas, 1938). Cultures can, and do, change, primarily in response to contextual change (Steward, 1967). Contextual changes—whether environmental, political, economic, or emanating from any other domain outside a group's immediate control—force adaptations, new ways of thinking about relationships that had previously been taken for granted. For example, recent policies that mandate increased standardized testing altered many teachers' and administrators' conceptualizations of teaching and learning, their relationships with students, and their interactions with each other. School cultures changed as the members of the cultural group adapted to contextual change.

The depth and duration of change in reaction to a new context, however, is difficult to measure. Because culture is internal, apparent changes in attitude and practice do not necessarily indicate that the group has assimilated the new norm, but instead may reflect a group's ability to accommodate, perhaps tentatively and only for as long as necessary, the demands of a new situation (Ogbu, 1978). The process of assimilation is transformative, taking place as a cultural group replaces old values and behaviors with new. Accommodation refers to a group's tendency to mediate or limit its acceptance of new cultural norms imposed from outside the group. Teachers may make accommodations to an intervention for various reasons, including peer pressure or fear of job-loss, and do so often in spite of, rather than in support of, the intervention.

Cultural Analysis

While cultural theory as a field continues to be refined, cultural analysis as an applied science remains in its formative stage (Mattaini, 2006). Two dominant approaches, metacontingency theory and systems theory, offer convenient frameworks for understanding the complex, dynamic factors that influence behavior within a culture. Metacontingency theory traces paths of interdependency among cultural units, for instance among educational agencies, schools, and teachers (Glenn, 2004). In contrast, systems theory focuses less on the contingencies that link and interlock the behavior of cultural units, and instead takes a broader perspective, looking at the dynamic relationships among levels within a social system (Farmer & Farmer, 2000; Mattaini, 2006). Each theory provides researchers with a differently aligned explanatory template, although neither is sufficient by itself to serve as a predictive model, not least due to the capacity of internal networks to “organize and construct themselves without guidance from outside” (Mattaini, 2006, p.73). While contingencies undoubtedly link various entities in

a school reform effort, a systems approach, as exemplified in the work of Uri Bronfenbrenner, better captures the issues of organizational culture of interest to this study.

The Cultural Ecosystem

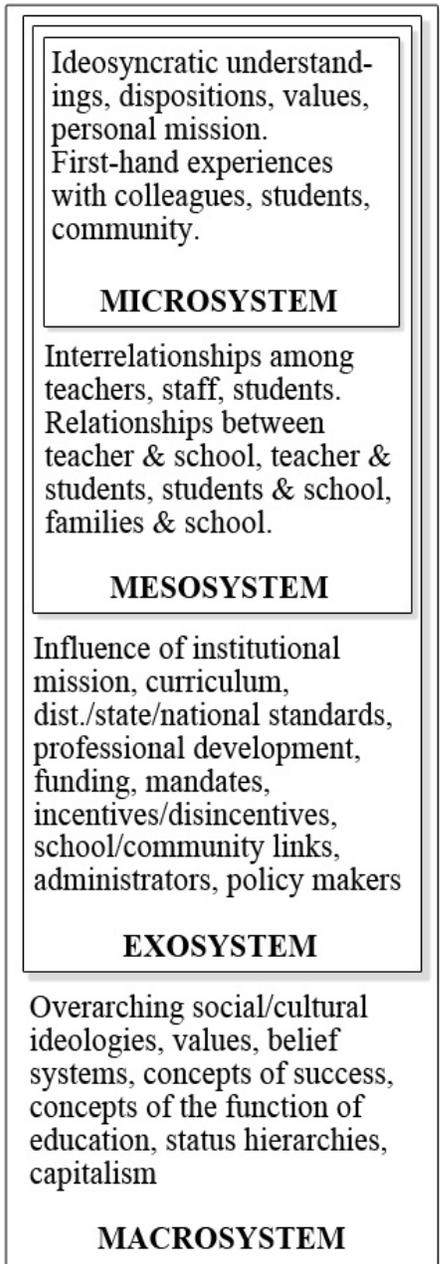


Figure 1. The cultural ecosystem of education
(adapted from Bronfenbrenner, 1979)

Bronfenbrenner (1979; 2005) contributes to our understanding of education by identifying the contextual forces that delineate the contours of cultural knowledge and influence its dissemination. Originally intended to explain the relationship between environmental conditions and child development (1979), his theory is applied here as a guide for policy implementation. Bronfenbrenner's model of the cultural ecosystem (Figure 1) is represented by inter-nesting levels of influence, from the societal at the macrosystem level, to the individual at the microsystem level. The culture of an educational institution is the result of a complex, ongoing negotiation of elements from each level of the cultural ecosystem, including overarching ideas about the role of education in society at the macrosystem level, policy, curricula and standards at the exosystem level, learning expectations and teaching practices at the mesosystem level, and teachers' personal understandings of identity and mission at the microsystem level. A school's distinctive culture can be characterized by the dynamic interplay of students' and educators' microsystem understandings and mesosystem relationships, functioning within the opportunities and constraints of the exosystem and macrosystem.

The persistence of an intervention in a school culture requires that it not only finds purchase in the exosystem level, which reflects a district's or school's written policies, mission, goals, and standards, but more importantly that it is accepted and put into conscientious practice by individuals—teachers—at the microsystem level. In other words, each level of

scale presents an important consideration in the adoption of a curricular or pedagogical intervention; the intervention should capture in some form macro-level values, fit within the systemic constructs of the exosystem, be compatible with basic curricular and pedagogical expectations that define the mesosystem, and ultimately allow for a sense of purpose, agency, efficacy, and idiosyncratic creation of meaning by individuals at the microsystem level.

Situating the Intervention in the Cultural Ecosystem

Using the Bronfenbrenner diagram as a map to chart a school intervention, attention must be paid not simply to the levels, but also to the dynamic relationships between adjacent levels, in order to determine an advantageous point of entry and specific steps of implementation. While conventional wisdom asserts that grass-roots initiatives are inherently more successful than those that originate from policy or administrative sources, McLaughlin and Marsh (1990) point out that regardless of its source, the success of an educational reform hinges on faculty input and an atmosphere of mutual respect among stakeholders (Fullan, 1990; Hatch, 1998).

Consequently, it's not difficult to imagine that thrusting an intervention directly into the microsystem, immediately challenging teachers' values and beliefs, might lead to the sort of shallow accommodations that have scuttled many educational reforms. The understandings of teaching and learning that guide educators' behavior are derived from, and reinforced by, their daily experiences—the common interactions and relationships that occur in classrooms, staff rooms, hallways and schoolyards.

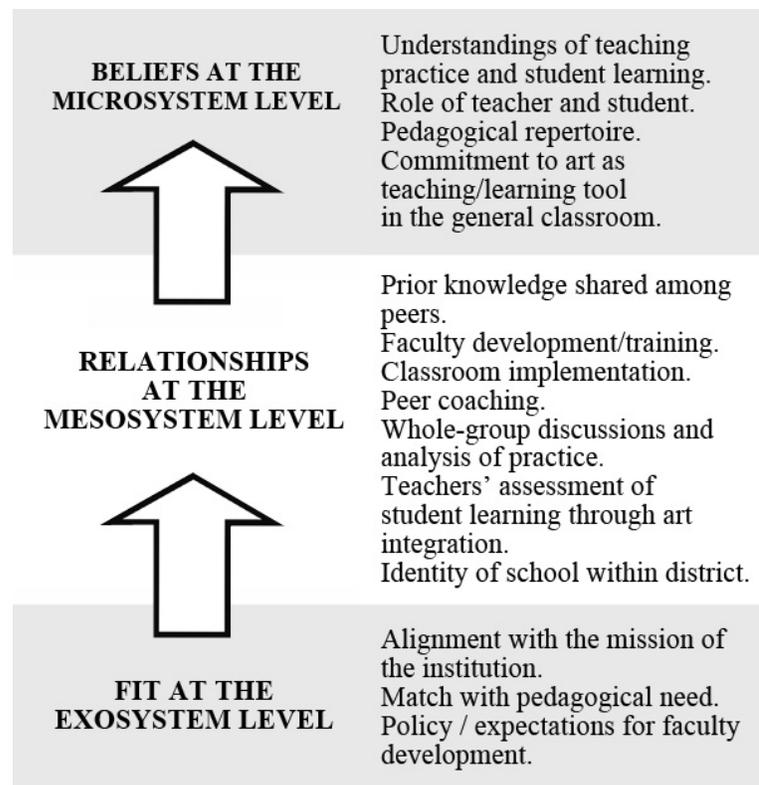


Figure 2. Cultural change flow chart.

Introducing an intervention at the exosystem level, as the district had done by designating the target school an “arts magnet” (described below), had likewise not been an assurance of cultural change, for although the mission of the school was to incorporate the arts into the general curriculum, levels of goal consensus and commitment

varied from teacher to teacher and classroom to classroom, providing inconsistent expectations and learning experiences for students. In the case of the art integration project described here, the path to cultural change, while initiated in the exosystem, relied primarily on interactions in the mesosystem—the development of new relationships among teachers, and between teachers and students—with the intention that gradually these new relationships would produce changes in individual beliefs at the microsystem level, as new expectations supplanted old (Figure 2).

The Exosystem and the Institutional Mission

Pleasant View Magnet School for the Visual and Performing Arts is one of several magnet schools that opened in the Lansing, Michigan, school district in 2001-2. Initiated as a means to promote ethnic and economic diversity across the district, magnets offer parents a form of school choice, and attract students with the promise of a school-wide theme (Archbald, 2004). As expressed in district literature, “all participants in a magnet school—the students, teachers, principal and the staff—share the same excitement and passion about a specific area of interest” (Lansing School District, 2010, p.4).

Public declarations notwithstanding, the truth was that although many K-6 classroom teachers initially volunteered to teach at this new school out of a sincere belief in an art-themed curriculum, a number of others were installed at Pleasant View for reasons of seniority and other contractual considerations. Consequently, while it may be argued that all teachers shared a vision of student achievement, a significant portion of the faculty lacked the theoretical and practical frameworks necessary to integrate art into their lesson plans in meaningful ways. Such variation among the faculty signaled a need for faculty development in the service of the magnet school’s mission (Farmer & Farmer, 2000). The divergent values held by teachers at the microsystem level failed to faithfully match the institutional values of the exosystem. Consequently, the mesosystem—expressed in part through the relationships among faculty and between teacher and student—showed little continuity or unity from one classroom to the next.

Fortunately, as a condition of the magnet school designation Pleasant View had a greater number of professional development hours built into its schedule than that afforded traditional elementary schools. This created within the faculty and staff a predisposition to professional development that facilitated the planning, discussion, dissemination, application, and assessment of the intervention. Further support for the intervention lay in the fact that a few members of the Pleasant View teaching staff had previously been introduced to VTS, and their enthusiasm for the approach had been communicated informally to their peers.

Given that the exosystem, or mission of the school, was set, and individual attitudes in the microsystem, while varied, were deeply held, the most productive route to school culture change would be through the mesosystem by effecting a transformation in the relationship between teacher and student. It's important to note that in this case, arts integration was not intended as a substitute for the unique work done by an art teacher (Hanley, 2003; Upitis, Atri, Keely & Lewis, 2010). While the school's visual art specialist played a role in the intervention, she did not enjoy an advantage over the regular classroom teachers, who were not required to possess prior knowledge of art, art history, specialized terminology, or art materials in order to apply the VTS intervention.

Research Methodology

Conceived as an applied form of action research in a dynamic setting, the project focused on faculty development. Emergent issues included adapting to differences among teachers in understanding, accepting, and applying the pedagogy, and adjusting the project annually to account for personnel shifts as new teachers joined the school and others moved on. Data were collected through several methods. Teachers were asked to record the frequency with which they practiced VTS in the classroom, noting situations that either facilitated or hindered their use of the practice. At the end of each academic year, surveys were administered, and outside evaluators conducted semi-structured interviews with focus groups of teachers to allow them to expound on their experience. Throughout the project, classroom observations were conducted by peer coaches, although these primarily served to support teacher practice, and remained confidential. Evidence of student learning was recorded initially through teachers' anecdotal reports, and in later phases by comparing pre- and post-intervention writing scores among the children in the focus schools.

Phase One: Reconsidering Roles and Relationships in the Mesosystem

The first phase of the program began in 2003, and took place over one academic year. The goals of this phase were 1) to train teachers and staff in the pedagogical practice and scaffold it to learning theories with which they were already familiar, 2) to identify and train peer coaches, 3) to encourage and facilitate teachers' implementation of VTS lessons in their classrooms, 4) to conduct classroom observations of VTS practice followed by peer-coaching sessions, and 5) to hold regular whole-group discussions, on the belief that Vygotsky's theories of social learning apply as aptly to adults as to young people—opportunities for dialogue help to internalize knowledge (Vygotsky, 1978). The unit of measurement when evaluating this phase of the program was faculty/staff commitment, a function of each practitioner's level of comfort with the technique, perception of student learning, and belief in the potential of VTS as a worthwhile use of precious classroom time.

The twenty-four classroom teachers and specialists engaged at the school that year were encouraged, but not required, to implement VTS in their classrooms, an acknowledgement of the fact that buy-in and comfort levels would initially vary. Participation during the inaugural semester ranged from those teachers who jumped in with both feet, to those who made sincere but cautious attempts, to the few who did no VTS at all. On average, that semester, each teacher conducted two-and-a-half VTS sessions with their students, short of the goal of five lessons per teacher per semester, but sufficient to build a degree of familiarity with the pedagogical protocol. A small number of teachers cautioned right off the bat that competing responsibilities, such as ever-increasing accountability and newly mandated reading initiatives, would make it difficult for them to find a place for VTS exercises in their daily curriculum. All but four teachers attempted the practice at least once.

By the end of the second semester, as peer coaches worked with each teacher—at times modeling the practice in a reticent teacher’s classroom—as doubts were aired and addressed during faculty development meetings, and as familiarity increased, teachers began noticing changes among their students that they attributed to the intervention. According to the teachers who used VTS regularly, students were offering more detailed analyses when discussing the art works, and were transferring that skill to other subject areas as well. They were becoming more explicit in speaking and writing, and contributed more readily to classroom discussions.

“[I’ve found] it really helps expand the children’s views. It’s a safe way [for them] to share ideas and opinions. [They] take one idea and build to another idea. Sometimes the group discussion turns in ways that are unexpected, but the end results are all good.”

“[Students who had] refused to write are now taking risks and getting better at staying on topic.”

“Overall I notice that my students notice more in general. They make more connections. [They can] share ideas in a safe way. Almost everyone has a comment.”

It appeared that second-order change had begun to occur. The intervention offered teachers an opportunity they hadn’t previously recognized. As they witnessed students generating knowledge, rather than simply receiving it, they began to reconsider their roles and relationships. At least during VTS sessions, teachers’ began to view the educational process as less didactic and more open-ended and student-centered.

“This is a wonderful verbal exercise for my students. It also provides me with insight [into] some of my students’ lives and experiences.”

Although there remained hold-outs among the faculty, reticence often appeared to be due to structural impositions, or the discomfort of practicing a new way of teaching in front of their students, rather than to a lack of faith in the method’s influence on student learning. Whether due to professional courtesy, peer pressure, or a manifestation of the Hawthorne effect (Diaper, 1990), even faculty who struggled with the practice felt on some level a need to pursue it.

“I have found it very difficult to use this. With all the pressure from the Reading First grant, I simply have forgotten to incorporate this into my day. I will make a concentrated effort to do so for the rest of the year.”

“I’m beginning to feel more comfortable using VTS and plan to use it more regularly in the future.”

Phase Two: From the Mesosystem to the Microsystem

A second phase of the project was entered in fall 2004, and ran through spring 2006. Continuing the professional development activities, discussions, and supports of phase one, an additional online component was introduced that allowed students to work independently on VTS-style writing assignments. Compared to the previous year, faculty participation at the start of fall 2004 fell to two-thirds, as some teachers left the school, and new teachers entered the cohort due to the annual reshuffling of district personnel in response to retirements and shifting populations. These new members, however, found themselves in an environment where VTS continued to be evidenced in numerous classrooms. Welcomed and quickly brought up to speed by peer coaches, most new faculty accepted the practice as an expectation that came with the position. Seeing the intervention less in relationship to a prior norm (or no norm at all), teachers new to the school were more apt to understand it as inherent to the Pleasant View school culture.

As enculturation increased, faculty development activities shifted from whole-group faculty meetings to concentrate more on peer-coaching in the classrooms. A handful of highly motivated teachers participate in advanced VTS seminars in Massachusetts and New York, returning to the school with new skills and sensitivities as teacher-trainers. Students who had learned and practiced VTS in previous years were already familiar with the protocol when they entered new classrooms, and with little prompting engaged readily in discussions about the art works that they were shown. Student engagement bolstered teachers’ comfort levels, further ingraining the program in the school’s culture as mesosystem relationships influenced

teachers' and students' microsystem-level understandings of their roles, and beliefs about teaching and learning. As one peer coach noted:

“I can tell you just by observation that [among] the teachers that are doing [VTS] regularly, it really has had [an impact], because it's making the kids look closely at things, and they're so used to that line of questioning now that it's making them go through that process in their head just automatically. They're using those higher level thinking skills automatically.”

Instantiation in the Microsystem

By spring 2005, all but four teachers reported that they were able to conduct VTS in a way that complemented, rather than distracted from, their regular curriculum. Faculty members who regularly implemented the lessons felt that they had improved as practitioners, and shared their observations of student learning. These included growth in students' communication skills, advanced depth of thought during discussions, the ability to build on, or respectfully critique, the comments of others, and exhibiting greater comfort sharing ideas, considering multiple interpretations, and taking risks.

A number of the faculty also began to take risks. Encouraged by their perceptions of student growth, nearly three-quarters of the faculty reported that they had used the method at least once to analyze and discuss visual images from other subject areas, such as social studies and science. The teachers' readiness to transfer the pedagogical approach from the original art images to visual stimuli from other subject areas is interesting to note, and marks a shift from seeing the pedagogy in a limited application—discussing art—to applying the approach to their practice of teaching and learning in general. Even among the few who, when the flush of attention had faded, discontinued formal use of VTS in their curriculum, several continued to use the basic VTS line of inquiry in their classrooms when teaching other subject areas.

Recognizing a New Cultural Identity

By mid-point in the second phase, Pleasant View had developed a reputation among teachers and administrators across the district for its art integration program. This institutional identity—how the school and its teachers were perceived by others—was an important factor in the unification and clarification of the school's culture. “Like societies, ... one school can be thought of as holding shared answers to certain basic questions that are somewhat different than those held by other schools” (Maehr & Midgley, 1996, p.56). In response to requests, the site coordinator, peer coaches, and select classroom teachers began disseminating the school culture by sharing the basic pedagogy with educators at other schools.

This phase also saw the intervention formally embedded into the school's curriculum framework. Standards and benchmarks from across the curriculum, including those for arts integration, were incorporated into each unit plan. Learning expectations were coordinated with Bloom's taxonomy (Bloom, Krathwohl & Anderson, 2001) and Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences (Gardner, 2006), with VTS exercises offered as a cross-curricular means to stimulate higher order thinking skills and foster evidentiary reasoning through whole-class discussions and individual writing assignments.

Phase Three: Cultural Persistence

As the second phase came to a close, and beliefs and behaviors at the microsystem level appeared to be self-sustaining, a feedback loop occurred, focusing attention once again on the exosystem level (refer to Figure 2). The burgeoning cultural identity of Pleasant View school—as a place where positive change had happened through arts integration—convinced district administrators to expand the program to other schools, leading in 2006 to an unanticipated third phase. Funded through an Arts in Education Model Development and Dissemination (AEMDD) grant from the U.S. Department of Education, a new district program emerged, Promoting Arts Integration in Teaching Standards (PAINTS). The PAINTS program introduced VTS to the faculty and staff of three additional Lansing schools, Bingham and Lewton elementaries, and Wexford Montessori School.

Percentage of faculty in focus schools who somewhat agree or strongly Agree that VTS helps students understand academic subjects as well as Different art forms.		
School	2007	2009
Bingham Elementary	No data	60%
Lewton Elementary	88%	100%
Pleasant View Arts Magnet	71.8%	77%
Wexford Montessori	66%	82%

Peer coaches and teacher trainers from Pleasant View were enlisted to share professional development activities at the new focus schools, replicating the deliberate eco-system approach to phasing-in ideas and practices through teacher professional development, peer coaching, and site coordinators. The PAINTS program continues the process of second-order change in the district as a growing number of teachers modify their pedagogical practice and modes of interaction with students (Table 1), and the results of classroom practices (mesosystem) affect teachers' understandings and beliefs (microsystem), as evidenced in Table 2.

School	Total classroom teachers and specialists	Percent participation 2007	Percent participation 2010	Percent change over 3 years
Bingham Elementary	12	8%	100%	+92%
Lewton Elementary	11	36%	100%	+64%
Pleasant View Arts Magnet	21	29%	71%	+42%
Wexford Montessori	16	44%	63%	+19%
All focus schools	80	30%	80%	+50%

Conclusion

Setting aside the possibility of anything but glacial change at the macrosystem level, which is more or less firmly moored in the bedrock of Western culture and institutional history, there remain opportunities for school culture change through carefully planned interventions involving the exosystem, mesosystem, and microsystem levels of the cultural ecosystem. As we have seen, the stated mission of an institution, in this case the denomination of an arts magnet school, does not necessarily indicate that teaching and learning at the classroom level will adhere to professed values. Due to the myriad unpredictable factors that influence staffing, there remains the likelihood of a distribution of teachers across a faculty with various degrees of commitment to the mission and the requisite preparation to manifest it in practice. Consequently, while setting the stage at the exosystem level is a necessary condition, it is not sufficient to bring about true second-order change in a school. Unless the relationships among stakeholders—interactions in the mesosystem—are purposefully nurtured to yield changes in teachers' individual understandings, then any modification in classroom practice is more likely to reflect short-term accommodation than long-term cultural assimilation.

Meaningful cultural change is instantiated at the microsystem level, evidenced in the espoused values and beliefs of the individual. While a change agent would be ill-advised to directly assail individual beliefs, the microsystem can evolve over time in an adaptive response to social influences in the mesosystem. If an intervention can be designed to impact mesosystem relationships—if students begin to demonstrate new ways of learning, if peer support is felt to be organized and reliable, if role expectations take on new dimensions, if the school is

recognized by outside others as possessing a unique cultural identity—then the groundwork has been laid for individual commitment and cultural transformation through art integration.

Epilogue

I would be remiss if I were to ignore the fact that, although for the most part VTS is instantiated in classrooms across Pleasant View and the more recent focus schools, in practice, individual adherence to the pedagogy waxes and wanes. While it is clear that the culture of the participating schools has changed, the influence of cultural knowledge on individual behavior is not predictive, but acts in concert with other dynamic factors such as personal idiosyncrasies, affective ups and downs, and continual re-evaluation of incentives and rewards. Variability is to be expected in any social group, as “not all of any culture is internalized in anybody” (D’Andrade, 1992, p.41). Still, successful enculturation during the initial three years of phase I and II have provided sufficient microsystem level evidence to policy makers and administrators in the exosystem level and classroom practitioners at the mesosystem level, to invest their time, attention, and resources in sustaining the program.

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About the Author

William Charland is Assistant Director of the Frostic School of Art and Coordinator of the Art Education Program at Western Michigan University. He holds MA and PhD degrees in educational policy from the University of California, Berkeley, and BFA and MFA degrees from the University of Michigan.

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