AN ARTIST: A CROSS-CULTURAL OR A CULTURE-SPECIFIC CATEGORY?

Anna M. Kindler
University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada/
Hong Kong Institute of Education, Hong Kong, SAR

Bernard Darras
Universite Paris 1, Pantheon-Sorbonne, France

Ann Cheng Shiang Kuo
National Changhua University of Education, Taiwan

This research was supported by grants from the Social Studies and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Conseil Scientifique de L'Universite Paris 1, Pantheon-Sorbonne, France, and the National Science Council, Taiwan.

Who is an artist? How can this concept be defined? These questions, explored in Edmund Feldman's book, "The Artist," through the analysis of various types of artists that have emerged historically, have guided this study concerned with understanding of the concept of an artist in present times and across cultures. As Moulin, Passeron, Pasquier and Porto-Vasquez noted, the concept of the artist has become increasingly confused since the 19th century, the phenomenon attributed by these writers to the existence of conflicting fields within the world of art that attempt to determine the merit of artists work and their status (Moulin et al. 1985). On the one hand, the commercial art market establishes its own standards and criteria of artistic suc-
cess, and on the other, the community of artists themselves strives for self-recognition and seeks "autonomous methods of production and all kinds of strategies to gain their independence from the official institutions of contemporary art" (Fleck, 1999, p. 66). During the 20th century the legitimacy of the artist's right to self-proclamation has become particularly strongly advocated and recognized. For example, UNESCO's definition of an artist contains clauses specifying that an artist is "any person who (...) considers his artistic creation to be an essential part of his life" and "who is or asks to be recognized as an artist" (UNESCO, 1980, p.5). Clearly, such open and ambiguous criteria make the concept of an artist both fluent and imprecise.

As vague as it may be, this concept belongs to the core of constructs central to art education, as it designates the person responsible for creation of what he/she or his/her environment considers as art, an individual that our students strive to understand or impersonate in the course of their study. As Feldman noted, students are naturally interested in exploration of personalities, life histories, and social contexts in which artists created the works that became subject of students' critical examination, but they are also inquisitive about predispositions, characteristics and attributes of people who are referred to as artists. What does it take to be an artist? How one becomes an artist? Can everyone become an artist?

Our study has added another question to this list, the question especially relevant in the context of globalization trends and art education becoming increasingly multicultural, in response to changes in fabric of many societies. While it is safe to assume that some aspects of the concept of an artist likely remain stable across cultures that have invented or adopted one or more of the existing conceptions of art (e.g., artists are those who make or contribute to creation of art, whatever the term art may define), we were interested in uncovering the nature of the semantic fields that this term occupies in different cultural settings. This cross-cultural investigation has its roots in historical differences related to the emergence of the concept of the artist in the East and the West. While Chinese painting became valued in its own right and distinguished from handicraft already in the 8th century, it took almost another thousand years for such a transformation to occur in the European context. Chinese poet Wang Wei (699-759) is credited with inventing a form of mono-
chromatic ink wash painting that raised the status of painting in China beyond that of a decorative and narrative medium used to satisfy demands of the elite to a realm of intellectual and spiritual exploration. This placed painting, alongside calligraphy and poetry, in a very different category than sculpture or architecture that were considered forms of craft.

In the West, even though poets and musicians have earlier been admitted to the community of liberal artists, painters and sculptors have not enjoyed this higher status until the 17th century when Italian followed by French painters pushed for their profession to gain a higher social acclaim (Heinich, 1993). It still took centuries of symbolic, aesthetic and political action to transform painting into a category belonging to an intellectual or spiritual elite rather than that of skilled craftsmen. Throughout this time "artists" spared no efforts to distinguish themselves from the "manual labour" and emphasized their alliance with values espoused by social groups that they aspired to join. This was also a period that generated many myths about an artist's identity.

**Purpose and design of the study**

Our study was designed to explore the relief of the semantic fields that the concept of an artist occupies in a cross-cultural context today through examination of conceptions held by young children, adolescents and adults in Canada, France and Taiwan, ROC.

Through a series of structured interviews conducted in Vancouver, Paris, and Taipei, we acquired access to a body of social knowledge that we present in this paper. The choice of the research settings reflected cultural anchoring of the researchers thus allowing for the interpretation of the collected data from "an insider" point of view in all of the sites. The study presented in this paper was a module of a large cross-cultural research undertaking concerned with various facets of social cognition of art (Darras & Kindler, 1996, 1999; Kindler & Darras, 1995, 1997, 1999; Kindler, Darras, & Kuo, 1996, 1998, 1998a, 2000).

Questions probing understandings of the concept of an artist were included in a large interview schedule integral to the research mentioned above. This specific cluster of questions included both open-ended prompts, as well as items where our respondents were asked to choose from among selected
options. Some of the questions were posed to all subjects (and in the same wording), while some prompts proved to be too complex for the youngest respondents in the pilot study and became eliminated. The segment of our study presented in this paper focused on social conceptions of "an artist" by asking our informants to elaborate on what kind of people fit the "artist" category; by inquiring about the possibility of a child to be considered an artist; and by exploring the importance of education in becoming an artist. This exploratory, descriptive study aimed at highlighting cross-cultural similarities and differences in the ways the concept of an artist functions in the Canadian, French and Taiwanese societies, within the limitations inherent to our sampling procedure and the scope of our investigation described below.

Our informants represented three age categories and two levels of art expertise. The youngest participants in our study were 4 to 5 year-old children enrolled in local educational programs designed for this age group. We have interviewed 110 such children in the three cultural contexts. In each setting, children were drawn from multiple daycares, preschools and kindergartens. However, all of our informants belonged to the upper-middle class and lived in large urban areas. This allowed us some degree of control over the social variable and lead to development of a more homogeneous data that can be used in comparative studies extending investigation to other strata of the probed populations. Each child was interviewed individually and we were pleased with children's interest and cooperation. With very few exceptions, children whom we have approached were keen on sharing their views and were able to offer us meaningful answers.

The second study group was comprised of ninety 13 to 14 year olds. These teenagers were drawn from the same populations as young children. Finally, we interviewed adults: both those with no formal art background or experience (later referred to as "art novices"), as well as teachers of art in secondary schools (referred to as "art experts"). In each of the study settings, we have obtained data from sixty individuals. In total, we interviewed 380 people.

In discussion of research results, we have used percentages rather than raw numbers to describe data patterns in order to allow for an easier comparison across the study groups. It is important to keep in mind, however, that given a relatively small sample size of each group (resulting from the
design of our study that separated variables of cultural setting and age and due to limited resources available for this project), any differences or similarities expressed in percentage terms need to be interpreted with caution. At the same time, it is also worthwhile to note that our interviewees were typically asked open-ended questions where the answers emerged spontaneously, rather than being selected from a list of suggested options. Therefore, the standard expectations of what would constitute a group consensus do not apply in this case.

What kind of people are artists?

When we asked our informants "What kind of people are artists?", we were presented with a very extensive list of attributes and characteristics, including physical features, personality traits, descriptions of a lifestyle, and references to a specific status within a society. Overall, over 90 categories of descriptors emerged in the data, 43 of which were suggested by more than one individual.

While some of the descriptors or attributes of an artist have surfaced in responses across the three settings, the information gathered in this study pointed to the significant variations in the relief of the semantic fields that this term occupies in Canada, France and Taiwan. When all characteristics, attributes, and descriptors of a concept are juxtaposed, and their respective salience in defining the concept is noted, it is possible to create a general model of this concept within a three-dimensional semantic space. Our hypothesis, confirmed through this research, has been that depending on the importance accorded to each of the attributes or characteristics, the organization and relief of this semantic space will vary as a function of representation of individuals within a culture, and even more so, across cultures. We were also able to detect in this study some developmental and expertise-related variations within each of the cultural settings in responses of adolescents and adults who participated in our research (the youngest children were not presented with this interview prompt).

The Canadian responses

As Table 1 illustrates, one of the most striking differences in responses of
teenagers and adults was the insistence of the older informants on an open definition of an artist, combined with belief that anyone can be considered an artist. Adults with formal art background and experience were especially adamant about the fact that it is impossible to create an image of an artist that would be comprehensive enough to define the entire category (63% of respondents). They suggested that "they (artists) can be anyone in any walk of life or any age group. Being an artist isn't a label to be a certain group, that is a stereotype. It encompasses, it goes past all the different kinds of boundaries or classifications you may have of cultures and subcultures in society." As some of our informants indicated, artists can be "all kinds of people: both genders, all races, cultures, people of all ages, religions, languages" and they "do not look, act, smell, or walk a certain way." While Canadian adults, both experts and novices tended to share the belief that the term "artist" does not designate any specific category of people, there were several attributes or characteristics of artists that were proposed by our informants with fre-
quencies indicating a degree of a group consensus. Several art teachers independently used terms "open-minded" and "curious or inquisitive," to define personality of an artist (20% each) and 13% of respondents claimed that people who are artists are concerned with and able to express their thoughts and feelings and they do so in creative ways.

The Canadian adults without art training have also supported the notion that an artist can be anyone and that this concept is defined by more than one possible image (37% and 23% of respondents, respectively). 13% of our interviewees included in their definitions of an artist references to physical appearance or a lifestyle associated with a certain "look." According to them, artists "wear black and white" and they are "bohemians," "funky people that hang out at cafes." Although from the times of Renaissance it is possible to note some eccentric and melancholic figures within the artists communities, these attributes were not common until the 19th century where the style of dress and social behaviour became heavily influenced by the romantic ideology. The kinds of stereotypes mentioned by our interviewees date back to the 19th century Paris, where the dress code has clearly distinguished between the recognized and established artists and their students. As Delecluze noted in his description of the atelier of David, famous artists were dressed in ways suggesting integration into the artistic elite, while the aspiring artists "searched for new identity experimenting with extravagant appearance" (cited in Monnier, 1991, p.153). However, at least one of our Canadian informants clearly contradicted this stereotype by saying that "artists are not the stereotypical beret wearing, black-clothed, cigarette smoking, moody person, but everyone else." Among the list of attributes mentioned independently by at least two respondents were adjectives such as "reflective," "expressive," "hard working" and "creative."

The idea that creativity is a defining attribute of an artist was strongly present in responses of the 13 -14 year olds interviewed in British Columbia (40%). According to these teenagers, artists "all have to be creative," they are "creative people" who "try different ideas that other people don't like to try." 30% our respondents in this age group also signaled the connection between artistry and expression: "they express their feelings a lot," "they like to express themselves through drawing," "they are able to express their feel-
ings in some form even if they don't tell other people", "they want to express some part of themselves," "they express their anger through art." There was also some degree of consensus over the fact that artists are imaginative and open-minded (17%), that they work with art media (e.g., they draw, paint, etc.), or that they "like art" (13% each).

In contrast to the Canadian adults, only 10% of our informants in this age group suggested that anyone could be an artist. Similarly, only 7% mentioned the possibility that the concept of an artist may be too broad to define it with a common list of attributes and characteristics. Furthermore, the fact that six different descriptors were consistently suggested in the spontaneous responses of at least four informants indicates the possibility that the concept of an artist invokes a rather well defined, common image for youngsters in this age group. For these teenagers, the concept of an artist is clearly associated with creativity, imagination, and open mindedness that find their expression and realization in art media, as well as with the love of art.

This was in contrast to the older informants in Canada who clearly favored an open definition and were not willing to commit themselves to conceptions that would not be all-encompassing and not allowing for "anyone" to fit the category. The characteristics most often mentioned by some art teachers as well as adult art novices as the likely attributes of artists corresponded only in a limited way to those proposed by younger respondents. This difference in adolescent and adult representations should be of interest to educators as this sort of a dissonance is bound to affect educational process and impact on the dynamics of teaching and learning. Even those descriptors that emerged in answers of informants across the three groups surfaced with different frequencies suggesting their varied importance in social conceptions of an artist held by these groups. For example, creativity as a defining characteristic of an artist was spontaneously mentioned by 40% of 13 - 14 year olds, while only 13% of art teachers and 6% of adult novices referred to it. It is possible to speculate, however, that the large number of adult answers pointing to the open definition has potentially prevented some of these individuals from specifically mentioning attributes such as creativity, even if the respondents believed it to be an important characteristic of the concept.
The French responses

Table 2
What kinds of people are artists?
Categories of responses mentioned by at least two French interviewees in each study group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>13-14 year old</th>
<th>Adult art novice</th>
<th>Art teacher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Those who draw, paint, etc.</td>
<td>13 (43%)</td>
<td>Creative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressive</td>
<td>10 (33%)</td>
<td>Sensitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original, different</td>
<td>6 (20%)</td>
<td>Expressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imaginative</td>
<td>4 (13%)</td>
<td>Risk takers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full of ideas</td>
<td>4 (13%)</td>
<td>Concerned with beauty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talented</td>
<td>3 (10%)</td>
<td>Imaginative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>Passionate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different kinds of people</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>Talented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People who look or act certain way</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>Free thinkers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognized</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>Intense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanting to please</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>Reflective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Risk takers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sensitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most frequent references made by both French teenagers and art teachers in their attempts to define an artist related to work with artistic media or production of art (43% and 27% respectively). According to these informants, artists are those people who "make works of art," who "produce paintings," who are capable of production of art," who are involved in the production of "what we can put together under the theme of art." This category of responses was absent in the case of adult art novices, where the answers emphasized creativity and sensitivity (23% and 20%, respectively).

The one reference consistent across the three groups which emerged with marked frequency was that to expression with 33% of 13 -14 year olds, 10% of adult art novices, and 23% of art teachers including it in their answers. The following statements provided by art teachers, emphasizing both the
ability and need for expression, well illustrate this category of responses: An artist is "someone who by his way of expression, in his medium, expresses something"; "Artists have the need to externalize and express what happens inside," "to express themselves through visual or even conceptual means."

Originality, and being different from the rest of the society echoed strongly in answers of French teenagers (20%), followed by a suggestion that artists are "imaginative" people "full of ideas." 13% of art teachers included in their definitions curiosity and inquisitiveness and 27% talked about being an artist as "a way of life", rather than a collection of personality traits. In the words of these informants, artists are people "who live, who feel, who reflect, and who act." "It is a question of an internal need that makes certain people artists, simply in their way of living, in their way of being, in their attitudes toward others, towards the external world," one of our respondents revealed, while another claimed that artists share "the need to reclaim freedom and change the course of life, in any case to show a different way of perceiving the world." Some of these responses also touched the issue of commitment and dedication and the need for an artist to "dedicate himself to art, to give his body to art."

One category of responses that emerged only in interviews in France had to do with the concept of an artist being closely associated with a status accorded by some institution with the appropriate authority. This institutional argument surfaced most frequently in responses of art teachers (13%) but was also present in the answers of teenagers (6%). As one of the art teachers declared, an artist is "defined in the social plane by his integration in the cultural and financial context that defines him as an artist, from a moment when (his) artwork is exposed as a work of art and the artist is recognized as an artist, it's a museum that has an important say in the merit of an artist." The role of a museum in the status-granting process was also underscored in one of the French teenager's responses who claimed that an artist is "someone who puts his signature on works that are in museums." These views echoed claims of Nathalie Heinich that it is an institution rather than an artist who has the authority to make determination regarding the status of works of art. Heinich noted that "the work of an artist is not to say "this is art," but to make it said (to be art) by the specialists, make it be treated as art by the

Other authorities were mentioned in yet another art teacher's response who indicated that an artist "functions in a circuit, in an economy, he has its place, its merchants, his work is bought by museums, by collectors, he is recognized as an artist. If it (the work) never leaves your personal circle, if it's never publicly exposed, never sold, work that no one talks about, it's nothing, there is no work of art, such work will exist only from the moment when it becomes recognized by the circuit (of experts)." Unlike in Canada and Taiwan, the French conceptions of an artist seemed to be tied, at least to a degree, to the notion of societal recognition, institutional approval, and a status that is accorded by sources extrinsic to the artist himself or herself. This difference documents the existence of bipolar sources that govern the status of an artist in contemporary societies: an individual, with his/her right to self-proclamation and social structures and institutions that may be required to confer this standing. It also suggest that the centuries-long debate about the distinction and placement of artists within a society has not reached its final conclusion and that the question regarding the status of art and artists still remains relevant today.

Responses of our informants in Taiwan

33% of the 13 and 14 year olds whom we have interviewed in Taiwan readily associated the concept of an artist with reflectiveness and special ways of thinking. Several of these children claimed that artists have a "power of thought" and are able to "think in all-around way." "I think they must be people with an unusual way of thinking, and their common feature must be disinterestedness and lack of ambition," one of our young interviewees declared. The 13-14 year olds also emphasized imagination (30%), sensitivity (23%) and creativity (17%). "Artists are people who have rich imagination and creativity, and understand how to express these," one of our interviewees summarized sentiments expressed by many of her peers.

Some youngsters referred to "distinctive style" (6%) and selected comments echoed references made by our Canadian interviewees pointing to the stereotypes in artists' dress code and mannerism. "The common feature of artists is that they all have beards," one of our informants declared, while oth-
ers insisted that artists are "weird people," suggesting the survival of this extravagant legacy of artists. Some of these children associated the concept of an artist with someone who has "a deep understanding of each work of art, a profound awareness of the work's positive meaning," or someone who "is able to appreciate art," shifting attention from skills and attitudes underlying art production to those involved in response to art.

The belief that creativity is one of the defining characteristics of an artist was also shared by the adults interviewed in Taiwan. Among the art teachers, 50% specifically eluded to creativity in their responses. They indicated that "artists have powers of original creation" and that they are "people with creativity." Additional 33% of informants in this group talked about artists as those who "specialize in artistic creation," indicating both the involvement with art media as well as the creative nature of this activity. Art teachers also noted that artists are "keenly sensitive" people (13%), that they are "good at observing things" (10%), and that they are "people with their own style who are defi-
AN ARTIST: A CROSS-CULTURAL OR A CULTURE-SPECIFIC CATEGORY?

Among adults who were art novices, reflectiveness, a unique way of thinking about the world, as well as creativity topped the list of the most frequently made references (20% each). The uniqueness of artists was also emphasized in responses pointing to "innate unique style" and suggestions that artists have "stronger power of feeling than ordinary people." Some of our respondents characterized artists as "sensitive people who live in a dream world," "people who stress life experience and the activity and interaction of the spirit." It was evident that an image of an artist created by adult art novices was marked by recognition of special qualities of mind and spirit, with only two respondents allowing for the fact that "all kinds of people" can be artists.

Can a child be considered an artist?

While in North America the term "child art" is used readily, our earlier work indicated that there are cross-cultural variations in the application of the term "art" to production of children and adolescents (e.g., Darras & Kindler, 1996; Kindler, Darras, & Kuo, 1995, 1998). In this study, one of our questions further explored the relationship between age and one's ability to be considered an artist in a cross-cultural perspective. The answers obtained from our informants ranging in age from early childhood (4-5 year olds) to adulthood indicated that interesting cultural, developmental, and expertise-related differences.

Table 4
Can a child be considered an artist?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age/Art Expertise</th>
<th>CANADA</th>
<th>FRANCE</th>
<th>TAIWAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5 year old</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-14 year old</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult novice</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art teacher</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As Table 4 illustrates, overall there was a strong support to the notion that young children can be considered artists. Especially in Canada, both adult art novices as well as art teachers expressed a great degree of consensus in response to this question (97% and 90% of affirmative responses, respectively). Similarly, Canadian teenagers readily allowed for the possibility of a child to be an artist. Interestingly, the young children themselves expressed the most hesitation in this regard, with only 56% of our young Canadian informants suggesting that a child can be an artist. Those who disagreed, claimed that children are simply "too small," or responded to the question at a very personal level saying that they were not artists.

This concern over children being "too small" was strongly shared by French preschoolers who were evenly split in their opinion (45% voting in favor, 45% against and 10% withholding their answers) and listed this as the most significant reason why a child cannot be an artist. While French teenagers approximated the responses of their peers overseas and overwhelmingly claimed that children could be considered artists (84%), only 57% of adult novices and 17% of art teachers were comfortable with this idea. The French teenagers claimed that children can be considered artists because anyone and everyone can create art (13%), age is not a factor in determining artistry (17%), children are creative (17%), can well express their feelings (17%), are talented (13%), and can make nice paintings and drawings (13%). Adults negating this possibility argued that children lack the understanding and level of intellectual maturity necessary for an artist to have (27% of art teachers and 13% of art novices). As one of these respondents remarked, "to be an artist it is on one part knowledge, power, ability to perfect technologies adapted to one's intention, to one's objectives of artistic expression and a child does not have sufficient maturity to do so." Several of our informants noted that children could not be regarded as artists because they lacked intentionality in their creative attempts (17% of art teachers and 7% of art novices). Lack of sophistication, cultural knowledge and sufficient technical skill was also mentioned, especially by art teachers.

In Taiwan, preschoolers, teenagers and adult art novices were largely in favor of the idea that a child can be considered an artist (70%, 90% and 60%, respectively), while art teachers were evenly split in their opinion (50%).
Those comfortable with the application of the term "artist" to a child mentioned children's creativity and imagination as their key rationale. The 4 and 5 year old Chinese children echoed responses of their peers in Canada arguing that children are artists because they do paint and draw. Consistently with assertions of the youngest participants of our study in Canada and France, Chinese preschoolers who were hesitant in according the status of an artist to a child claimed that children are too small to be artists, while three respondents specifically mentioned lack of technical skills. Art teachers who were not ready to call a child an artist referred to lack of maturity and life experience that an artist must posses. They also mentioned "insufficient powers of expression."

In summary, age and level of expertise have not made a significant difference in the views of our respondents in Canada. However, in Taiwan, and especially in France, the art teachers were much less likely to consider children as artists than did art novices, adolescents and young children themselves. In the case of French respondents, in particular, this difference was very dramatic leading to the conclusion that beliefs in this respect are not readily mediated and transferred from teachers to their students. It may be that at this stage in their life the students have already formed a rather stable conception of an artist and were not susceptible to their teacher's message. Alternatively, it could be posited that the actual classroom practice of French art teachers remains, at least to some extent, at disparity with their own personal beliefs.

It is important to note that the majority of the French art teachers whom we interviewed received their art and teacher education in the 1970s and that their formation was more a subject to postmodern than modern influences. The post-Duchamp heritage has left many of them convinced that the contemporary medium of art is neither painting, nor sculpture, nor collage, but rather the field of art itself. This conception is clearly a difficult one to convey to young children or early adolescents, the problem exacerbated by the lack of pedagogical tool conducive to its attainment. As Thierry de Duve (1992) noted, the project of deconstruction of art has left teachers without clear guidelines in regard to art pedagogy. The legacy of teaching for creativity and expression, overlapped with emphasis on formalism, and the more recent
focus on problem solving has resulted in incompatibility of beliefs and practice. While the problem-solving approach is pedagogically sound "it becomes misguided when applied in the context of the myth of creativity" (de Duve, p. 55). Furthermore, the French art teachers responses testified to their fondness of the institutional definition of art in determination of the status of an artist, that was evident in their comments. The French youngsters, on the other hand, tended to favor creative/expressive/original dimensions of art that are compatible with the common notions about the nature of childhood, making them ready to regard a child as an artist.

The eagerness of the interviewed Canadians to call a child an artist did not come as a surprise in the light of their choices among the metaphors that we presented our informants with to best approximate their ideas of "an artist". The list included: a teacher, a scientist, an explorer, an athlete, someone madly in love, a magician, god, and a small child. With the exception of the youngest children who favored the metaphor of a scientist, all other groups of our Canadian respondents most frequently chose "small child" as the best metaphor for an artist. This can be seen as a reflection of the strong modernist influence still present in the Canadian society that glorified children's production following the lead of some of the most prominent artists responsible for this art movement. Modernist appreciation of the artistic qualities of children's work is well illustrated in Paul Klee's quote: "Children also have artistic ability and there is wisdom in their having it. The more helpless they are, the more instructive are the examples they furnish us: and they must be preserved free of corruption from an early age." (Klee quoted in Kagan, 1993, p. 37). Canadian receptiveness of children as artists is congruent with the U-curve model of artistic development (Gardner & Winner, 1982; Gardner, 1990; Davis, 1997) that originated in North America and has been frequently quoted in art education literature. This model validates the notion that young children's pictorial work exhibits aesthetic qualities paralleling production of mature artists. Common everyday use of the term "art" in reference to children's paintings and drawings in Western Canada where the study took place and the child-centered philosophy that, in recent decades, has dominated Canadian education and has exercised its influence in many aspects of Canadian social life, can also account for the readiness of our Canadian
interviewees to consider children as artists.

In contrast, in the French responses, the "artist-child" metaphor remained largely absent in our informants' selections further testifying to the magnitude of the attachment to the concept of Kunstwollen that for many, especially in the French art education circles, is a prerequisite for art and to their attachment to institutional conceptions of art. One of the findings relevant to this interview prompt particularly worth highlighting is a cross-cultural disparity in the views of art teachers. Our results indicate that the international professional community of art educators does not necessarily converge on a common set of beliefs and values in regard to the placement of children's production within the boundaries of the world of art. On the other hand, teenagers in France, Canada and Taiwan closely approximate each others' views. It can be stipulated that this similarity may be explained by a combination of developmental factors and a possible influence of an adolescent culture that has been a subject to globalization.

Can someone be an artist without studying art?

Finally, we have probed the importance of studying and learning in the process of becoming an artist. We have asked our informants whether they thought that some form of study is necessary for one to become an artist. Here, in all three cultural contexts, across all age groups and expertise levels we were presented with a view that education is not a factor that bears any significance. Our respondents, in particular adult art novices, tended to attribute artistry to innate talent, gift, or regarded is a "natural ability" (90% in Canada, 100% in France and 80% in Taiwan). These views were shared, respectively, by 87%, 84% and 87% of the interviewed art teachers in Canada, France and Taiwan and 94%, 83% and 87% of teenagers in these three settings.

Several of our respondents, in particular in France and Canada, argued that many recognized artists have never received any formal training, and that art is intuitive and instinctive. In extreme cases, arguments suggesting that "creativity cannot be learned" or even that "training can destroy creativity," were put forward. Among Canadian respondents, both art teachers and art novices, the arguments that "art is what you are feeling," or it is a form of self-
expression that is bound more to personality than any educational experience have been shared by several informants. However, in all three settings, many of our respondents qualified their responses by acknowledging that education can be helpful in further developing artistry. As one of our Canadian informants noted “training gives more skills, enhances understanding, allows to make better art.”

Discussion

Our study allowed us to attempt to create cultural profiles of social conceptions of an artist across the three settings. While these profiles share some commonalities, they also maintain distinct features that testify to manifestation of culture-specific beliefs.

In this research, creativity emerged as the single attribute of artists that at least 10% of our respondents, 13-14 year olds and adults, have spontaneously proposed in all three cultural contexts. Our respondents in Taiwan were most keen to point to creativity as a defining attribute of an artist and this answer topped the list of most frequently mentioned attributes as it surfaced in answers of 29% of informants. In France and Canada creativity ranked only third, generating 14% and 20% of consensus.

We were also able to detect some similarities in common conceptions of an artist in only two settings. For example, expression was mentioned quite often in responses of our interviewees in France and Canada (20% and 17%, respectively), while in Taiwan only 5% of respondents included it in their definitions. On the other hand, our French and Chinese informants noted that

### Table 5
Can one become an artist without studying art?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age/Art Expertise</th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Taiwan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13-14 year old</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult novice</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art teacher</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
artists do possess a special kind of sensitivity (14% and 10%), the attribute which has not surfaced in the Canadian responses. Similarly, this study indicated that for the French and the Chinese, there was an association between the concept of an artist and performance within art media such as painting and drawing (21% and 11%, respectively), while only 4% of the Canadians informants, all of them 13-14 year old, made references to an artists actually working with these media or producing drawings, paintings, etc.

If we were to create profiles of artists based on the social conceptions that this study has investigated, the Canadian image would be the most difficult to construct, in the sense of its broadness. Our Canadian interviewees seemed to be comfortable with the notion that artists come from many walks of life, represent a smorgasbord of personalities, characteristics and attributes. "Canadian artist" can be anyone and everyone, and no special skills, competencies, predispositions, nor authorities are needed to confer this status on an individual. Still, the Canadian conceptions of an artist favored creative and open-minded people, and those who approximated young children in their ways of perceiving and responding to the world. As we have argued earlier in this paper, the modernist legacy, with its emphasis on creativity and self-expression, the post-modern relativism marked by openness to diversity, and the child-centered social climate are likely factors exercising influence on the Canadian conceptions of an artist documented in this work. But perhaps, most importantly, the Canadian conceptions of an artist documented in this

Table 6
What kinds of people are artists?
Categories of responses most often mentioned by 13-14 year olds and adults in the three study settings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CANADA</th>
<th>FRANCE</th>
<th>TAIWAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Everyone (21%)</td>
<td>Those who draw, paint, etc. (23%)</td>
<td>Creative (29%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different kinds of people (21%)</td>
<td>Expressive (22%)</td>
<td>Thinking in unique ways (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative (20%)</td>
<td>Creative (14%)</td>
<td>Sensitive (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressive (17%)</td>
<td>Sensitive (9%)</td>
<td>Those who draw, paint, etc. (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-minded (12%)</td>
<td>Recognized (7%)</td>
<td>Keen observers (7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
paper reflect an understanding of the domain of art that centers around an individual who holds the right to self-determination of his/her position in relation to the art world.

The "French artist" on the other hand is an individual involved with art media who explores them for expressive purposes with creativity and sensitivity. Yet, even these characteristics are not sufficient, as the status of an artist comes from recognition by an appropriate authority and at least in the view of those with art expertise, cannot be accorded to a child. The French notion of an artist emerging from this study testifies to the conflict between the conceptions of art that emphasize factors intrinsic to an individual and those that involve social validation. Our French respondents, and in particular the interviewed art teachers, placed themselves along the middle road between these two opposing positions. They have not subscribed fully to the notion that the artistic phenomenon embodies some natural and universal properties such as curiosity, sensibility, expression and creation that artists possess but do not hold exclusive rights to; a notion that would give any individual the right to artistic self-proclamation. But neither they have fully embraced the notion that these properties are fundamentally a social construction, nor that, as Bourdieu argued "the producer of the value of a work of art is not the artist, but rather it is the field of production and the universe of its beliefs that produce the value of art as a fetish while producing the belief in the creative power of the artist" (1992, p. 318). Our French interviewees adopted positions reflective of the difficulty in reconciling these conflicting conceptions, perhaps searching for the kind of balance that Dominique Chateau eluded to in his recent text: "(...)the social definition of art consists of instances of objective dispositions (defined by the milieu and its rules ) as well as subjective predispositions. (...) the problem is in estimating at what sort of equilibrium they play" (1998, p.54).

While the image created based on responses of our French informants emphasized active involvement in creation of art, the conception of an artist that emerged in Taiwan focused more on the attributes of mind and soul. Creativity, combined with unique ways of perceiving the world, reflectiveness, sensitivity and ability to keenly attend to the environment were seen as features distinguishing an artist from the rest of the society. These qualities are
consistent with traditional Chinese beliefs dating back to Confucius pointing to a close association between art and spirituality and acclaiming art's power to shape and reflect human character and temperament. They also echo the attachment to the importance of Yi Jing, a mystical dimension associated with art that links the artist, the audience and the natural world in unified and harmonious ways. At the same time, it is possible to detect the influence of the Western world, in particular in its modernist legacy and emphasis placed on creative, free expression.

Our study suggests that the concept on an artist is much more precisely defined in common societal beliefs in Taiwan and France than it is in Canada. In these two settings, there are some defining characteristics and attributes that seem to distinguish artists from the rest of the society, while in Canada these distinctions appear to be non-existing. This may well be a reflection of the social climate of this multicultural nation, that bears on Canadian attitudes and beliefs continuously challenged through social policies and political agendas to demonstrate openness to diversity and accommodate difference, and which translate themselves in a variety of contexts of everyday life.

It can also be argued that the results of our study reflect significantly different perspectives on the very nature of art and artistry: one that seeks understanding of the artistic phenomenon more as an intrapsychic process where the presence or absence of art can be defined at a level of an individual and does not require extrinsic validation and another, that regards public recognition as an inseparable aspect of the concept of art. The Canadian perspectives documented in our study are congruent with former, while the French responses, in particular, seem to be more aligned with the later, or perhaps situated in the space where the two conflicting views are engaged in a dynamic interplay. A parallel can be made here with a distinction made by Csikszentmihalyi (1999) in regard to different conceptions of creativity. Referring to the work of Maslow (1963), Csikszentmihail argued that one of the common approaches to creativity involves emphasis on the nature of the creative process at an intrapsychic level, where "the quality of subjective experience (...) determines whether a person is creative, not the judgment of the world" (p. 314). He contrasted this approach with his systems model that defines creativity as a phenomenon "constructed through an interaction
between producer and the audience" and stipulates that "creativity is not the product of individuals, but of social systems making judgments about individuals' products." (p. 314) The results of our study reflect perhaps a similar polarity in understanding of the concept of art across the research sites and document varying degrees of salience of these respective views in different contexts.

One of the findings of our study that may be troubling to those involved in art education is the evidence of the lack of association between studying, learning, and becoming an artist, overwhelmingly apparent in responses of our informants, across the age and expertise groups in all three cultural settings. While art education in elementary and secondary schools has for some time now been rationalized more in terms of education of art audiences than production of future artists, post-secondary institutions devoted to education of artists clearly face a challenge to justify their existence. Notwithstanding the exploratory and descriptive nature of our study and its limited scope, this research suggests that in the three sampled societies the existence of such programs does not seem to be deemed necessary to ensure new generations of artists. The notion that an innate talent or inborn sensitivity are responsible for development of an artistic personality appears to be shared and prevalent, transcending cultural boundaries. Consequently, focused efforts may be required to begin to change these social perceptions in order for the post-secondary education in visual arts to enjoy societal approval and continuing support.

Feldman's conclusion that there is more than one "kind" of an artist in a historical perspective gains an extension through this study. Notwithstanding similarities, conceptions of an artist in contemporary societies remain, at least to some extent, bound to the cultural contexts in which they have been formed. Our study began to document aspects of the semantic space that the concept of an artist occupies in Canada, France and Taiwan, highlighting some important differences in meaning. Art educators at all levels will be wise to recognize the depth and distinctiveness of the semantic fields that the term "artist" occupies in different cultural settings, especially as they venture into the era emphasizing multicultural art education and exploring globalization trends in educational enterprise. Lack of attention to these differences
can lead to perpetuation of stereotypes and flattening of rich and unique semantic reliefs that define the concept of an artist in diverse cultural milieus. It can encourage practices and initiatives reminiscent of the colonial legacy and tradition of cultural imperialism. These differences should be particularly attended to, acknowledged, and respected in the works of international organizations and societies promoting global collaboration in art education.

References


藝術家：普遍的類別，或是各地文化各有不同的意涵？

金德樂·安娜，加拿大 英屬哥倫比亞大學
波納德·達哈斯，法國 巴黎第一大學
郭禎祥，臺灣 彰化師範大學

本研究專案獲加拿大社會暨人文研究委員會、法國巴黎第一大學科學委員會及臺灣行政院國家科學研究委員會經費贊助。

何謂藝術家？什麼人可以算是藝術家？費德曼(Edmund Feldman)的《藝術家》一書，詳盡分析了歷來各種不同類型的藝術家，而這些問題也正是本研究的重點，探討當代不同社會中對於「藝術家」的觀念有何異同。誠如 Moulin、Passeron、Pasquier、Porto-Vasques等人所指出，自19世紀以來，「藝術家」這個觀念愈來愈混淆，他們認為原因在於藝術界本身出現了相互衝突的領域，對於藝術作品的價值、藝術家的地位，各有不同的解讀（Moulin等人，1985）。一方面，藝術市場建立了藝術成就的取捨標準，另方面藝術家本身又極力追求自我肯定，致力尋求「自主的創作方法及各種策略，以獨立於當代美術中官方體制之外。」（Fleck，1999，p.66）到了20世紀，藝術家自我定位的權利更受到認可，也有許多人提倡，例如聯合國教科文組織對於「藝術家」的定義中，就明訂「任何人若自認为其創作乃其生命中根本的一環」，且「已獲認定為藝術家或希望受認定為藝術家」，就是一位藝術家（UNESCO, 1980, p.5）。顯然，基於如此開放模糊的標準，「藝術家」的觀念必然人言言殊，極不精確。

但「藝術家」的觀念儘管模糊，卻是在藝術教育中，一個核心的構念，
界定了誰是「藝術」的創作者，創作出某個特定環境中所認定的「藝術作品」，同時「藝術家」這個角色，也是學生在藝術教育的過程中努力要瞭解或模仿的對象。誠如費德曼所指出，學生在課堂上接觸到藝術作品，對其創作者、他的生平和創作的社會背景，自然都會有興趣進一步瞭解，但是孩童也會好奇所謂「藝術家」的性向和特質。做個藝術家需要什麼條件？怎樣才能成爲藝術家？是不是人人都可以成爲藝術家？

除了這些問題之外，本研究更進一步比較「藝術家」這個認知在不同文化中的異同，特別是有鑑於許多社會都經歷了結構的改變，日益趨向於全球化的發展和多元文化的藝術教育。當然，「藝術家」的觀念中，有些層面是各地文化共通的，不論這些概念是當地文化所自創，或是採用現有的概念（例如藝術家是創作藝術的人）。但本研究更著重於「藝術家」一詞的語義，在不同文化的相異之處。這項跨文化的研究，其根源可以追溯到東西方歷史上的「藝術家」觀念之形成，情形大不相同。

中國繪畫在西元8世紀已經極受重視，有別於手工藝，但是西方卻晚了將近一千年的歷史才建立起獨立的地位。中國的水墨畫，據信是詩人王維（699-759）所創，脫離了上流社會中裝飾、敘述媒介的角色，而提升至文人探索精神層面的境界，「畫」因而與「詩」、「書」齊名，不再是雕刻、建築之類的技藝。

西方的詩人、樂師過去雖然列爲人文藝術家，但是畫家和雕塑家卻沒有這麼高的地位，直到17世紀，義大利、法國畫家才相繼爭取藝術家的社會地位（Heinich，1993）。此後又經過數百年在象徵、美學、政治各方面的運動，繪畫才終於成爲知識份子心靈探索的形式，而非工匠的技藝。在此期間，「藝術家」竭盡全力凸顯本身與工匠的不同，強調藝術創作與當時社會運動的價值觀息息相關。也就是在這段期間，對於「藝術家」的定位出現了許多迷思。

目的與研究設計

本研究我們以加拿大、法國和台灣三地的幼童、青少年和成人爲對象，探討他們所理解的「藝術家」，在語義上包含哪些意涵。本研究在溫哥華、巴黎、台北分別進行，透過一系列經過設計的訪問，我們歸納出相當數量的社會知識，本文就是針對這些發現所做的分析報告。研究地點的選擇，是基於
藝術家：普遍的類別，或是各地文化各有不同的意涵


這項大規模的訪問中，訪題的設計著重於探討對「藝術家」的不同理解，題型則包括開放式的問答題和提供選項的選擇題。有些問題用於所有的訪問中，題目措詞也完全相同，另外一些題目則是在預訪中即發現過於複雜，不適用於年齡最小的訪問者，因而刪除。本文所討論的資料分析，著重於三地社會對於「藝術家」的認知，我們詢問受訪者什麼樣的人可以稱為「藝術家」、兒童能不能成為藝術家，以及要做個藝術家，教育是否重要。這項探討及描述的研究，旨在比較加拿大的、法國和台灣三地不同的社會文化中，對於「藝術家」的觀念有哪些相同與相異之處；當然我們的取樣程序及範圍，必然有其限制，如上所述，必須列入考量。

本研究中受訪者分為三個年齡層，兩種不同程度的藝術專業知識。年紀最小的受訪者是4-5歲接受幼教的兒童，三地統計訪問了110人，取樣則分散於當地的托兒所和幼稚園。不過，所有受訪者都來自於都會區中上階級的家庭，以便於控制研究中的社會變數，也能夠獲致比較同質的資料，日後可以將研究擴大，比較三地人口中不同社會階層的異同。每個孩童個別訪問，而且我們發現小朋友都興致勃勃，非常合作。除了極少數的例外，受訪的孩子都非常樂於表達自己的看法，也能夠說出有意義的回答。

第二個年齡組是13-14歲的中學生，取樣條件與幼童組相同。成人組受訪者又分為完全沒有藝術方面的教育背景或經驗（下文稱為非專業人士），以及中學的美術教師（下文稱為藝術專業人士），每個地區各訪問60人左右。

總計整個研究訪問了380人。

在研究結果的討論中，我們採用百分比來描述資料模式，而非原始數字，以便於比較各訪問組的異同。不過，由於各組取樣人數並不多（原因在於我們的研究設計中區分了文化背景、年齡等變數，同時研究經費也有限），所以這些百分比的解讀，應該比較謹慎。此外，我們的問答題都是開放式的題目，由受訪者自行回答，並沒有提供可能的提示，因此各組沒有所謂團體共識的標準期望值。
什麼樣的人是藝術家？

我們提出「什麼樣的人是藝術家」這個問題，結果受訪者提答出非常多的特質和特徵，包括外表衣著、個性、生活方式，甚至在社會上的特定地位。這些描述我們分為90類，其中有43類的回答是出現2次以上的。

雖然某些描述或特徵，三個地區的受訪者都有人提到，但是整體的資料顯示，「藝術家」一詞在台、加、法三個社會中，語義上有相當大的差異。有關於一個概念的所有特徵、特質和描述，如果並列比較，找出每個特徵對於界定這個概念的重要性，就可能在三維的語義空間中建立起這個概念的普遍模式。本研究印證了我們的假設，也就是隨著每項特徵的重要性不同，這個語義空間的建構，也會因一個文化中個別的呈現而有所不同，如果做跨文化的比較，差別就更顯著了。另外，三個地區的青少年和成人的回答，也可以看出不同年齡層和專業知識多寡造成的差異。（幼童組並沒有提問這個題目。）

加拿大的訪問結果

從（表1）可以看到，青少年和成人組的回答有一個明顯的差異，亦即成人組強烈認爲「藝術家」並沒有既定的定義，任何人都可以成爲藝術家。具有專業背景或經驗的成人，尤其認爲不可能找出單一的形象，足以涵蓋「藝術家」全部的定義。

他們指出：「任何人都可能是藝術家，可以來自任何行業、任何年齡層；藝術家並非特定群體的專利標籤，那只是一種刻板印象，『藝術家』包含社會上各種文化和次文化和各種不同的分類和界線，更超越這些分類和界線。」有些受訪者提到，「各種不同的人都可以成爲藝術家，不分性別、種族、文化、年齡、宗教、語言，『也沒有特定的外表、舉止、氣味或走路的樣子。』

加拿大成人組受訪者，包括專業和非專業人士，大多認爲「藝術家」一詞並非專屬於特定類別的人，不過他們也選出藝術家的一些特質，而且出現的頻率顯示受訪者在這方面有相當的共識。有多位美術教師都提到「開放的心胸」和「好奇或好問」是藝術家的人格特質（各佔20%），13%提到藝術家重視思考與感受，有能力以創意的方式表達自己的思想和情感。
藝術家:
普遍的類別，
或是各地文化
各有不同的意涵。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>13-14歲</th>
<th>成人組非專業人士</th>
<th>美術教師</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>有創意</td>
<td>12 (40%)</td>
<td>各種不同的人 12 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>善於表達</td>
<td>9 (30%)</td>
<td>各種不同的人 7 (23%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>想像力</td>
<td>5 (17%)</td>
<td>好奇/好問 6 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>開放的心胸</td>
<td>5 (17%)</td>
<td>各種不同的人 2 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>畫畫的人</td>
<td>4 (13%)</td>
<td>有創意 4 (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>喜歡藝術</td>
<td>4 (13%)</td>
<td>喜歡音樂 2 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>企圖心</td>
<td>3 (10%)</td>
<td>意志力 3 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>喜歡省思</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>思想自由 2 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>特定的言行或外表</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>理想/浪漫 2 (6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

加拿大成人組非專業人士，同樣認爲任何人都可以成爲藝術家，或是「藝術家」的代表形象不只一種，（各佔37%及23%）。13%的受訪者在其定義中談到「藝術家」的外貌或特定的生活形態，認為藝術家「喜歡穿黑色和白色」、「前衛、反傳統」、「喜歡聚在咖啡廳、很摩登的人」。雖然自文藝復興之後，藝術圈的確出一些特立獨行或多愁善感的人物，但是一直到19世紀，這樣的特質才逐漸普遍，衣著裝扮和社會行為都深受浪漫主義影響。我們的受訪者所提到的刻板印象，可以追溯到19世紀的巴黎，當時成名的藝術家和畫壇新人的衣著裝扮大不相同，Deleuze 描述 David 畫室時就提到，有名的藝術家衣著都屬於藝術菁英份子的性格，剛出道的新人則會「嘗試比較大膽的裝扮，希望建立自己的形象」（Monnier的引述，1991，p.153）但至少有1位受訪者持相反的意見，認爲「藝術家並不是刻板印象中那樣，一定戴扁呢帽、穿黑衣服、叼著煙、陰陽怪氣，而是其他所有的人。」其他特性例如「喜歡省思」、「善於表達」、「認真努力」、「有創意」，也都
至少出現2次以上。

「創意」這項特質，在13-14歲的青少年組也非常普遍（40%）。這些青少年認爲藝術家「都很有創意」「是有創意的人」「會去嘗試其他人不想嘗試的事情」。30% 的訪問者也談到藝術與表達的關係，例如「他們常會把感受表達出來」「喜歡用繪畫表達自己」「他們的感受即使不說出來，也能夠用其他形式表達出來」「他們想要把自我表現出來」「他們用藝術來表達憤怒」。另外也有不少人提到藝術家「富有想像力」「心胸很開放」（17%），或利用藝術媒材創作（素描、繪畫等等），或是「喜歡藝術」（各13%）。

相較於成人組，只有10% 的青少年表示任何人都可以做藝術家。同樣的，只有7% 提到「藝術家」的觀念太廣，可能找不出一定的特質、特徵來定義。此外，有6個類別的回答出現4次以上，而且是受訪者主動提及，似乎顯示這個年齡層的青少年對於「藝術家」的觀念，有一個相當明確、共通的形象，主要特色在於創意、想像力、開放的心胸，能夠透過藝術媒材來表達，而且熱愛藝術。

相對的，加拿大成人組明顯傾向於開放的定義，不贊成固定、狹隘的觀念，認為「每一個人」都可以成為藝術家。另外，美術教師和成人組非專業人士最常提到的藝術家特質，與青少年的認知有相當大的差距：這一點值得藝術教育人士特別注意，因為這樣的觀念落差，必然會影響教育的過程，以及教與學互動。即使是3組受訪者都提到的特質，出現頻率也不同，顯示各組受訪者的社會觀念中，這些特質的重要性並不一樣。例如主動提及「創意」的受訪者，青少年組有40%，美術教師組只有13%，成人組非專業人士更只有6%。不過，一個可能的原因是成人組既然偏向於開放的定義，所以有些人即使認為創意是藝術家共通的特質，也沒有特別去提及。

法國的訪問結果

法國的青少年組和美術教師，對於「藝術家」的定義，最常出現的回答是利用藝術媒材或從事藝術創作的人（各為43% 及 27%），認為藝術家是指那些「創作藝術作品」、「畫畫」、「能夠創作藝術」的人，凡是作品「可以歸類為藝術」的人。但是，成人組非專業人士卻完全沒有出現這樣的回答，而是強調創意與敏銳感受（各佔23% 及 20%）。
法國的訪問結果

表2：什麼樣的人是藝術家？

法國受訪者中出現兩次以上的回答類別:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>年齡</th>
<th>成人組非專業人士</th>
<th>美術教師</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13-14歲</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>從事素描、繪畫等的人</td>
<td>13 (43%)</td>
<td>有創意</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>善於表達</td>
<td>10 (33%)</td>
<td>敏感</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>獨創一格、不同</td>
<td>6 (20%)</td>
<td>善於表達</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>想像力</td>
<td>4 (13%)</td>
<td>勇於冒險</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>點子很多</td>
<td>4 (13%)</td>
<td>關心美的問題</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>有才華</td>
<td>3 (10%)</td>
<td>想像力</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>有創意</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>熱情</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>各種不同的人</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>有才華</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>特定的言行或外表</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>思想自由</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>受到肯定</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>專注</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>想讓人高興</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>喜歡嘗試</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

同時出現於三組受訪組的回答當中，頻率最高的是善於表達，13 - 14歲組有33%，成人組非專業人士 10%，美術教師 23%。美術教師的回答特別強調表達的能力與需求，認爲藝術家是「透過自己的表達方式、媒材，以表現自己的想法」，「藝術家有一種需要，必須把內心的東西表現出來」，「透過視覺甚至抽象的方式來表達自己」。

法國青少年組也非常強調原創性、與衆不同 (20%)，其次是想像力和點子很多。美術教師的回答中，還包括好奇/好問 (13%)，也談到藝術家是「一種生活方式」而非特定的人格特質 (約27%)，認為藝術家是能夠「生活、感受、反省、行動」的人；有一位受訪者說：「有些人之所以成爲藝術家，是基於內心的一種需要，表現於他們的生活方式、言行舉止、對待別人的態度、對待外在世界的態度。」另一位受訪者則指出藝術家都有「一種需要，希望找回自由、改變人生，總之就是透過不同的方式來感受這個世界。」還有些受訪者提到藝術家的奉獻、執著，「把自己奉獻給藝術，把自
藝術家：普遍的類別，或是各地文化各有不同的意涵

藝術家的工作不是說：「這是藝術」，而是要讓專家、讓有權威的單位認可他的作品，視之為藝術。」（1998，p.57）

另外一位美術教師還提到其他的權威，認為藝術家「存在於一個圈子、一個經濟體系，有一定地位，他的商品，他的作品有美術館和收藏家收購，他就是個公認的藝術家。如果作品從來不出自己的生活圈，沒有公開展出，沒有人收購，也沒有人談論，那就毫無價值，算不上藝術作品，只有受到（專業）圈子認可的作品，才叫做藝術作品。」法國受訪者對於「藝術家」的觀念，在這方面與加拿大和台灣有所不同，至少有一部分法國人認為藝術家除了本身的特質之外，更需要外在社會、體制的認可，才能獲得一定的地位。這項差別可以看出當代社會對於藝術家的地位，取決於兩方面的因素，一方面是創作者本身自我肯定的權力，另一方面則是社會結構與機構的認可，有時要經過權威機構背書，才能夠確立藝術家的地位。從這項差別也可以看出，有關於藝術家在社會上的定位，數百年來爭論不斷，至今仍然沒有定論，藝術與藝術家的地位，仍然是相對的而非絕對的。

台灣的訪問結果

13-14歲的台灣受訪者，對於「藝術家」的觀念最常想到的是內省和特定的思考方式（33%），其中有多位認爲藝術家具有「思考能力」，能夠「全方位的思考」。有1位受訪者說：「我認為藝術家絕對是想法很特別的人，他們共同的特質是都很淡泊、沒有野心。」

另外，這些青少年也強調想像力（30%）、敏感（23%）和創意（17%），一個受訪者的回答總結了許多人的意見，她說：「藝術家都有很豐
富的想像力和創造力，而且能夠把它表現出來。」

有些青少年談到「特定的風格」(6%)，也有些人提及藝術家的衣著和言行，與加拿大的受訪者相呼應，一位受訪者說「藝術家共同的特質是都留了鬍子」，有些人則說藝術家是「怪人」，顯示藝術家標新立異的傳統，至今仍然流傳。還有一點值得注意，有些青少年認爲藝術家是「對每一件藝術作品都非常瞭解的人，對作品正面的意義有深刻的認識」，或是「能夠欣賞藝術的人」，也就是重點不在於藝術創作的技巧、態度，而是轉移到對藝術的反應。

台灣的成人組受訪者，同樣強調藝術家的創意，美術教師中有 50% 提及創意，認為「藝術家具有創作的能力」，或是「有創意的人」。另外有 33% 的成人談到藝術家是「專門從事藝術創作的人」，同時指涉到藝術媒材的運用，以及這項活動的創意本質。美術教師還指出，藝術家是「極度敏感」的人(13%)，「善於觀察事物」(10%)，或是「有自己的風格，奉獻於藝術方面的事情」(10%)。

成人組非專業人士的回答當中，頻率最高的是創意、內省，和獨特的思
考方式（各佔 20%）。有些人也強調藝術家本身的獨特之處，談到「天生的獨特風格」，或是藝術家具有「超乎常人的感受能力」。有些受訪者說藝術家是「很敏感的人，活在夢想的世界」，「強調生活經驗，還有心靈的活動與互動」。對於藝術家的形象，這些非專業人士顯然認定了某些人格特質，只有2位受訪者認爲「各種不同的人」都可以成為藝術家」。

兒童能不能稱為藝術家？

「兒童藝術」一詞，在北美已經非常普遍，但我們過去的研究顯示，將兒童和青少年的作品稱之為「藝術」，存在有跨文化的差異（Darras & Kindler, 1996；Kindler, Darras & Kuo, 1995, 1998）。本研究中有一道訪問，進一步從跨文化的觀點，探討年齡與「藝術家」這個地位有何關聯。我們取樣的受訪者，包括幼童（4-5歲）到成人，而取得的回答顯示出不同的文化、身心發展和專業能力，觀念也有相當的差異。

從（表4）可以看出，大部分的受訪者，都認為兒童可以稱為藝術家，尤其是在加拿大，成人組非專業人士和美術教師的看法幾乎都一致（贊成的比例達97%和90%），加拿大的青少年同樣可以接受「兒童藝術家」的觀念，相對的反倒是兒童本身最不肯定，只有56%的加拿大幼童認定兒童可以稱為藝術家。相對的人，理由是兒童年紀太小，或是以本身的情形來回答，表示自己不是藝術家。

法國的幼童組受訪者，同樣擔心兒童年紀太小的問題，贊成與反對的人數正好各佔45%，另外10%沒有意見，而反對的理由當中，年紀太小佔第一位。法國的青少年受訪者中，絕大多數（84%）認為兒童可以稱為藝術家，比例接近加拿大和台灣的青少年，但是成人組卻只有57%的非專業人士認為兒童可以稱為藝術家，美術教師更只有17%。法國青少年贊成的理由，包括任何人都可以創作藝術（13%）、年齡不足以決定藝術才能（17%）、兒童也有創意（17%）、能表達自己的情感（17%）、有才華（13%）、能夠畫出很好的畫（13%）。認為兒童不能稱為藝術家的成人，所持的理由是兒童並不具備藝術家所必須的理解能力和心智成熟程度（美術教師27%、非專業人士13%）。正如一位受訪者所說：「做個藝術家，一方面需要知識、力量，有能力學會所需的技巧，以達成創作的意圖，達到藝術表達的目的，但是兒童還不夠成熟，不足以做到這些。」有多位受訪者指出，兒童不能稱為藝術
家，因為他們的創作活動缺乏明確的意圖（美術教師 17%、非專業人士 7%）。另外還有些受訪者，尤其是美術教師，提到兒童太單純、欠缺文化知識與技巧。

台灣的受訪者當中，幼童、青少年和非專業人士，大半贊成兒童可以稱為藝術家（各有70%、90%和60%），美術教師的意見正反各佔一半。贊成的理由中，最主要的是兒童的創意和想像力，4-5歲的台灣受訪者與加拿大幼童一樣，都提到兒童也會畫圖，所以可以稱為藝術家，而反對的理由也與法國、加拿大類似，認爲兒童年紀太小，有3人還特別提到欠缺畫圖的技巧。美術教師反對的理由，則是兒童欠缺藝術家所必須的成熟和人生經驗，也有人提到「表達能力不足」。

結論而言，加拿大、台灣和法國三地的受訪者，尤其是法國，其回答並不因年紀和專業能力而出現顯著的差別，但是美術教師對於兒童能不能稱為藝術家，顯然比非專業人士和兒童本身保留得多。特別是在法國，美術教師與其他受訪者的回答差距懸殊，可見美術教師關於藝術家的種種觀念，並未充分傳達給學生。可能的解釋，也許是 13 - 14 歲的法國學生對於「藝術家」已經形成了相當的定見，不太受美術教師影響，或是法國美術教師實際的教學，與他們個人的信念或多或少有些出入。

我們訪問的法國美術教師，大部分都是在1970年代接受美術師資教育，這一點應該特別注意，他們主要受到後現代的影響，而非現代派的影響。根據杜象以後的傳統，許多美術教師都認爲當代的藝術媒介既非繪畫，也非雕塑或拼貼，而是藝術本身。這樣的觀念，顯然不容易傳達給兒童或青少年，再加上缺乏適當的教學工具，就更難以向學生說明清楚了。正如 Thierry de
Duve (1992) 所指出，藝術解構的運動之後，許多藝術教師在教學上失去了明確的原則，過去教導創意、表達的教學傳統，加上強調形式理論，以及晚近的「解決問題」的能力，造成各種觀念與實際教學相互衝突。教導解決問題的能力，的確是很好的教學法，但應用在只可意會、不可言傳的創造力的問題，就不太恰當了 (de Duve, p.55)。尤其法國美術教師的回答，明顯可以看出他們偏向於機構來決定藝術的定義，藝術家的定位：但是法國的兒童卻比較強調藝術的創意、表達層面，這一點也符合兒童一般的天性，所以兒童比較願意接受孩子也可以稱為藝術家。

加拿大訪問者強烈贊成兒童可以稱為藝術家，我們並不意外，因爲在另一道訪題中，我們請訪問者從教師、科學家、探險家、運動員、熱戀的人、魔術師、神明、幼童當中，選出一個最能代表藝術家的呼喚，結果除了幼童組選擇科學家之外，其他的加拿大訪問者最常選擇的都是幼童。這個情況反映出現代派的觀點，在今天的加拿大社會，影響仍然很大，現代派藝術運動的一些知名藝術家，都十分推崇孩子的藝術創作。例如 Paul Klee 就讚揚幼童作品中的藝術特質，他說：「兒童也有藝術能力，而且認為兒童具有藝術能力，是很有道理的。


相形之下，法國的訪問者很少選擇。「兒童藝術家」的比喻，進一步證明許多法國人深信「藝術意圖 (Kunstwollen)」這個觀念，尤其是在美術教育界，認爲藝術意圖是藝術的先決條件，同時也堅持機構的觀點。這道問題中特別值得注意的一項相關發現，就是不同文化中美術教師的觀點各不相同：我們發現各國的藝術教育專業人士，對於兒童的作品該如何定位，並不一定有共識。另一方面，法國、加拿大、台灣三地的青少年，觀點卻非常相
藝術家：普遍的類別，或是各地文化各有不同的意涵。沒有學過美術的人能不能成為藝術家？

我們最後探討專業訓練與成為藝術家兩者之間的關聯，要成為藝術家，是否需要一定的訓練與學習？這個問題在法、加、台三地社會，各組受訪者普遍認為教育並不是重要的條件，而傾向於將藝術能力歸因於天生的才華、天分或是「自然的能力」。成人組非專業人士尤其明顯，加拿大90%，法國100%，台灣80%。美術教師當中，持同樣觀點的人，加拿大佔87%，法國84%，台灣87%；青少年的比例則分別為94%、83%、87%。

有數位受訪者，特別是在法國與加拿大，指出許多公認的藝術家並沒有受過任何正式的訓練，認為藝術是憑直覺。一些極端的看法更主張「創意是學不來的」，甚至說「訓練可能破壞創意」。加拿大有多位受訪者，包括美術教師和非專業人士，認為「藝術是內心的感受」，或是一種自我表達的形式，個性的影響要大於任何教育經驗。不過，在三個地區，許多受訪者也都承認教育可能有助於進一步培養藝術的才能。正如一位加拿大受訪者所說：「訓練可以加強技巧和理解，以創作出更好的藝術。」

結論

從這次的研究結果，我們得以建立三地文化中，與「藝術家」相關的各種社會概念，這些概念雖有類似之處，但仍然各有特點，反映出各文化特有的信念（參見表6）。

從（表6）可以明顯看出，在法、加、台三地文化中，「創意」是13-14
歲及成人組受訪者一致強調的藝術家特質，主動提及的比例都在10%以上。台灣受訪者尤其重視創意，比例高達29%，佔第一位。在法國和加拿大，創意都居於第三位，比例分別是14%和20%。

另外有些共同的概念，只出現在兩個文化中，例如法國與加拿大的受訪者，都相當強調表達（各佔20%和17%），但台灣受訪者只有5%提到表達能力。另方面，法國和台灣的受訪者，認爲藝術家特別敏感（14%和10%），加拿大的受訪者卻完全沒有提到這個特質。同樣的，研究中發現法國和台灣受訪者，將藝術家這個觀念與藝術媒材的運用相結合，例如繪畫、素描等等（各有21%和11%），加拿大受訪者卻只有4%（而且都是13-14歲的青少年）提到藝術家應用的媒材或創作出素描、繪畫等作品。

若要根據研究中所得的社會概念，描繪出藝術家的形象，加拿大的形象應該是最難以定義的，因爲加拿大受訪者的觀念太廣泛了，他們似乎很能接受藝術的創作者可以來自社會上任何行業，包含形形色色的個性和特質。「加拿大的藝術家」可以包括任何人，不需要特定的技巧、能力、性向，也不需要任何權威來確認藝術家的地位。不過，加拿大人心目中的藝術家，強調創意和開放的心胸，以及感受、反應近似於兒童。如前所述，本研究中所觀察到的加拿大「藝術家」，可能受到多方面的因素影響，包括強調創意與自我表達的現代派傳統、重視多元的後現代相對論，以及以兒童為中心的社會態度。然而最重要的一點是反映出加拿大人相信「藝術家」是以個人為中心，人人都有權力決定本身在藝術界的定位。

### 表6
什麼樣的人是藝術家？
三地社會中13-14歲及成人組受訪者
出現兩次以上的回答類別

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>加拿大</th>
<th>法國</th>
<th>台灣</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>每一個人(21%)</td>
<td>素描、繪畫的人(23%)</td>
<td>有創意(29%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>不同類型的人(21%)</td>
<td>善於表達(22%)</td>
<td>獨特的想法(18%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>有創意(20%)</td>
<td>有創意(14%)</td>
<td>敏感(15%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>善於表達(17%)</td>
<td>敏感(9%)</td>
<td>素描、繪畫的人(7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>開放的心胸(12%)</td>
<td>得到認可(7%)</td>
<td>敏銳的觀察力(7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
相對的，法國的藝術家則是利用藝術媒材，發揮本身的創意與敏銳，藉以表達一定的訊息。但是，光有這些特質還不夠，藝術家還必須得到適當權威單位的認可；至少在美術專業人士的眼中，兒童不能稱之為藝術家。本研究中所發現的法國觀點，顯示強調個人特質的藝術觀，以及需要社會認可的藝術觀，兩者之間有所衝突。法國受訪者，尤其是美術教師，採取的是折衷的態度，他們並不完全主張藝術現象是反映一些天生、普遍的特質，例如好奇、敏銳、表達、創造，或是任何個人都有權力自稱爲藝術家。但法國受訪者也並不是完全認爲這些特質是社會的建構，或是如 Bourdieu 所說：「一件藝術作品的價值不是來自於藝術家，而是來自創作的領域及其信念，使作品成爲受推崇的對象，藝術家的創作力量也因此受到肯定。」（1992, p. 318）法國受訪者的立場，反映出這兩種矛盾的觀點並不容易兼顧，也許他們也在尋求兩者的平衡，正如 Dominique Chateau 在其近作中所謂「藝術的社會定義，既包含客觀的意向（由社會環境及其規則所定義），也包含主觀的傾向。……問題在於兩者之間如何取得衡。」（1998, p. 54）

法國受訪者心目中的藝術家，強調藝術的創作，台灣受訪者則著重於心智和精神層面的特質，例如創意、內省、敏感、獨特的感受方式、敏銳的觀察能力等等，都是藝術家有別於其他人的特點。這些特質也符合中國人自孔子以來的傳統觀念，將藝術與人文精神緊密結合，認爲藝術能夠影響性格、反映性格。此外，也可看出台灣受訪者對《易經》的重視，認爲藝術與創作、觀者及自然世界之間，有一神秘的層面，達到和諧合一的境界。但台灣受訪者同時也透露出西方世界的影響，尤其是現代派的傳統，以及對創意、自由表達的重視。

本研究中可以看出，在台灣和法國，社會上對於藝術家的定義，共同的信念遠比加拿大社會更明顯，台、法兩地提出一些「藝術家」特有的特徵和人格特質，有別於社會上其他的人，但是加拿大幾乎沒有這樣的區別。這一點也許反映出加拿大多元文化的環境，不斷透過社會政策、政治議題，挑戰既有的態度、觀念，展現開放包容的心胸，而且影響深入到日常生活的各個層面。

本研究的結果，也可以說是凸顯了藝術與藝術才能的本質，有兩種截然不同的觀點，藝術現象應該解讀爲內心的過程，藝術之有無一方面可以從個人的層面來定義，不需要外界的認可，另一方面也可以將社會的肯定視爲藝術
概念中不可或缺的一环。本研究中所观察到的加拿大观点属于个人层面，法
国受访者则明显属于后者，或说是介于两者观点之间，受到两者的交互影
响。Csikszentmihalyi也曾针对创造力的观念比较其中差异（1999），他以
Maslow（1963）的作品为例，指出创造力一个普遍的方法，就是从内心层
面强调创造过程的本质，「主观经验的品质⋯⋯决定了一人是否具有创
意，而非外在世界的判断。」（p. 314）他将这个方法与自己的创造力系统模
式做对照，根据他的模式，创造力乃是「透过创作者与观众之间的互动，所
建构的一种现象」，并指出「创造力不是个人的产物，而是社会系统对个人
产物做了评断之后的产物。」（p. 314）我们的研究结果，反映出三地社会中
也有类似的两极艺术观，而且对这些观点重视程度也有所不同。

本研究有一项发现，艺术教育人士也常会感觉到忧虑，也就是三地的受访者
不分年龄、专业能力，普遍认为学习、训练与成为艺术家没有关联。虽然
中小学校的艺术教育，重点从训练未来的艺术家转移为培养艺术的欣赏人口，
已经有相当的时日，但是高等教育中专门训练艺术家的系所院校，是否仍有
存在的价值，显然面临了一大挑战。我们的研究虽然属于说明及描述的性
质，研究范围也有限，但仍显示，在取样的三个社会中，一般人似乎认为，
并不需要这些专业院校才能产生新一代的艺术家，不论加拿大、法国或台湾
的文化中，似乎都有一个共同的观念，认为艺术家的才华、敏感是与生俱来
的。因此，艺术教育界也必须特别致力改变这样的观念，大专院校
的视视艺术教育才能够得到社会认同及持续的支持。

费德曼曾说，从历史的角度而言，艺术家不只「一种」，这样的结论在
本研究中似乎更进一步延伸，也就是现代社会对于「艺术家」的概念虽有类似之
处，但多少仍然受到不同文化背景的影响而有差距。本研究开始讨论
「艺术家」这个观念在加拿大、法国、台湾不同的语义，也凸显一些非常重
要的差别。有鉴于新世纪日渐强调多元文化的艺术教育，整体教育事业也迈
向全球化的趋势，各校学校的艺术教育人士，更应该深入了解「艺术家」一
词在不同文化中代表的深层语义与独特的意涵。否则，「艺术家」的印象印
象永远无法打破，不同文化环境中对于「艺术家」丰富独特的语义呈现，也
会因而扁平化，导致类似殖民时代文化帝国主义的做法与措施。任何国际机
构或社会，在倡議艺术教育的全球合作之际，都必须特别注意这些观念的差
异，予以肯定和尊重。