

Stereotyped
Image Creation:
An Act of
Copying or Not?

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Abstract

Early studies related to creativity emphasize the value of originality and see the act of copying as an indication of a lack of self-confidence and self-expression. However, evidence from recent studies has revealed that drawings created by young adolescents carry particular meanings closely related to their everyday life experiences, and suggests that their drawings may thus be considered as socio-cultural products. Therefore, we cannot simply conclude that young adolescents' copying is nothing but mere imitation. This article aims to answer one essential question regarding stereotyped image creation: Is stereotyped drawing just an act of copying? According to this question, I will examine the key issues related to the imitation phenomenon and stereotyped image creation from the stereotyped ideological perspective and the psychological and socio-cultural perspectives. In the article, I will use manga, one of the most popular forms in the popular visual cultural context, as an example in order to explicate the various ways in which stereotyped image creation may be interpreted, and argue that stereotyped image creation is not just imitation, but that it also has psychological, socio-cultural and educational underpinnings.

Keywords: Creativity, Imitation, Visual Culture and Art Education, Stereotyped Image Creation

A case meeting about a junior secondary student, Lily (a pseudonym), was held by senior art teachers at a Hong Kong secondary school. The main issue for the meeting was to discuss Lily's complaint about the fail grade she had been given by her art teacher in an assessment. The art teacher affirmed that a series of Lily's artworks about puppy love was directly copied from a Japanese manga romance. He emphasized the fact that "copying was a serious offence" against creativity and therefore should be strictly forbidden. However, Lily completely denied copying, insisting that she had changed the form and context of the original manga and recreated something new, rather than just imitating. This is a real case that arose last year and I was invited to be an external consultant for the meeting. I believe that this is not an isolated case and that it will happen again in the future. It is not my intention to report the case in detail here. Rather, I am very concerned about one essential question arising from the argument between Lily and the art teacher. This question is: Is stereotyped manga creation just an act of copying?

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In art education, copying is regarded as a non-creative act opposed to originality. According to Lowenfeld and Brittain (1987), "children should not copy anything. The arts are supposed to be a means of one's own expression and not a superficial copy of someone else's thoughts and ideas. Copies for the most part are done with no understanding of the structure or meaning of what is imitated" (p. 179). In a real school context, in art classes art teachers invariably come across stereotyped drawings made by their students. Students love to read and create manga. They intentionally repeatedly practise creating images by imitating the original manga images, although such imitation is generally accepted to be impermissible in art education since it goes against the assumption concerning creative learning in the arts (Lowenfeld & Brittain, 1987).

Early studies related to creativity emphasize the importance of originality and see the act of copying as an indication of a lack of self-confidence. However, evidence from recent studies has proved that manga drawings created by children are socio-cultural products. Therefore,

we cannot simply conclude that young adolescents' copying is mere imitation. The aim of this article is thus to answer the above one essential question regarding stereotyped image creation. According to this question, I will examine the key issues related to the imitation phenomenon and stereotyped image creation from the stereotyped ideological perspective and the psychological and socio-cultural perspectives. I will use manga, one of the most popular forms in the popular visual cultural context, as an example in order to explicate the various ways in which stereotyped image creation may be interpreted, and argue that stereotyped image creation is not just imitation, but that it also has psychological, socio-cultural and educational implications.

Stereotyped Ideology and Expressions in Manga

In an increasingly globalized visual cultural context, manga (also known as comics) has become one of the most powerful visual forms and popular art expressions emerging from everyday life. This particular type of visual cultural form is widely accepted by young adolescents – they are enthusiastic about imitating stereotyped images from various resources of popular visual culture such as manga books and computer games, producing a new notion of stereotyped beauty.

Reading manga involves a process of transforming, giving an object a new meaning with reference to the creator's lived experience. In the world of manga, "some nonlife objects can be shaped to have life" (Ren, 1985, p. 85). Xiao (2002) attempts to classify the characters that emerge in manga into two major stereotypes: the first of these he calls the "stereotypic character" (p. 81), in which all characteristics are assembled in a single character; the second is the "individual character" that symbolizes the salient aspects of the individual (p. 81). The stereotypic character represents the point of contact between the reader's actual life experience and the characteristics of the manga character. The individual character shows more concern with the conflict between the salient characteristics of the individual and the real world in which the real individual operates. Some characters are actually

unacceptable within the established customs of the society. They typically rebel against the existing society and its institutions. Because of their lively, fierce and rebellious natures, young adolescents are easily attracted by such characters (Xiao, 2002).

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The content of manga seems to follow a stereotyped principle. In a study of a young girls' romance manga, Baker (1989) showed that the development of a manga story always has a four-phased structure, including an introduction, a struggle, the resolution of the conflict, and the ending. Although Xiao (2002) argues that the formalized popular culture can offer creators a ready-made model for creating, the structure of the manga story follows the rules of stereotyping. These rules not only imply the formalized structure of the manga story, they are also reflected in the established rules or symbols that usually govern the choice of the sex of the main manga character.

Manga reading is governed by the established rules and symbols often used by different genders. According to the established rules and symbols in young boys' and girls' manga, each gender has its own interests in terms of what they choose to read. Besides reading, different categories of manga may help readers to become integrated in the social relationship between themselves and the text (Baker, 1989). Xiao (2002) examines Baker's contention that there is a connection between the different sexes and the category of manga; for example, boys are shown in a favorable light in simple manga stories containing strong images of the manly man, full of challenges and excitement, and that include many scenes of combat, while the ones girls prefer are about romance, love and beauty.

The sexual stereotyping ideology distinctly emerges in both boys' and girls' manga. As mentioned previously, the stereotyped ideological concept dominates the characteristics of the protagonists who appear in young boys' and girls' manga, which are constituted by established rules and symbols. In these rules and symbols, there is an accepted system for each gender and different ways of representing them mythically. Male characters and male combats are accorded high importance in young boys' manga, while young

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girls' manga project strong images of the ideology that love is the greatest consideration of all, and in which the female is expected to sacrifice her career and even her life to pursue the love that she believes will lead her to eternal happiness (Lin, 2000).

In the late 1960s, Streicher (1967) demonstrated how female images in American comics were presented as stereotypes. In a similar vein, Glasberg (1992) conducted a study of a manga story about a love triangle relationship in a metropolis. He found that some of the representations of both genders were imbued with formalism. In the love triangle relationship, the male images were those of individuals capable of acting independently and who had the power to choose love, while female images were presented as either passive and dependent individuals who were sexually attractive or as miserable individuals who possessed no attraction for males.

The hero character who emerges in manga represents a stereotyping phenomenon, reflecting the fact that the gender stereotyping ideology is socially constructed. Pecora (1992) studied a series of Superman hero comics and discovered that the hero is always playing the role of "socializing agent" in a world confronting violence that is constantly waiting for a white male to arrive in order to restore social order and solve the problem (pp. 65). In these stories, the female appears either as a victim, or as a loathsome individual, or as an incomplete being who may be successful in business but who is entirely lacking in warmth and love.

This stereotypical concept of both genders can also be found in Japanese manga. It seems to have become a cross-cultural phenomenon that exists in both Eastern and Western society. Liu (1996) studied the implications of the female image in one of the most popular Japanese manga distributed in Taiwan, and obtained similar findings to Pecora: the female is represented as a sexual object designed to satisfy the male's gaze in a patriarchal society (Liu, 1996). He criticizes the fact that the relationships between family members strictly follow the rules of patriarchy. In a male-dominated society, romantic love stories summon females to reproduce the imbalance of power in gender relationships (Liu, 1996).

Japanese manga are permeated with ideologies of class consciousness, feudalistic ideas and nationalism.

In summary, the stereotyped expressions in manga are reflected not just in the visual forms but also in the content of the manga stories. They both address a particular ideology. The themes and types of manga range from romantic comic stories to comic stories about fighting. In manga, the process of creating meanings involves reading the connections between the images; the reader needs to be psychologically involved in order to interpret the images, and the act of reading can be viewed as satisfying the readers' psychological needs and at the same time providing them with enjoyment (Xiao, 2002). Meaning construction requires the involvement of the participant's imagination. Readers may not necessarily be following the code or the symbols or the messages hidden in the manga text when reading it; instead, they may be playing an active role in creating a new meaning that is related to their everyday life.

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Psychological and Socio-cultural Accounts of Copying

The stereotyped image and the act of imitation can be explicated from both psychological and socio-cultural perspectives. Lowenfeld and Brittain (1987) commented negatively on copying, stating that "copies for the most part are done with no understanding of the structure or meaning of what is imitated", and that rather, "the arts are supposed to be a means of one's own expression and not a superficial copy of someone else's thought and ideas" (pp. 179-180). Artistic spontaneity in creative activity can be seen as a reflection of a person's feelings and thoughts, which also demonstrates the ability to mobilize logical thoughts (Naumburg, 1973). From this perspective, stereotypic modes of expression in creation are considered to be non-spontaneous.

Other researchers have seen the act of imitation as reflecting the wish to possess something, and emulation itself as a necessary process of gaining identity from a form of high quality (Case, 2000, p. 37). McNiff (1981) remarks that the stereotypic form of expression denotes a particular pattern

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of repetitive, ritualistic and highly controlled expressions, reflecting an insecure state of mind and indicating “a lack of self-confidence with the particular mode of expression and a need to defend oneself against the anxiety provoked by being exposed to experiences outside the pattern of daily routines” (p. 50). The stereotypic mode of expression, understood as a form of conscious control, is seen to stand in contrast to ‘genuine’ creative expression (McNiff, 1981). Moreover, as a reflection of conscious control, stereotypic expression is indicative of the tendency to follow an ideal. McNiff (1981) described this phenomenon as “excessive perfectionism” (p. 52), caused by doubt about one’s ability to express oneself spontaneously. As a result, people tend “to place unrealistic demands on themselves to achieve idealized goals” (McNiff, 1981, p. 52). The stereotype thus appears to be a negative phenomenon occurring in artistic creation. When the expressive ability is blocked, a person becomes gradually “withdrawn or dependent on stereotypic forms of communication” (McNiff, 1981, p. 53). In the creative process, the creator’s free will to express himself is emphasized as a symbol of escaping beyond social boundaries. If the creator is unsuccessful in transcending the stereotypic obstacles, a phenomenon of regression emerges. According to McNiff (1988), this reflects the relationship between the transcending process and the importance of releasing the person’s conscious control.

In her case studies of children’s drawing, Case (2000) demonstrates an idea similar to that of McNiff that a child’s copying images represents “some deficiency or lack in himself” (p. 37). Another point made by Case (2000) is that the copying phenomenon is caused by a lack of originality. In a report on the emulating behavior which occurred in an art therapy group, Case (2000) further discovered that children felt a need to imitate in order to be “as good as one another” even if they did not learn about “what it is that they are drawing” (p. 37). From her observation, children would first imitate the image exactly before gaining sufficient confidence and feeling capable of having an idea of their own (Case, 2000). Children seeking the ideal model to imitate reflects their recognition of social identity, since “social recognition for the

artist appears to lie in the acceptance and acknowledgement of a personal artistic identity as expressed through creative work...social recognition is but another manifestation of the need to create a positive sense of self that is accepted by others” (McNiff, 1981, p. 44).

This recognition also represents a symbolic form of acceptance by the society. However, at the same time, it reflects a resistant attitude against the stereotypic socio-cultural identity, because the personality and image of the artist symbolize the fact that “the artist is not content with the stereotypic social identities that are attached to people who fill more conventional and standardized roles in society” (McNiff, 1981, p. 44). From this perspective, there is a contradiction inherent in the theory that children imitate in order to produce symbolic and stereotypic forms so that the society will accept their identities, but at the same time the image of the artist is elevated to that of a creative, isolated identity, and the standardized society is rejected. This theory is close to Kaltenbeck’s (2003) suggestion that “the innovating artist works for culture, helping to refine it, but at the same time he works against culture and civilization, trying to revolutionize them” (p. 106). Although the motivation to imitate seems like normal behavior, it can have a negative impact on psychological development. The imitation of images can be viewed as an unconscious and spontaneous defense against the self (McNeilly, 1989). It relates to the projection mechanism of ready-made images. For the purpose of integrating art and psychotherapy, the concept of “spontaneous art” has been employed as a “means of orientation and deeper self-knowledge” (Naumbury, 2001, p. 46).

The projection mechanism is also a belief in which people use powerful symbols to communicate with each other. The method adopted is to encourage people to use visual symbols spontaneously to express their feelings in order to achieve “fresh forms of human adjustment” (Naumburg, 2001, p. 46). Nevertheless, not all images are selected to be emulated: there is a criterion for this selection that good quality images may fail to meet (McNeilly, 1989). Case (2000) adds that this projection saves “good

qualities” from the destructive feelings inside, and the person’s good qualities are located outside for safety (p. 38).

Where We Go from Here

In art education, Duncum (1987) identifies five positions on copying, stating that copying is: 1) always undesirable for expression; 2) always undesirable for expression, though influence is acceptable; 3) antithetical to expression, but can contribute to learning; 4) a substantial contribution to learning, and 5) necessary for learning (p. 205). The above-mentioned positions may offer a different and more positive perspective from which to examine stereotyped image creation in the educational context. Indeed, early literature in relation to stereotyped drawings is full of discussions surrounding the phenomenon of children’s copying. Copying is a critical issue that has been widely discussed in great detail with relation to stereotyped drawings, since stereotyped drawings reflect copying behaviors and such behaviors may result in a decrease in creativity. Cizek (Viola, 1936), Harrison (1960) and Lowenfeld and Brittain (1964) declare that copying cannot contribute to children’s mental growth, and that it even diminishes self-expression and creativity. Lowenfeld and Brittain (1987) also complain that “a copy is merely a duplication from one surface to another without the involvement of the problem-solving capacities of the mind” (p. 180).

Later, over the past few decades, the focus of the discussion has shifted from an emphasis on the negative effect of children’s copying to attention to the potential benefits of copying. Psychologists and contemporary art educators hold contradictory views on stereotyped creation. The former negatively assert that stereotyped expression is a symptom of self-deficiency, while the latter see it as a reflection of real life. Thus, although from a psychological perspective stereotypic expression reveals a psychological deficiency, however, from an educational perspective it is connected to learning.

Smith (1985) claims that most children invent their own imagery and their own themes in cartoon strip image creation according to their real lived experiences; there are few children who maintain the stereotyped types of expression. Stereotypic expression emerges in a particular pattern. Wilson and Wilson (1982) see the advantage of imitation in art creation as inevitable, since it can provide children with an artistic method of focusing on depicting the details of an object. Eisner (1972) rejected the theory of Lowenfeld and Brittain, claiming that children's art does not necessarily have a direct effect on their growth. He attempts to revise the theory of artistic development by pointing to other important effects of molding children's art. Viewing art as a learning process in children's artistic development instead of as an instrument, Eisner (1972) and Kindler and Darras (1997) emphasize the interrelationships and interactions among children's perception and their related experiences.

Recent studies of young adolescents' drawings show evidence that young adolescents present their social life and problems they have in reality in their drawings (Duncum, 1987, 1993; Freedman, 1997, 2000; Wilson & Litgoet, 1992, Wilson & Wilson, 1985). In art education, students may benefit from copying, since copying is regarded as a learning process (Eisner, 1972; Duncum, 1987; Lau, 2013; Pariser, 1980). Some studies have focused more on investigating the meaning of the stereotyped form of expression from a cross-cultural educational perspective (Wilson & Litgoet, 1992; Wilson & Wilson, 1982, 1985). On the other hand, evidence from current research into stereotyped image creation has indicated that students' self-identity is both a socio-cultural and a personal issue influenced by the concept of the stereotyped and the counter-stereotyped aesthetics (Lau, 2013). Stereotyped image creation has become an important part of Asian ethnic group creativity from the micro perspective on creativity (Lau, 2011, 2012).

Going back to Lily's case, it is understandable that for most art teachers children should not be encouraged to copy, since it rejects the fundamental idea that art making is/should be/must be original, and that copying is an

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indication of a lack of self-confidence in children. However, this is only one of the five positions suggested by Duncum that art teachers can assume. So, the question related to the topic of copying is not one of 'to be or not to be'. Instead, we should be asking ourselves, as art educators, how we should understand the topic. As art educators, we should be making good use of the positive aspects of copying. In art education, stereotyped image creation could be an effective learning tool for students seeking to establish their identities. Imitation could also provide a practical way for students with low levels of self-confidence to improve their abilities. In designing an art curriculum, teachers should reconsider using stereotyped image creation to devise teaching strategies. Teachers could encourage their students to exhibit their artworks and to collect constructive feedback from their peers. Finally, systematic study of the notion of teaching through stereotyped image creation would provide a more solid basis for putting the concept into practice.

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定型性創作：是不是抄襲複製的行為？

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摘要

早期與創作相關的研究，都強調原創性的價值，並將抄襲複製的行為視為缺乏自信與自我表現的象徵。然而，近年來的研究顯示，青少年創作的繪畫帶有特定的意義，與其日常生活的經驗密切相關，並表示青少年的繪畫可視作社會文化的產品。所以，我們不能妄下結論，說青少年的抄襲複製行為只是毫無價值的模仿行為。本文旨在回答與定型性創作（**stereotyped image creation**）有關的一個基本問題：定型性繪畫是否只是一種抄襲複製行為？我將根據此問題，從定型性的意識形態、心理學與社會文化的觀點，解釋與模仿現象及定型性創作相關的關鍵議題。本文將以漫畫（流行視覺文化領域最常見的表現形式）為例，以不同方式闡述定型性創作可能的詮釋，並提出定型性創作不只是模仿，還具有心理、社會文化與教育的理論基礎。

關鍵詞：創作、模仿、視覺文化與藝術教育、定型性創作

定型性創作：是不
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香港中學的資深藝術教師們，曾舉行一場個案會議，討論初中學生莉莉(化名)的案例。會議的主要議題是討論莉莉投訴藝術教師在一次作業評分中，給她不及格的分數。藝術教師堅稱，莉莉關於「初戀」的一系列藝術作品，是直接抄襲日本的愛情漫畫。他還強調，「抄襲是一種嚴重違反」創作精神的行為，因此應該嚴格禁止。然而，莉莉完全否認她是抄襲，並堅稱她已經改變了原始漫畫的造型與情境，也重新創造某些新的素材，而不只是模仿。這是去年發生的真實案例，我亦受邀擔任該場個案會議的外聘顧問。我相信這不會是唯一個案，未來肯定會再次發生，但本文的目的不是詳細報導此件個案，我最關心的是莉莉與藝術教師間的爭議所引發的一個基本問題。該問題即為：定型性創作是否只是一種複製抄襲的行為？

在藝術教育中，複製被視為與原創相對立的無創意行為。根據 Lowenfeld 與 Brittain (1987) 所述：「兒童不應該複製。藝術應該是表現自我的工具，而不是膚淺地複製他人的想法與構思。大部分的複製品都沒有真正了解原作品的架構或意義(p.179)」。在現實的學校環境中，藝術教師總是會遇到學生交出定型性繪畫的作品。學生喜歡看漫畫、創作漫畫，因此會刻意模仿原始漫畫裡的人物，重覆練習創作自己的人物，但藝術教育通常是不容許這種模仿，因為模仿違反了藝術是創意學習的假設 (Lowenfeld & Brittain, 1987)。

誠然，早期與創作相關的研究，都強調原創的重要性，並將抄襲複製的行為視為缺乏自信的象徵。然而，近期研究提出的證據顯示，青少年的繪畫創作是社會文化的產品。因此，我們不能妄下結論，說青少年的抄襲複製行為僅僅是毫無價值的模仿行為。所以，本文旨在回答與定型性創作有關的一個基本問題：定型性繪畫是否只是一種抄襲複製行為？我將根據此問題，從定型性的意識形態、心理學與社會文化的觀點，解釋與模仿現象及定型性創作相關的關鍵議題。我將以漫畫（流行視覺文化領域最常見的表現形式）為例，以不同方式闡述定型性創作可能的詮釋方式，並提出定型性創作不只是模仿，還具有心理、社會文化與教育的理論基礎。

漫畫中的定型性意識形態與表現

在愈來愈趨全球化的流行視覺文化情境中，漫畫已成為最具影響力的視覺表現形式之一，也是日常生活最常見的藝術表現手法。青少年對這種特別的視覺文化表現形式接受度極高，也非常熱衷於模仿各種流行視覺文化（如漫畫書和電腦遊戲）裡的定型性形象，因而創造出一種全新的定型性美學看法。

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看漫畫涉及一連串的轉換過程，包括透過創作者的生活經驗，賦予物體新的意義。在漫畫的世界裡，某些無生命的物體會被塑造成有生命的形象（任東明，1985）。蕭湘文（2002）試著將漫畫裡出現的角色，分類為兩種主要的定型性形象：第一種稱為定型性角色，把所有特色都集合至單一角色；第二種稱為個人角色，表現出個人最顯著的特色。定型性角色代表的是讀者實際生活體驗與漫畫角色特性間的接觸點；個人角色則是更注重個人的顯著特色與個人在現實世界的真實角色兩者間的衝突。事實上，某些角色在既定的社會習俗中是不被接受的，他們的特點就是反抗現有的社會與社會制度。就因為此種角色擁有鮮明強烈的反叛個性，所以青少年很容易受到這類角色吸引（蕭湘文，2002）。

漫畫的內容似乎遵循一定定型性原則。一項針對少女愛情漫畫所做的研究（Baker, 1989）顯示，漫畫故事的劇情發展通常有四個階段，包括：開場、掙扎、解決衝突及結尾。雖然蕭湘文（2002）主張，已經定型的流行文化為創作者提供現成的創作模型，但漫畫故事的劇情架構就是遵循定型性形象的規則。這些規則不只暗示漫畫故事已定型的架構，也反映出在既定規則或象徵中就決定了主要漫畫角色的性別。

不同的性別通常會以不同的既定規則與象徵，來決定要閱讀的漫畫。根據少年漫畫與少女漫畫的既定規則與象徵，我們發現不同性別在選擇漫畫時的興趣也不同。除了閱讀，不同類型的漫畫也可幫助讀者融入自己與內文中的社會關係（Baker, 1989）。蕭湘文（2002）檢視了 Baker 的論點，該論點表示不同的性別與不同類型的漫畫間具有關聯性；舉例來說，男孩明顯喜愛簡單的漫畫故事，裡面的角色是具男子氣概的強大形象，故事充滿挑戰與刺激，包含許多戰鬥畫面；而女孩喜歡的則是有關浪漫、愛情與美麗的故事。

少男與少女漫畫清楚浮現性別的定型性意識形態。如上所述，既定規則與象徵構成了定型性的意識形態概念，而定型的意識形態概念則支配了少男與少女漫畫的主角特色。在這些規則與象徵中，兩種性別各有一套公認的系統，及不同的虛構表現方式。男性角色與男人的戰鬥在少年漫畫中相當重要；而少女漫畫突顯的強烈意識概念形象，就是愛情是最重要的考量，女性為了追求自己認為能帶來永恆幸福的愛情，應該犧牲自己的事業甚至生命（林志展，2000）。

早於上世紀 60 年代，Streicher (1967) 已證明在美國漫畫中的女性形象是如何呈現出定型性的形象。Glasberg (1992) 也曾針對類似主題做了一項研究，探討漫畫故事中都會愛情的三角關係。他發現兩種性別的部分描繪已經充

滿固定的形式。在三角關係中，男性形象都具有獨立的行為能力，擁有選擇愛情的力量，而女性的形象則是被動且依賴，不是具有性感的吸引力，就是無法吸引男性的不幸角色。

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漫畫裡的英雄角色代表一種定型性現象，反映出社會對性別所設定的定型性的意識形態。Pecora (1992) 研究過一系列的超人英雄漫畫，發現英雄總是扮演著社會化代理人(socializing agent) 的角色，面對暴力威脅的世界一直在等待一位白人男性的出現，以恢復社會秩序並解決問題。在這些故事中，女性角色不是受害者，就是令人厭惡的人，或是事業很成功卻缺乏溫暖與愛的不完美人物。

在日本漫畫裡，也有這種對性別的定型性的概念。定型性的概念似乎已變成一種跨文化現象，同時存在於東西方社會。劉平君 (1996) 針對一套在台灣發行、非常受歡迎的日本漫畫，研究其中的女性形象意涵後，得出與 Pecora 類似的發現：在父權社會中，女性角色是用來滿足男性目光的性感尤物。他批評家庭成員間的關係嚴格遵守父權規則的事實，在男性主宰的社會裡，浪漫的愛情故事要求女性重現兩性關係中力量的不平等 (劉平君, 1996)。日本漫畫瀰漫著階級意識、封建觀念與國家主義的意識形態。

綜上所述，漫畫裡的定型性表現不只反映在視覺表現形式，也反映在漫畫故事的內容，而兩者都是針對特定的意識形態。漫畫的主題與類型涵蓋了浪漫愛情與戰鬥故事等等。在漫畫中，創造意義的過程包含讀懂角色形象間的關係；讀者心理上必須融入才能詮釋角色形象，而閱讀的行為可視為滿足讀者心理需求的同時亦提供娛樂 (蕭湘文, 2002)。意義的解釋需要參與者投入想像力。讀者看漫畫時不一定會遵守其中隱含的規則、象徵或訊息，而是扮演主動的角色，創造與他們日常生活相關的新意義。

從心理與社會文化觀點詮釋複製行為

定型性的形象與模仿行為可從心理與社會文化觀點兩方面來解釋。Lowenfeld 與 Brittain (1987) 對複製採取負面評論，表示「大部分的複製品都沒有真正了解原作品的架構或意義」，而「藝術應該是表現自我的工具，而不是膚淺地複製他人的想法與構思(pp.179-180)」。創作活動中的藝術自發性可視為個人情感與想法的反映，也證明了調動邏輯思考的能力 (Naumburg, 1973)。從這個觀點看來，創作中的定型性的表現模式被認為是非自發的結果。

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模仿行為可視為想要佔有某種事物的反映，而模仿本身就是想從高品質的表現形式獲得認同的必要過程 (Case, 2000)。McNiff (1981) 認為定型性的表現形式表示一種特定模式，即為重覆、如儀式般且高度受控制的一種表現方式，同時亦反映出一種不安的心理狀態，代表「缺乏自信而利用特定表現模式，且需要武裝自己，以對抗因面對在日常慣例外的體驗而引發的焦慮(p. 50)」。

定型性的表現模式亦可理解為一種有意識控制的形式，亦可視為與真正的創作表現相對立 (McNiff, 1981)。再者，定型性表現是有意識控制的反射，表示其遵守一種理想形象的傾向。McNiff (1981) 形容這種現象為「過度完美主義」(excessive perfectionism) (p.52)，係因為不相信個人能夠自發性地表現自我而導致。因此，人們傾向於「將不現實要求加在自己身上以達成理想目標」(McNiff, 1981, p. 52)。如此看來，定型性的形象似乎是藝術創作的負面現象。由是，當表現能力受到限制時，人就會逐漸變得「孤僻寡言或依賴定型性的溝通形式」(McNiff, 1981, p. 53)。在創作過程中，強調的是創作者表現自己的自由意志，象徵對社會限制的逃脫。如果創作者無法超越定型性的障礙，就會出現退化現象。根據 McNiff (1988) 所述，這反映出超越與釋放間的關係，也就是超越的過程與釋放個人有意識控制的重要性。

Case (2000) 在對兒童繪畫的案例研究中，證明了類似 McNiff 的觀點，即兒童的複製行為表示「某種自我的不足或缺乏(p. 37)」。

Case (2000) 提出的另一項觀點為複製的現象是缺乏原創性所造成。Case (2000) 在針對藝術治療團體中出現模仿行為的報告中進一步發現，兒童覺得需要模仿才能「與其他人一樣好」，即使他們不知道「他們畫的是什麼(p. 37)」。

在她的觀察中，兒童在獲得足夠的自信、感覺能有自己的構想前，會先模仿既有的形象 (Case, 2000)。兒童尋找模仿的理想形象，反映出他們對社會認同的認可，因為「社會對藝術家的認可，似乎仰賴個人藝術家身分透過創作作品的表現，所獲得的接受與承認…，社會認可不過是需求另一種的證明，證明個人需透過被他人所接受來建立正面的自我感覺(McNiff, 1981, p. 44)」。

此種認同亦代表被社會接受的象徵形式。然而，此種認同同時反映出對定型性社會文化認同的反抗態度，因為藝術家的人格與形象象徵著「藝術家不滿意定型性的社會認同，因為該認同屬於社會中墨守陳規的標準角色(McNiff, 1981, p. 44)」。

從此觀點來看，兒童為了製造象徵與定型性的形式而模仿，以讓社會因此而接受他們的身分，但同時又將藝術家的形象提升為具有創意且孤立的身分，且排斥標準化的社會，此理論本身就相互矛盾。事實上，此理論

很接近 Kaltenbeck (2003) 的論述，其指出「創新的藝術家為文化工作，幫助提升文化，但同時又反對文化與文明，試圖徹底改革文化(p. 106)」。雖然模仿的動機看似是正常行為，但對心理發展可能有負面影響。形象的模仿可視為反抗自我的無意識自發行爲 (McNeilly, 1989)，與現成形象的投射機制有關，所以爲了結合藝術與心理治療，採用了「自發藝術」的概念，作爲「自我定位與深度自覺的工具」(Naumbury, 2001, p. 46)。

投射機制也是一種信念，人們藉此運用有力的象徵與他人溝通。所採用的方法就是鼓勵人們自發性地使用視覺象徵來表現情感，以達成「人類調適的新形式(Naumburg, 2001, p. 46)」。然而，並非所有形象都會受選爲模仿對象：模仿的選擇自有其標準，優質的形象可能無法達成此標準 (McNeilly, 1989)。Case (2000) 補充說，此種投射將「良好的品質」從內在的毀滅情感拯救出來，而外在則爲了安全而表現出個人的良好品質 (p. 38)」。

接下來我們該往何處去？

在藝術教育中，Duncum (1987) 爲複製行爲找出五層定位，指出複製是：1) 永遠不受歡迎的表現；2) 永遠不受歡迎的表現，但影響力卻可接受；3) 與表現對立，但對學習或有助益；4) 對學習有極大助益，以及 5) 對學習而言是必要的 (p. 205)。上述定位可提供不同但較爲正面的觀點，讓我們從此觀點來檢視教育環境中的定型性的形象創作。確實，早期有關定型性繪畫的文獻都在討論兒童的複製現象。複製是受到廣泛討論的重要議題，詳細討論其與定型性繪畫的關聯性，因爲定型性繪畫反映出複製行爲，而複製行爲則可能導致創造力下降。Cizek (Viola, 1936)、Harrison (1960) 以及 Lowenfeld 與 Brittain (1964) 均宣稱，複製無助於兒童的心理成長，甚至會削弱自我表現與創造力。Lowenfeld 與 Brittain (1987) 也指稱，「複製只是將一個表面複製到另一個表面，並未運用心智解決問題的能力(p. 180)」。

之後的數十年間，相關學術討論的焦點從強調兒童複製行爲的負面影響，轉移到關心複製行爲的潛在優點。心理學家與當代藝術教育家們對定型性創作始終抱持著對立的觀點。心理學家抱持負面看法，堅稱定型性的表現是自我形象如信心缺乏的症狀；而藝術教育家則認爲定型性的表現是現實生活的反映。因此，雖然從心理學家的觀點看來，定型性的表現顯露出心理上的缺乏，但從教育學者的觀點看來，它卻與學習有關。

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Smith (1985) 主張，大部分兒童根據自己的真實生活經驗，在連環漫畫中創造自己的圖像與自己的主題，而少有兒童維持著定型性的表現形式。定型性的表現的出現具有特定的模式。Wilson 與 Wilson (1982) 認為，在藝術創作中模仿有必然的優點，因為模仿可提供兒童表現藝術的方法，讓他們專注於描繪物體的細節。Eisner (1972) 則反對 Lowenfeld 與 Brittain 的理論，並主張兒童的藝術不一定會直接影響其成長。他指出塑造兒童藝術的其他重要層面，並試圖修改藝術發展的理論。Eisner (1972)、Kindler 與 Darras (1997) 都將藝術視為兒童藝術發展的學習過程而不是工具，並強調兒童的認知與其相關經驗，兩者之間是有交互關係並會互相作用。

近年來對青少年繪畫的研究證明，青少年會將現實世界中的社交生活與問題，表現在他們的繪畫中 (Duncum, 1987, 1993; Freedman, 1997, 2000; Wilson & Litgoet, 1992, Wilson & Wilson, 1985)。而在藝術教育中，複製可能對學生有好處，因為複製可視作學習過程 (Eisner, 1972; Duncum, 1987; Lau, 2013; Pariser, 1980)。有些研究的焦點較著重於從跨文化的教育觀點，來研究定型性的表現形式的意義 (Wilson & Litgoet, 1992; Wilson & Wilson, 1982, 1985)。另一方面，學生的自我認同是社會文化議題，也是個人議題，都會受定型性與反定型性 (counter stereotyped) 的美學概念的影響 (Lau, 2013)。從創意的微觀角度看來，定型性的形象創作業已成為亞洲族群創造力的重要部分 (Lau, 2011, 2012)。

回到莉莉的案例，我們可以理解，對大部分藝術教師而言，兒童複製抄襲不應受到鼓勵，因為它違反了藝術創作應該是原創的基本觀念，且複製是兒童缺乏自信心的表現。然而，這只是 Duncum 提出藝術教師應假設的五層定位之一。所以，與複製抄襲主題相關的問題，不是「應該或不應該」的問題，我們反而應該問自己，身為藝術教育家的我們該如何了解此主題。身為藝術教育家，我們應該善用複製的正面觀點。在藝術教育中，定型性的形象創作可能是學生想要建立身分認同的有效學習工具。對於較沒自信的學生，模仿也可能成為他們提升能力的實用方法。在設計藝術課程時，教師可重新考慮使用定型性的形象創作來設計教學策略，也可鼓勵學生展示其藝術作品，並取得同儕具建設性的回饋。最後，透過定型性的形象創作對教學觀點進行有系統的研究，做為穩固的基礎，並將概念付諸實行。

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