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The Arts in Education as Police Technologies

Governing the Child’s Soul

The paper aims to provide a platform for thinking about the presence of the arts in education at the present as a practice of governing. Through an analysis of the incorporation of the arts in the school curriculum we can see how this was a subject able to promote a political subjectivation of each child as citizen of the future. I focus on the arts in education as police technologies in the government of the child’s soul. Police technologies give attention to the ways in which the child is fabricated as a moral, autonomous citizen.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw the emergence of the self-governing and autonomous subject in the Western educational contexts. The major objective of mass schooling was to make the student a future citizen of a new imagined community that was the nation. Within curriculum subjects, as well as in the broad pedagogical discourse, the emergence of the autonomous, responsible, modern, and participatory citizen was part of a new art of governing the citizens of a state. This

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new art of government, which Michel Foucault (1991) called governmentality,” had as its object both the conduct of the populational body as a whole and each subject in his/her individuality. As a perspective for analyzing the relations of power/knowledge within modern societies, governmentality allows for the study of the constitution of Western practices of subjectivity. Government was not only the management of the states but it was also “the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed” (Foucault, 1992, p. 221). What emerges is a kind of administration that resides in procedures of knowledge production about the citizens of a state.

Art education as a curricular subject was connected to the general practice of governing society due to the social purposes of art education in terms of developing skills for a new industrial society and in the making of a moral citizen. The idea that art was a proper subject for instruction was justified for its potential to create progress (Kamens & Cha, 1992). Art was to contribute to the making of the modern citizen that belonged to a new community with a superior and distinct culture. Europe was at the center of this discussion through the pedagogical treatises of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Froebel. The idea spread all over Europe and United States and, as Kamens and Cha (1992) argue, diffused more slowly than other school subjects outside the West.

In Portugal, influenced by the English movements in South Kensington, drawing was conceived as the technological sublime¹ that simultaneously embodied the Enlightenment reason and wisdom, through which the nation could achieve its place as a modern nation (Martins, 2011). By the end of the eighteenth century the Portuguese sculptor Machado de Castro (1788), the first in Portugal to theorize about the art of drawing, stated that the teaching of drawing “takes any state where there is civility” (p. 8). This Enlightenment argument was repeated by some Portuguese pedagogues during the second half of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century, positioning art education and the child at the center of the hopes for the future.

This is to draw attention to the point that the way in which art education was incorporated into the schools was not totally independent from the emergence of new cultural practices that combined the government of all with the concerns of individuals’ self-development or self-expression. More than about an expression of “self,” the arts in education were developed as salvation narratives of the soul. Given as a source of mass spiritual growth, the arts were granted with a potential to transform, from

the inside, those that were to be educated. As such, the translation of art to a curricular discipline is seen in the paper as a practice of governing the child's soul. This is important, though rarely considered, in how modern arts educational discourse assumes the child's self-expression as the gate to access the soul and therefore be saved. This salvation is not strictly articulated in religious terms. Rather, the educated self that is talked about throughout the paper was the "good" citizen. His salvation implied making an imagined child in the crossing of psychological and pedagogical statements.

I start the discussion about the inclusion of artistic practices in school as police technologies. This was part of a more general governmental practice that had the goal of controlling the populational body by specific and individualized strategies for the making of each citizen as a moral citizen of the nation. In Portugal, this historically corresponds to the first appearance and inscription of the arts within the schooling project, specifically at a boarding school for the education of the child at risk. This is an important starting point because it implies the double gesture of hopes and fears in the governing of childhood (Popkewitz, 2008). Therefore, the discussion develops through an analysis of the systems for thinking about the children that are to be educated through artistic practices. The arts as salvation narratives will be developed in the second part of the paper. Educational sciences were to plan, design, and guide the child as citizen of the future. I will consider this general argument of education, and arts education, in particular, as one way of saving the child from being a "savage" and as a way of improving the fabrication of the child and the future of the nation. From these two sections, we can observe how the arts in education were used as technologies for conducting conduct.

One of the most interesting characteristics of how power was exercised in modernity is that it was connected to the production of a knowledge that ordered and classified what was to be known and acted on. As such, the third and fourth sections will focus on psychology as another element of governmentality. That is, attention is given to its knowledge as one of the ingredients in making the soul through art practices in school.

The arts in education as police technologies

To imagine that the arts may be linked to the concept of police, as developed in the late eighteenth century, and therefore a government of

the population, is to build a counterintuitive scenario for an area that is believed to be located in an opposite pole, that of freedom, autonomy, creativity, and self-expression. Importantly, however, during the eighteenth century the notion of police was conceived quite differently than it is today. It implied a way of controlling large groups of a population through the activation of specific techniques for the government of citizens. "Police is the ensemble of mechanisms of serving to ensure order, the properly channeled growth of wealth and the conditions of preservation of health 'in general'" (Foucault, 1980, p.170). The life of each individual became an object of attention for the state and it implied social and health care but also a myriad of more detailed points that included the architectural planning of cities or the development of schools and pedagogical sciences as part of the making of a moral and well-behaved citizen. The teaching of the visual arts or music embodied the desire of fabricating a citizen whose own conduct was part of what constituted a moral person.

The development of the concept of childhood by the psychological and pedagogical sciences was part of that machinery of government. A special knowledge about the child had to be created to maintain order and discipline in the classroom, to establish levels of development, categories of classification, and methods of teaching to achieve the correct and productive management and administration of the child. From Rousseau to the modern pedagogues or our contemporary art educators, a critical analysis of the presence of the arts within education could not be seen without referring to the hopes and fears regarding the government of society as a whole. School was not merely a disciplinary device to inculcate obedience but a moral technology seeking to shape the child's personality through the pastoral techniques that encouraged self-knowledge and self-governing (Hunter, 1988; Ó, 2003). Government, as stated by Foucault and developed by others, "refers to all endeavors to shape, guide, direct the conduct of others, whether these be the crew of a ship, the members of a household, the employees of a boss, the children of a family or the inhabitants of a territory. And it also embraces the ways in which one might be urged and educated to bridle one's own passions, to control one's own instincts, to govern oneself" (Rose, 1999, p. 3). The artistic practices were especially important relating to the creation of a self-knowledge through the expression of feelings and thoughts by drawing, and relating to the self-government of the child through the training of the eye and the making of the hand of the drawer.

The arts came to be introduced into the school arena by its disciplinary and moral effects. It was not a power through corporal punishment, but, rather, arts were seen as capable of molding the child from the inside. The deployment of drawing practices in school through copying the great masters, printings, or engravings was similar to the practice of scripture in monastic life. As Jacques Rancière (2004), for example, argues “the labor of copying, like basket weaving, is supposed to occupy the monk, to take him away from the danger of *acedia*, from that vacant spirituality that falls back into bodily sloth” (p. 85). Tyrwhitt, disciple of John Ruskin and the author of the *Handbook of Pictorial Art*, would write that the arts could save the men from lower desires. “Nobody expects that the whole of the working classes will at once take to drawing and entirely renounce strong liquor—but many may be secured from temptation to excess.... Teaching children good drawing is practically teaching them to be good children” (Tyrwhitt as cited in MacDonald, 2004, p.151).

Art practice in school, from drawing to music, has been viewed as promoting disciplined and self-governing citizens. It emerged in relation to the issue of the deviant child, the immigrant or the children of the poor. These kinds of people became a recurrent issue to justify that certain children, believed to be born with evil tendencies within families where vices proliferated, could be saved through intensive work on their souls. Police technologies were not only about the maintenance of order through an exhaustive knowledge of the populations to be controlled and governed but also about the productive making of each individual as a moral and civilized piece of that populational body. The twin elements of hope and fear in the thought of Enlightenment, Thomas S. Popkewitz (2008) argues, “traveled and mutated as comparative methods that differentiated and divided the qualities of those ‘civilized’ from those who were cast out of that space” (p. 95).

The new modern and scientific discourses about childhood highlighted the need for intervention as the guarantee of “right” conduct and the development of good habits. Pedagogical knowledge secularized religious views about salvation through scientific knowledge about the child and who the child should be. In 1924 in North America, for instance, experimental psychology was being used to study the effects of classical and jazz music in a population of undergraduate students. What was being “proved” was that “classical music produces an attitude favorable to the best type of morale, whereas familiarization with jazz makes for a listless attitude” (Gilliand & Moore, 1924, p. 321) The purposes of

arts integration within the modern school curriculum marked the fear of moral decay and degeneration and, as such, can be considered as a way of policing the conduct of conduct.

To govern was to dispose things, “to arrange things in such a way that, through a certain number of means, such and such ends may be achieved” (Foucault, 1991, p. 95). Pedagogy and schooling were some of the devices created to achieve the ends of governing the populational body as a whole and each person in his/her individuality. The appearance of institutions such as Casa Pia de Lisboa, which assumed a vocation for sheltering and regenerating marginal or at-risk groups, fits in the new politics of government of modernity. Since its foundation in 1780, Casa Pia de Lisboa assumed as its most important aim to establish a coercive field against the numerous vagabonds who represented a moral risk to society. Its central objective was the application of its residents to the several professions and studies according to what was called “genius,” “nature,” and “talent,” promoting their “utility,” saving them from a life of idleness, vice, and crime (Martins, 2009). On the one hand, the presence of the “Other” was circumscribed in the social fabric and, on the other hand, descriptive instruments and intervention techniques were developed, making possible a politics of knowledge about each child, central to the practices of schooling.

It was believed that the arts would be a technology capable of transforming from within those who practiced it. The director of Casa Pia de Lisboa, in the early twentieth century stated that:

I know that this disciplined education, the culture and spirit of obedience, may lead to the sacrifice of the personality of the student ... making it a passive being, mechanized, automatic, someone who only knows how to obey. I don't need to refute this argument, simply to show our students in their playgrounds and to present their numerous series of drawings and works. Close to the gymnastics of command, and obedience, we give great importance to the culture of games . . . and especially we respect absolutely the student's initiative in the first drawing and crafts classes, which contributes so much to cultivate the student's personality, making each one the best he can be, according to what he is. Each one must be in his place, firm, disciplined, safe, obedient to the general law that leads to beauty and order of the whole. (Ferreira, 1921, p. 285)

In this and other schools, from the late nineteenth century onward, the child was placed at the center of every educational practice. That center was the discipline of the soul whose inner qualities and ways of

living were, paradoxically, governed in a manner that was not opposed to freedom, autonomy, originality or spontaneity. For the director of Casa Pia the art of education was “the art of regulating the conduct of those to be educated.” It was, in his words, “to work the soul with art, with art and with wisdom, with wisdom and with science” (Ferreira, 1919, pp. 17–20). The practices of self-government provided ways to organize thought, behavior, and sensibility.

Art education was not different in reaching for the soul in the name of freedom. The teaching of drawing, for instance, was spiced with psychology in order to improve the government of one’s self. Inspired in the works of the Swiss Adolphe Ferrière and the American John Dewey, the Portuguese pedagogue Adolfo Lima claimed that arts and crafts should occupy a special place in the school landscape. He elaborated in detail the benefits of an education centered in practice and put a great emphasis on the child’s interests and innate laws. The arts and crafts, he argued, create habits of organization and hygiene, provide the education of the hand, the organs of sensation, the creative and inventive imagination, the artistic and aesthetic senses, as well as develop an interest in work. Finally, the arts and crafts had a special moral effect. It “departed all habits born from idleness and unemployment of time” (Lima, 1932, pp. 357–358). The child should learn to internalize a set of rules of conduct that promote the ability to self-govern.

The theme of self-government acquired different hues, but in the voice of educators and school doctors, the self-government of children and young people also mentions the ability to overcome sexual impulses. The words are from Joaquim de Vasconcelos, a Portuguese pedagogue of the late nineteenth century, but their content has been permanently repeated within the curricular configuration of the arts. The aim was to make clear that schooling was to prepare the child for moral citizenship:

The sexual tendencies, like other tendencies, can be contained, repressed, by operating forces of inhibition: shame, pudor, moral rules, and so on. Sexual education is undeniably a problem of creating habits of decency, self-control, self-criticism, self-respect, self-improvement, which implies a gradual acquisition and natural awareness of their own momentum. Finally, sexual orientation may be sublimated in Freud’s fruitful concept by being transformed in spiritual and social values. Aesthetic activity that includes physical exercises, and games are the most effective mean for the sublimation of sexual tendencies and for unfolding and ideal satisfaction. (Vasconcelos, 1925, p. 235)

The arts in education were acquiring the moral effect of banishing the habits of the “savage” through nurturing what was thought of as an enlightened child. The collective idea about the mission of the arts in education answered to a worldview of childhood and a rationality of education that would respond to the need of governing the faculties of sensibility and will, as well as acknowledging the diversity of individual characters. The moral elevation that was believed to result from a familiarity with the beauty and grace of art was to make the soul of the child an autonomous, self-disciplined citizen and worker that learned to draw straight lines, curved lines, and different objects in proportion and, later, by the first half of the twentieth century, would apply color, feelings, and emotions to the art work. What was important was not art in itself but the ways in which artistic practices worked at the level of to provide strategies to supplant immoral thoughts and acts.

Art education as a salvation narrative

From the above, one can see how the arts were conceptualized as a way to police conduct in the face of what was thought of as social demoralization. Even more, it became a recurrent argument to talk about the nation’s uplifting and moral and cultural improvement. The reason behind the use of art to refine sensibilities and elevate moral behavior coexisted with that of the role of arts in a competing industrial world to make the moral citizen and worker. In the words of Gustavo Ramos (1932), a director of the academy of Fine Arts in Lisbon, “through art, it becomes possible for him [men] to rise from barbarism (p. 20). The Portuguese writer Ramalho Ortigão (1896) would write, years before, that “our people don’t know how to see art works from the past, and don’t even raise their eyes to our more communicative monuments; no one explains or teaches how to understand and to love art.” And he had no doubt that it was “the culture of art and art education” that could transform, through prosperity, every economy of a nation, as was “evidenced in recent times in England, Austria, Germany, through the simple restoration of museums and the multiplication of schools ” (pp. 151–75).

Drawing was considered the technological sublime of the nineteenth century. It was considered a language with a specific grammar that was no less useful to a mechanic than to a gentleman. Foreign examples were constantly repeated and taken as the models to achieve progress and a state of civility in the Portuguese arena. Joaquim de Vasconcelos

defended the point that original ideas were not necessary. England and Austria provided the best examples, with good results, in terms of the progress of the nation through an artistic education of the masses. And what about Portugal? To this pedagogue “the teaching of drawing is a misery among us, ... one of the most sensitive for many classes of the nation. All trades depend, to greater or lesser degree, on drawing, and from a more or less intimate relation with this discipline were born more or less legitimate fruits” (Vasconcelos, 1879, p. 1). And yet, “nothing is sadder in this country than the history of modern reforms in the education of the sciences and the arts” (Vasconcelos, 1878, p. 5).

The inclusion of the arts in curriculum in the nineteenth century were debated with the argument of its indispensability according to an international theory about progress and development. The distinctive character of the arts in the making of a noble spirit coexisted with the more general idea that the teaching of arts, especially drawing and music, were cited by educators as two important possible professional biases for those that were socially dangerous or excluded. In the second half of the nineteenth century, drawing, for instance, was confined to linear drawing, as a way to train the hand and to educate and discipline children’s eyes. Dictation and memory exercises were a common classroom practice as well as copying objects in pictures. In pedagogical discourse drawing was transformed, above all, in the language of industry, for which it was urgent to create a grammar. The point, line, curve, shadow, light, or proportions of drawings were part of that grammar, whose use came to be the effect of the drawer as the kind of person who would transform the nation.

The relation between arts and making the moral citizen of a modern, industrial world can also be found in the United States. By the end of the eighteenth century Benjamin Franklin, for instance, proposed, in the wake of John Locke, that drawing should be institutionalized as part of an education for all, especially copying prints and studying perspective. Drawing, he stated, was “no less useful to a Mechanic than to a Gentleman. Several Handicrafts seem to require it; as the Carpenter’s, Shipwright’s, Engraver’s, Painter’s, Carver’s, Cabinet-maker’s, Gardiner’s, and other Businesses. By a little Skill of this kind, the Workman may perfect his own Idea of the Thing to be done, before he begins to work; and show a Draft for the Encouragement and Satisfaction of his Employer” (Franklin, 1749).

The idea was not to create an artist, but rather to combine a moral soul with an efficient worker. In France, the *Dictionnaire de Pédagogie*

et d'Instruction Primaire by Ferdinand Buisson became an arena for a public fight that joined the Portuguese discussions about the best methods for teaching drawing. Félix Ravaisson opposed Eugene Guillaume by defending that the teaching of drawing should start with the human body. Guillaume defended geometry as the starting platform:

The teaching of drawing, as we understand it, must be done for all, workers as well as for the people of the world. It should not raise men of genius, which is not proper for any education, but produce able, skillful practitioners and good spirits. (Guillaume, 1887, p. 685)

The discourse of the Portuguese crisis, in terms of industrial, economic, and cultural development was repeated countless times. The fabrication of the moral child through art education was one of the possible cures for the nation's ills. Moral arguments and redemptive values framed its inscription in school. In the second half of the nineteenth century, it was not only the school that had this mission of saving the child through governing the soul. Other institutions, such as art museums, were seen as capable of solving problems of social unrest, inspiring a sense of nationality, developing a certain taste for a legitimate culture and an aesthetic awareness, while maintaining a commitment to social responsibility. Museums provided a new kind of civic rituals while at the same time assuming the role of official preservers of a cultural memory (Duncan, 1996).

The introduction of arts in education was also justified through the path of the acquisition of culture defined as the possibility of a refinement of aesthetic sensibility. This useful goal found a productive connection with the idea of happiness and was articulated as a narrative of salvation. In a 1921 Portuguese journal of education, *Revista Escolar*, it was stated that "the propagandists of the art in school must convince the crowds that the salvation of the nation can only be achieved by raising morality; they should strive in an intense propaganda of ideas of art until they infiltrate deeply into the mass of the nation" (p. 187).

The arts as a way of training the child and molding the soul were a consequence of an aesthetic conceptualization. A distribution of the sensible (Rancière, 2007) was being traced, separating those who were to be prepared for manual labor from those who were the observers and the makers of a superior and sublime form of art. But the importance of the arts in education became unquestionable, evident, and natural in pedagogical discourses from the nineteenth century onward. It was

becoming a consensus that the art subjects in public schooling would develop citizenship through the creation of virtuous citizens, prepared to deal with a modern and industrialized world. Drawing became associated with the language of modernity and the commodity of the nineteenth century. A nation without drawing, as well as a citizen without the ability to draw, to see, and to appreciate visual forms, were considered delayed in the pursuit of progress.

Drawing as a way of accessing and governing the child's soul

By the end of the nineteenth century the battle concerning the best methods of teaching drawing opposed those who defended geometry as the basis of drawing and those who preferred the human model as central. In question was the idea of drawing as a useful tool for the industrial arts or as a practice of fine arts. But entering the twentieth century, the discussion was marked by "intuition" and was increasingly addressed as scientific knowledge of the child. The study of artistic development in the child was part of child study, and by the middle of the century, the official language of arts education curriculum propagated the language of modern art: natural, expressive, spontaneous, and colorful. These were cited as some of the characteristics of both children's art and the child. The notions of talent and genius that were common in art were not talked about as social constructions, nor in school. It was believed that those who created objects of beauty had innate capabilities. One consequence was that art education, of the artist or of the child, should involve as little instruction as possible or no instruction at all. Even if it was clear that not all children had talent, all were believed to have the potential for self-expression through the arts.

Drawing, as well as modeling or painting, were definitely seen as forms of expression with high educational potential. Once related to notions of freedom and autonomy, drawing would not have more power than that of "forcing the child to the initiative" and, thus, when seriously put into practice, contributed to the formation of intelligence and the "shaping of personality.... Any copy of drawings," stated the Portuguese legislator, was completely "contradictory to the spirit of drawing." The phrase "free drawing" was not by chance. It was said that it did not have a fixed program. All the pedagogical work had to be based on the creation of a device capable of streamlining the internal impulse of each student

(Decreto 37112, 22 de Outubro de 1948). Or, as Gabriel Compayré had explained earlier:

Train the child to examine sensible objects with care, to study the structure of the flower or the organism of an insect in all its details; not only do you teach him to see accurately, but you will have given him besides the habit of attention. And this power to concentrate his mind and to apply it to whatever he wishes, when one developed for the sake of material things, will always remain, and will come to be applied progressively to things in general. (Compayré, 1893, p. 58)

This image is still present today. The idea of the construction of individual identities is linked to the historical political rationalities about progress. In the words of Compayré, the administration of the child as a certain kind of subject through the promise of empowerment and emancipation is evident. This would have implications for governing the child.

Modern schooling was a program of disciplining and training future citizens by making them productive. In a way, the child was in a state of crudeness and primitivism, in need of education in order to be civilized. In another way, childhood became equivalent with the purest source of artistic creation. It became common sense to talk about the child's natural tendency to draw. Self-expression and creativity became, by the 1960s, two traits associated with the power of the arts in education.

Psychology and making the soul through art

Psychology provided ways to think about how the soul was made through arts education. By the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century, the idea that arts education had a therapeutic function to create children's well-being had become popular. The notion that each person had a self and that this self was open to interpretation was part of a faith in science that through knowledge of the psychic processes was believed to achieve the real domains of interiority. Studies of childhood fabricated it as a reality with its own laws. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, James Sully, in England, stated that the growing educational interest in the spontaneous movements of the child's mind "may be expected to issue in a demand for a statistic of childhood." This was the same as saying that it was a proper science able to govern the child: "carefully arranged collections of observations bearing on such points as children's questions,

their first thoughts about nature, their manifestations of sensibility and insensibility” (Sully, 1896, p.10).

What was being emphasized was that the government of the child was just part of a governmental practice and a way of reasoning that had to be grounded in a deep knowledge about the subjects being governed. While providing a meticulous description of the child’s subjectivity, these techniques also claimed a statistical knowledge of the psychological characteristics of the school population. Children’s drawings were collected and interpreted as data that contributed to the production of a true science of the child. The question of government was a question of power relations exercised upon other actions, but also a question of a knowledge that opened up the field of possibilities for these relations (Foucault, 1992).

The use of the child’s drawing in determining individual character traits was the order of the day by the beginning of the twentieth century. James Sully’s *Studies of Childhood* (1896) provided the first systematic analysis of children’s drawings according to certain states of development. The modern child was both an idea and a target; it existed as a reality permanently produced at school. The emphasis on the psychological and psychometrical knowledge about childhood was consistent with the general practice of making populations of a government visible, for instance, with statistics. The collection of comparable information on a large number of subjects within the school population provided material data for analysis. The production of a systematic and rigorous knowledge of the child’s development in drawing was formulated as a scale that could be used to measure both one’s merit in drawing and normality.

In Portugal, Faria de Vasconcelos developed the idea of the different stages assumed in childhood concerning the ability to draw. The power of the stage and the scale was productive in fabricating the child as a certain kind of person according to an ability evaluated through specific values concerning what was considered a good or a bad drawing. Drawing ability was assessed by the ability of representing reality through the use of perspective. Those who were not able to draw according to such laws were classified as less able in drawing.

The diversity of each student arose from the standardization of all the possibilities of action. From the 1930s onward, children passed through stages of drawing development. The potential little citizen was governed by the regulation of certain images of how he/she should behave. The attention directed to individual differences was read according to what

was normal/abnormal. The views of arts education in primary and secondary schools were seen from the perspective of knowledge about the child's ability according to what was conceived as average. Binet and Simon's tests, which were discussed in Portugal, were also a technique that at the same time allowed for the diagnosis of the pathological and the hierarchization of the normal. Their measuring scale of intelligence was composed by a series of tests of increasing difficulty "starting from the lowest intellectual level that can be observed, and ending with that of average normal intelligence" (Binet & Simon, 1980, p. 40). Each group in the series corresponded to a different mental level.

Clearly, the child's drawing was considered a significant territory to be explored. However, it was not simply about drawing. In psychological notions, school drawing started to be conceived as a technique to access the child's interiority. The teacher's role was, in the words of a Portuguese pedagogue, "to suggest and instill in students the belief in themselves," favoring what existed from "genuine and personal on their work" (Magalhães, 1950, p. 34). To the legislator, "an intelligent analysis of a drawing or manual work freely done by a student explains attitudes, states, possibilities that would not be easy to uncover by other means" (Portaria 5060, 21 de Outubro de 1927).

The myth of artistic originality traveled to the school arena as the way to conceive the narrative of salvation and truth of the student's self. Here, the idea was established that even the most inward reality could be accessed and made intelligible through the eyes of the teacher. Calvet de Magalhães strongly affirmed that the discovery of the pupil was the same as the germ of his individuality:

The student draws more spontaneously than he speaks, and, for him, the graphic image is the way to find himself, to express what an insufficient vocabulary does not always let him say, so his manifestations of spontaneity, exuberance, and indiscipline are important in his initial graphic activity. The imposition of motives to draw breaks the spontaneity of the work. (Magalhães, 1950, p. 35)

Drawing as a way of classifying the child was a matter of consensus about who the child was and should be in the future. The idea of self-expression embedded in the above imposed a sort of confessional practice through which the child engaged in a continuous self-examination. At the same time, as a way of positioning the child under the gaze of an expert's psychological knowledge and a pedagogical eye that would read his/her

interiority, the notion of self-expression was articulated with ideas of spontaneity, uniqueness, and authenticity. So the pedagogical production of the subject was not only an objectivation but also a subjectivation, that kind of relation that the individual establishes, saying the truth about him/herself. The pedagogical device, inscribed in the notion of what a good drawing was or in the psychological eye of the teacher, produced and regulated the child as a moral being.

The planning of the child was crucial for any kind of pedagogical imagination. Education was a process of transformation between a state of ignorance and a state of acknowledgment. And so, again, the image was taken as an instrument of analysis of the child's soul, behavior, and development. "If we take a picture and show it to a child," argued Costa Ferreira (1922), "we will soon see how she becomes interested, how she behaves, and how the picture holds her attention, and how, in her attitude and language, are revealed characteristic ways of reacting" (p. 15). Again, the image was used as a tool for reading the child's interiority. "The images are used with great advantage in experimental psychology, to study the feelings and emotions, affective states. In psychophysiology, through the proper apparatus, an accurate analysis of changes in pulse and respiratory rate and amplitude is done, corresponding to certain feelings that the contemplation of certain images determines" (p. 19).

The presence of drawings and images in arts education followed different paths, but all of them were explored in the production and multiplication of knowledge about the child. Close to the confessional practices where the mechanism of question-and-answer provided an endless mill of the word, the image in school practices created the field in which, according to what the child said about the image, a certain kind of person emerged. There were those who were "naturally" subjective, objective, realists, imaginative, or good observers. The arts within school education were conceived as an area of empowerment of the child through the possibility of self-knowledge. The child's drawing activity became equivalent to picturing the self. And, simultaneously, the arts served as an exercise in training the eye and hand and disciplining the body.

Conclusion

This paper aimed to provide a platform for thinking about the presence of the arts in education today as a practice of governing and governmentality by an incursion into its past. Through an analysis of the incorporation

of the arts in the school curriculum we can see how this was a subject able to promote a political subjectivation of each child as a citizen of the future. But more than that, the discursive formation of the arts in education reveals that this subject of school curriculum was conceived and even legitimized by the logic of governing the child's soul.

The arts were explored as a police technology, embedded in a narrative of saving the nation by making the child a future citizen. Precisely in this association, the arguments of arts indispensability were solidified. The arts were synonymous with culture, development, and progress while providing, at the same time, the means to conduct one's conduct, to express inner sentiments and ideas. The arts, especially drawing, opened the possibility of accessing the child's soul through graphic representation. A paper and a pencil were enough to capture an inner soul and to find in some traces a "true self." To read a drawing as such implied a particular construction of the child and childhood through a psychological knowledge that functioned to label, describe, and define a certain kind of person. Even if different words are used, the arts are still conceptualized in psychological terms in school as a way of incorporating good habits or improving the power of attention, as instruments of salvation that through truth, beauty, and goodness will rescue the child from immoral or barbaric behavior.

Note

1. When I refer to drawing as the technological sublime of the nineteenth century I am considering the narratives that represent it as the triumph of art, science and industry. The teaching of drawing was seen in Portugal, and internationally, at the crossing of art and science but also for its potential for the development of industry and the making of the moral citizen and the modern observer of the nation. David Nye (1999) developed the concept to explain the exceptionalism of American society, modernization and progress. Thomas Popkewitz (2009) also uses the concept of technological sublime to consider the narratives that have historically mobilized the triumphs of art, science, industry as the apotheosis of reason and science in nation building.

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