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The Iowa folk arts apprenticeship program: profiles of participating fiber artists

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The Iowa folk arts apprenticeship program:
Profiles of participating fiber artists

by

Criss A. Spinola

A Thesis Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
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Signatures have been redacted for privacy

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INTRODUCTION

Awareness of cultural diversity in the United States is growing as minority populations have increased (Usdansky, 1991). Ethnic groups often express their diversity and identify themselves through folk art traditions unique to their heritage. According to Ohrn (1984), there has been a surge of interest in the folk arts over the past decade. Ohrn expressed, "Schools are teaching folklore courses, and ethnic groups are establishing museums and sponsoring festivals to celebrate their traditions" (p. 1). Many individuals in the United States transmit their heritage by practicing their traditions through formal education, folklore festivals, and folk art, music, dance, and literature apprenticeships.

Folk art apprenticeships in the fiber arts were the focus of this research. Quilting, weaving, stitchery, and lace-making are examples of fiber crafts that may be taught through a folk art apprenticeship. Folk art apprenticeships allow an expert or master to teach a student or apprentice a valued craft skill. This type of learning environment is informal, because it takes place in a natural setting such as the home, rather than a formal classroom. However, the learning environment is structured with identified goals and activities in order to effectively
teach a folk art. The purpose of a successful folk art apprenticeship is twofold, to provide the master with assistance in the working environment and to train the apprentice in professional practices (Williams, 1981).

Folk arts are defined as traditional crafts which reflect a particular family or community, and are a means of transmitting culture. According to the Iowa Arts Council, folk arts are traditional artistic practices which have a community or family base, express a community's aesthetics, have endured through several generations, and are learned informally through imitation or word of mouth. The folk arts include music, dance, narration, drama, architecture, and crafts (Iowa Arts Council, 1992-93).

To recognize cultural diversity and preserve traditions in Iowa, the Iowa Arts Council began the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program. In 1984 the program received initial funding from The National Endowment for the Arts, an independent agency of the federal government; funding has continued to the present. The purpose of the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program is to "identify, document, honor and perpetuate the diverse ethnic, community-based, occupational and familial folk traditions of Iowa. Apprenticeships offer accomplished artists an opportunity for individual, face-to-face instruction from a master folk artist" (Iowa Arts Council, 1992-93, p. 35). An
applicant finds an experienced master and applies to the Iowa Arts Council for a grant. If accepted, apprenticeships last from one day to a year, depending on the craft. Since 1984, there have been 74 dyads (master and apprentice) who have participated in the program. Fiber arts, wood carving, music, and dance are some of the types of folk art that were taught.

Profiles of participants in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program do not exist. Therefore, there is little documentation describing the program's effects on participants. The purpose of this study was to describe the experiences of participating fiber artists, understand the relationship between masters and apprentices, gain insight into the educational environment of an apprenticeship, and explore the participants' definitions of tradition in terms of product and process. An overall goal was to assess the program's effectiveness in teaching a craft and keeping traditions alive in Iowa.

Objectives

The first objective of this research was to describe experiences of and develop profiles for master-apprentice, fiber art dyads in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program as related to:
a. initial involvement with the craft,
b. personal goals for apprenticeship,
c. type of learning environment,
d. relationship between master and apprentice,
e. activities throughout the apprenticeship,
f. outcome of apprenticeship in terms of achievements,
g. effectiveness of an apprenticeship on learning and maintaining a folk art tradition, and
h. perceptions of tradition in terms of product and process.

The second objective was to assess whether the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program was meeting its goals by comparing findings to the program's defined goals.

The third objective was to assess the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program's effectiveness in keeping traditions alive in Iowa by comparing findings to scholarly literature on tradition.

Assumptions

The following assumptions were made in this research:
a. Participants will answer interview questions honestly and accurately. This is necessary for a valid analysis of the program.
b. In-depth case studies will provide a substantial amount of information to develop profiles and to assess the program's value.

Limitations

The research had the following limitations:

a. Findings pertain to the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program and cannot be generalized to other apprenticeship programs throughout the United States.

b. The study is limited to fiber arts and does not include other craft media or other folk arts such as music, dance, and literature.

Definitions

The following definitions were used in this research:

* Tradition: "That which is handed down - includes material objects, beliefs about all sorts of things, images of persons and events, practices and institutions" (Shils, 1981, p. 12).

* Folk Art: A traditional art form which reflects a particular family or community.

* Apprentice: A student who learns by doing under an expert master.
* Master: A teacher who is highly skilled and knowledgeable of a craft.

* Craft: Includes both product and process. Craft items are produced by hand, with attention to materials, design, and workmanship. Crafts can be useful, decorative, or both (Littrell, Stout, & Reilly, 1991). A craft also refers to the creation of original objects through an artist's disciplined manipulation of material (Smith & Lucie-Smith, 1986).

* Dyad: Includes the master and apprentice.
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The researcher reviewed three areas of literature in order to gain background information appropriate to this research. The topics reviewed included: concepts of tradition, craft apprenticeships, and the evolution of folk arts in the United States.

Tradition

Scholarly literature on concepts of tradition provided the framework for this study. By understanding concepts of tradition, the work of contemporary artisans who create folk art can be placed in a broader perspective. In its barest, traditions are anything that is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present (Shils, 1981). Traditions are a means of transmitting culture and helping future generations maintain their roots. Traditions also help sustain uniformity and pride within a group.

According to Shils (1981), traditions may exist in the form of beliefs, images, events, practices, themes, and institutions. Although images such as craft objects may be part of a tradition, images are not the only element that is traditional. The practice or process of creating an image is a part of the tradition as well. Shils believes
that the tradition includes the pattern of behavior which
guides the reenactment. In other words, the product, which
can be recognized by sight and touch, as well as the process,
which is evident through the creation of an craft, define
the elements of a traditional craft.

Traditions are not static; they can change or disappear
through time. Shils (1981) and Niessen (1990) assert that
tradition is not something that only exists in the past.
Rather, traditions are a sequence of variations on received
and transmitted themes. Finnegan (1991) agrees with this
point of view, and emphasizes that a tradition has to be
used by people for it to continue to exist. Finally,
according to Handler and Linnekin (1984) tradition is the
process of interpretation, attributing meaning in the present
through making reference to the past.

Traditions often change according to the present
culture's idea of the role a particular tradition should
play in society. A tradition may become more or less valued
due to changes in the environmental, social, and political
situations of a society. Shils (1981) suggested two ways
that traditions can be examined and understood. Traditions
may be studied as they appear at one point in time, or
traditional can be examined as they evolve and change through
time. Shils (1981) defines the past that historians study
as a way of life at a specific time. However, traditions
change as new generations add to them. Each creator of a tradition has the freedom to make new interpretations and variations, or simply replicate a tradition from records and accounts available from one point in time.

An example of the two aspects of tradition can be illustrated using American Indian artists (John Weinkein, personal communication, 1992). Individuals and companies in the United States are commissioning American Indian artists to produce traditional native art work. The traditional art they produce is both historic and contemporary. Many of the pieces are replicas from past traditional art forms, such as Plains shields and Kachina dolls. Except for evidence of aging, these replicas appear exactly like original forms and represent a tradition from one point in time. Other forms are contemporary, with artists drawing from traditional motifs, patterns, and meanings. For example, painters may borrow elements found on traditional shields, costumes, and sculpture. Traditional Indian artifacts may continue in their original form or evolve through a process of change, interpretation, and individuality.

Folk art traditions are created through various media such as wood, clay, fiber, words, and songs. Whatever media, they are a symbolic representation of a particular culture at a given time. Traditions may represent the
social, aesthetic, and political values of a society, and contribute to stability within a group. Traditions are a necessary component to a culture; through traditions people maintain uniformity and exhibit individual creativity. Through traditions individuals build societal pride and learn about the roots and present values of their culture.

**Examples of textile folk art traditions**

Several researchers provide insight into tradition as related to folk arts. Three studies were selected to illustrate concepts of tradition related to specific textile folk arts. Baizerman (1987) discussed changing traditions of Chimayo weaving from north central New Mexico and identified components of folk art process and product that are associated with the maintenance of a tradition. Niessen (1990) also discussed changing traditions through a study of textile arts of Toba Batak in Indonesia. Her analysis related to changing textile arts and reinterpretations of old, "traditional" designs and patterns. Her account revealed that change does not destroy a tradition, but may keep it alive and interesting to the artisans and members of a culture. Finally, Popelka and Littrell (1991) illustrated the evolution of a Mexican textile tradition as its distribution widened from local to tourist markets. All researchers found that how artisans define and reflect
on their traditions may differ from how outside scholars conceptualize the traditions.

Baizerman (1987, 1990) explored the concept of tradition in relation to ethnic tourist art of Chimayo weaving from north central New Mexico. These Hispanic weavings were originally produced and sold as trade items in the Spanish colonial settlement, which is now in the American Southwest. In order to meet the demands of tourists, some of the traditional weavings, referred to as Rio-Grande style in the scholarly literature, have evolved into new forms known as the Chimayo-style by the weavers involved. Some of the design changes Baizerman (1987) found in the Hispanic weaving stemmed from Mexican, Native American, Anglo, and European Spanish influences. An example was influence from the Saltillo sarape, which contributed to design changes for blankets from Guatemala, throughout Mexico, and into northern New Mexico (Baizermann, 1990). Evidence of these influences was found in the use of new colors and designs.

Authenticity of traditional weaving may be viewed differently among collectors and insiders. The Rio-Grande style weavings, found throughout museums and private collections, are documented in scholarly literature as traditional weavings. However, when Baizermann (1990) asked Hispanic weavers what their tradition was, they said
it was the Chimayo. The products from the hispanic weavers illustrate that what outsiders view as a tradition is often different from insiders' views.

In her analysis of Chimayo weaving Baizerman (1987) found that traditional textile art was sold to two groups of consumers: tourists and local and non-local collectors. Weavings were sold to both groups of people in order to generate as much income as possible. Baizerman referred to this art as "boundary art", art which crosses the boundary where the two cultures meet. The makers and sellers of the textile tourist art must meet the demands of tourists as well as their own culture. Therefore, these "mediators" took on the role of changing traditions in terms of colors, designs, and forms to meet consumer demand. This boundary art places textile traditions in a state of continuous evolution.

Baizerman adopted Shils' (1981) perspective that tradition is passed on not simply through a product. Tradition also rests in the process of creating the art. Baizerman (1987) proposes that if a tradition is viewed in a process-oriented manner, as that which is passed along from one generation to the next, then a discussion of tradition can be focused on what the current generation is learning from the past in terms of craft.
Although outsiders such as tourists and collectors can influence elements of the product such as motif, color, and materials, they do not completely destroy a tradition. Baizerman (1987) defines four factors related to the process of a textile tradition that are important in keeping a textile craft alive and valuable to a culture. The first factor is recruitment, or who is selected to learn and teach the craft. The second consideration is where the work is to be done; here a traditional environment is important. The third decision is what equipment will be used for production; traditional tools are important. The final consideration is related to the organization of production. Factors to consider here are whether there is a division of labor, or one person creates all elements of the craft. Baizerman believes that a tradition is maintained when there is little change in the process of production, that is who learns and teaches the craft, the working environment, the equipment employed, and organization of production. In contrast, she proposes that changes can take place in the product itself without destroying the tradition.

In a second study, Niessen (1990) also discussed the concept of changing traditions through an analysis of the textile arts of Toba Batak weavers in the Silindung Valley, North Sumatra, Indonesia. Textile artists in this area
are becoming increasingly popular within their culture by reinterpreting old traditions and inventing new ones that reflect the past. Changes in yarn type, color, silhouette, other design elements, and functions have led many outside collectors, who feel the traditions are lost, to express negative attitudes towards the modern designs. Niessen (1990) defines these new creations as representing "modernization" of the old, the adaptation of the past to a new context. They are textiles from the past, reappearing in the modern form. Alterations in Batak textiles are evident through new bright colors, which have replaced deep colors from the past. Also, the yarns are not as large or coarse as earlier yarns.

Niessen (1990) described some of the changes found in Batak textiles by focusing on the work of an individual weaver. Ragi Botik, Harungguan, and Silinggom textiles were once made by the weaver from coarse yarns and in deep red and blue colors. The weaver modernized these textiles using bright colors for contemporary fashions. The cloths, new in color and form, lost any significance they may have had in the context of customary law or ritual (Niessen, 1990). Another example is the Gundung Pahu, which employs a motif that was once found on the twined edging of Batak textiles, and is now ikat or tie-died; its use is to cover the lower body. Lengthy pieces of this and other cloths
are now woven and often cut and tailored by patrons into jackets, shirts, and hats. Batak ikat is another popular textile which requires great skills in weaving and dying. Weavers were once required to use specific ikat designs with precision. Today, one weaver is combining different ikat designs to create new products. In this way, weavers are creating their own designs and learning to be innovative.

Batak textiles are not a forgotten tradition; rather, they are an example of how traditions change due to reinterpretation over time, a society's economic situation, and the artists' needs to be creative. According to Niessen, "The Batak textile tradition is dynamic rather than static. It has adopted rather than declined; it is surviving" (Niessen 1990, p. 228).

In a third and final study, Popelka and Littrell (1991) charted the evolution of Mexican weavings from the village of Teotitlan del Valle, Mexico. In this community tourism has become a major source of income for craftspersons. New markets such as tourists, commercial buyers, and fine art collectors created challenges for craftspeople. Craftspeople were faced with defining the standards of these new markets. Change in their crafts to meet the needs of outside markets evolved through three separate periods (Popelka & Littrell, 1991). The first period was product experimentation, where craftspersons began to identify
the likes and dislikes of new outside markets. During this period, the serape, a traditional poncho-like garment, was modified without the neck slit for wall hangings; this craft became known as tapete. Also during this period, new motifs and designs were evolving through experimentation.

The second period was product expansion. This was a learning time for craftspersons, as they adapted new designs and products for tourists. For example, tapetes were made in various sizes and new designs and materials were adopted from areas outside artisans' traditions. Also during this period, the expanding number of tourists created need for a larger volume of crafts; this led to the use of factory produced yarns and synthetic dyes, giving more color selection for tourists. According to Popelka and Littrell (1991), "The second period was an experimental learning period in which producers developed a market orientation outside the community and indigenous market system" (p. 15).

The third and final period was directed towards target market segmentation. Craftspersons created an explosion of new designs and colors, and borrowed from outside cultures to meet the various segmented markets with different aesthetic preferences and price points. Targeted markets included European and Asian tourists, the commercial export market, and the fine arts market. For some of the new markets,
craftpersons simplified designs in order to increase the rate of production and quality acceptable at certain price points.

The three periods illustrated the success of Mexican craftspersons in developing markets outside their native culture. Old traditions evolved into new traditions in the form of different uses, designs, and colors. These new traditions helped maintain economic and social development.

Folk arts and society

Dhamija (1992) and Graburn (1976), leading international authorities on crafts and folk arts, provided insight into the multiple functions that crafts can serve in a society, and on the importance of social support for the maintenance of a tradition. Dhamija (1992) suggested that folk art may serve a variety of functions simultaneously at the local, regional, and international levels of a society. Crafts may satisfy the local sector in terms of design elements, uses, and traditional meanings. Regional and international levels are also important to craftspeople to keep traditional and non-traditional crafts alive. At the regional and international levels, income generation allows for maintenance of the craft; however the meanings of the textiles to the national and international consumers
may differ from meanings attributed from the insiders' points of view at the village level.

Graburn (1976) proposed that the persistence of a traditional craft depends on six factors: 1) continued demand for the item, 2) availability of traditional raw materials, 3) time to work and lack of competing attractions, 4) knowledge of the skills and aesthetics of the arts, 5) rewards and prestige from peer group members, and 6) the role of the items in supporting the belief system and ritual or gift-exchanging systems. If any one of these aspects changes, it may be reflected in the culture's art forms. Central to Graburn's list are a variety of social supports from customers and others who appreciate and use the items.

In summary, a tradition is a visual representation of a particular society from one point in time, as well as across time. Tradition includes the process of production and the product itself. Each generation of a society interprets a tradition and practices the tradition according to current values and lifestyles. Re-interpretations may lead to changes in past traditions. Change may also occur due to interest in modernization and developing outside markets for the products. After WWII, an increase in tourism throughout many parts of the world allowed artists to earn money for the crafts they produced. Many societies began
mass-producing their art for outside tourists and collectors, and therefore centered production around the aesthetics of outsiders, rather than insiders. In some media, and in some situations, the quality of workmanship declined. Whatever reason for change, an evolving tradition may not be a detriment to the existence of a folk art in a culture; rather, evolving traditions may add excitement, individualism, pride and uniformity within a society, as well as create a form of economic gain.

Craft Apprenticeships

Apprenticeships have been a method for learning and mastering crafts in the United States since the late 1700s. Although social and economic situations have changed since the 1700s, the master-apprentice relationship has continued to be valued in U.S. society. During the late 1700s and 1800s, craftspersons played an important role in defining design elements of crafts. They were often responsible for experimentation with and change of many artifacts, by combining styles from the various ethnic backgrounds throughout the country.

Craftspersons' skills were passed on through apprenticeships. An apprentice, also known as the student, worked for and learned from the master, who was the teacher
and shop owner. Apprentices had important responsibilities of not only being loyal to the master, but also helping the master in the shop, and working hard to perfect their own skills and knowledge. Journeymen, those who had mastered a skill, yet did not own their own shops, were another component on the craftsperson's ladder of success. Although journeymen worked under a shop owner, they had a good chance of becoming a master and shop owner someday. Nash (1989) defined a successful craftsperson as an independent producer-proprietor who could hang a sign outside a shop of his own built on his property. Respect from the community resulted from a hard-working, self-employed craftsperson. If the craftsperson continued to be a journeyman, he was considered lazy and a poor provider for his family.

Although many aspiring craftspersons continued in the late 1800s to learn a craft through a master, others were inspired by the arts and crafts movement of the time period and turned to formal education to learn a craft. After 1900, universities throughout the United States began to teach crafts, with art education expanding further after WWII. Crafts taught through formal education continued until the 1960s, when a major revival of the apprenticeship learning environment took place. During the 1960s, aspiring craftsmen explored the world, searching for new techniques and ways of learning a craft (Smith & Lucie-Smith 1986).
During the mid-1960s the first state folk arts apprenticeship program began in Pennsylvania. The early 1970s saw the creation of the Folk Arts program through the National Endowment for the Arts, which sponsored apprenticeship programs throughout the United States (Willet, 1989). Following Pennsylvania's lead, many states have adopted similar programs in order to keep traditional folk arts alive, and to pass on techniques and knowledge of crafts.

To understand the learning environment of an apprenticeship, information on advantages and disadvantages of an apprenticeship, working relationships among masters and apprentices, and the effectiveness of teaching a folk art through an apprenticeship was reviewed.

To pass on traditions and preserve a culture's heritage, many United States citizens are participating in craft apprenticeships. Craft apprenticeships are an informal method of teaching a craft skill and passing on knowledge. Apprenticeships are considered informal because instruction takes place in the natural environment such as the home or studio, rather than a formal classroom. Teaching techniques may differ somewhat from a formal classroom; however, defined goals and activities are predetermined.

Two participants form an apprenticeship dyad: the master and apprentice. Glick (1981) defines a master as
a craftsperson who has achieved a level of expressive and technical expertise combined with a depth of experience, and who is capable of guiding another person through exploration in the chosen medium. An apprentice is one who is actively involved in a working studio, under the direct influence and guidance of a master. An apprentice differs from an employee. An employee has specific jobs for which he or she is paid, while an apprentice, who also may receive pay, has the main goal of acquiring an education.

Williams (1981) offers guidelines which prospective participants should consider when arranging a craft apprenticeship. Like any type of learning environment, apprenticeships vary among the different masters. Every master will have different expectations of the apprentice. Therefore, both must be selective, if possible, when choosing a partner. Negotiations regarding responsibilities, hours, and pay must be discussed so that all responsibilities are understood from the start. Williams (1981) discusses various possibilities for a craft apprenticeship working environment: many masters allow a student into their studios to observe techniques in exchange for the student's help with duties in the studio, some pay the apprentice for working in the studio, while others require that the apprentice pay the master to teach the skills and knowledge. There are also some artisans who allow apprentices into
their homes or studios and teach the craft for the mere joy of teaching and passing on a valuable skill. The apprentice must search out a master who will be a valuable teacher in the environment he/she is most comfortable with.

The dyad working relationship also needs to be considered so that a comfortable teaching and learning environment is created (Williams, 1981). To facilitate learning, the master and apprentice should be able to work together and speak openly to one another. If the apprentice feels he/she is spending more time working than learning, the apprentice must be able to express dissatisfaction. On the other hand, if the apprentice is not working up to the master's expectations, the master needs to be able to communicate with the apprentice.

There are both advantages and disadvantages of an apprenticeship. Besides the possibility of establishing a life-long friendship, making a small profit, and networking with other craftspersons, an apprentice may gain hands-on training and a realistic view of a craftsperson's life. Unlike a university education, an apprenticeship can provide a clear and accurate view of life as a working artisan (Coakes, 1986). Also, according to Coakes, a college degree will not provide a craftsperson with the survival skills necessary in the 'real world,' and at its worst, a university art department will perpetuate the attitude that craft
should bow its head in reverence to art. According to Kirili (1988), studio classes may establish the groundwork for mastery of one's medium, giving the young artist a sense of confidence; yet technical instruction, as essential as it is, is not enough. It often will not provide the student with in-depth experiences, a perspective on a business environment, and the socializing and enjoyment that come from the sustained working and learning experience of an apprenticeship.

On the other hand, a master may not facilitate learning a craft; rather the master may use the apprentice for laborious work, with little time for learning. Other disadvantages may include a negative working environment and a poor relationship between the master and apprentice. In contrast, a university environment will insure that the instructor has a certain level of education and training, and that learning takes place each week for a specified number of hours.

For nearly three centuries apprenticeship learning/teaching environments have allowed aspiring craftspersons to pass on a valuable skill. Recently state-run apprenticeship programs have funded the teaching/learning of a folk art tradition. If the dyad relationship allows for a positive working environment, the master is able to pass on craft knowledge and skills, and create an accurate
view of a craftsperson's life. The apprentice is able to learn a folk art tradition from an expert, as well as gain an understanding of the necessary components that make a master craftsperson.

Folk Arts

For this study, the researcher examined how traditions are passed on through folk arts. By understanding both historic and contemporary folk arts in the United States, and the arts and crafts movement during the late 18th century and early 19th century, the role of folk arts in the U.S. can be placed into a broader perspective.

The study of folk arts by critics and historians has emerged in recent years due to a search for the sources of modern art and for major trends in art (Valch & Brooner 1986). Artists and scholars have defined American folk art, which has led to an array of interpreted meanings.

One goal of the researcher was to examine different definitions of folk art in order to gain a broader perspective of its meaning. Throughout the literature, the researcher found folk arts to be associated with words such as primitive, amateur, unsophisticated, visionary, homemade, and country. These associations may give a negative connotation towards folk arts, leading to the belief that folk arts are beneath
or of less quality than the fine arts. Valch and Brooner (1986) concluded that many of the words associated with folk arts are non-appreciative of craftsmanship and non-encouraging to outsiders; the researchers' views are that some folk art definitions suggest a positive image, most of them are ambivalent, and at worst they are insulting. In order to define American folk art, without attaching any negative associations to such crafts, this researcher examined the role of folk arts in terms of their creation, uses, and traditional and contemporary meanings.

The combination of three definitions created an operational definition for the folk arts studied by this researcher. Rhodes (1978) defines folk art as an everyday art traditionally intended to fulfill the utilitarian, spiritual, and aesthetic needs of ordinary people; design was dictated by function, with motifs added for ornamentation. Andrews (1977) defines folk art as a creation by artists outside the fine arts, and comprised of simple objects that may have derived from a craft tradition. The Iowa Arts Council (1992-1993) describes a folk art as a traditional artistic practice which has a community or family base, expresses a community's aesthetics, has endured through several generations and was learned informally through imitation or word of mouth. Based on these definitions, which include the function of folk art, how it was taught,
and how tradition contributes to the folk art, the operational definition was developed for this research. For this research folk arts were defined as traditional art forms which reflect a particular family or community.

**Immigration influences**

To gain a broader understanding of folk arts historically, the researcher examined immigration influences on folk arts, and the arts and crafts movement which began during the late 19th century. During the Colonial period, colonists were developing into a new nation of culturally diverse people who were learning to be a unified society. With the transfer of many European cultures into the new colonies, America became a nation of varied ethnic backgrounds. According to Creekmore (1968), many citizens were homesick. Immigrants throughout the 17th and 18th centuries brought only the essentials, and had little room for luxuries. They brought small items such as clothing, ornaments, and a few furniture items. These materials helped them remember old traditions that soon became incorporated into many American traditions.

New traditions were often manifested through folk arts, which were mostly utilitarian crafts. Quilts, weavings, wood work, and various tools were some of the types of folk arts settlers made. Through the folk arts, settlers
were able to express their native heritage and experiment with new traditions. Although meanings of the objects were often the same as those of the old country, experimentation led to new traditions for colonists.

During the Colonial period, craftspersons were often responsible for experimentation with European folk art traditions. Puig and Conforti (1989) described changing traditions as evolving from the combination of the craftsperson's own background with the different cultural traditions of his clients. The craftsperson had the power to change or maintain old traditions, and often felt the pressure to merge diverse cultures and attempt to create a unified society (Puig & Conforti, 1989). One example is the archetypal Spanish joined chest that was the precedent for similar chests made by first generation Mexican craftsmen. Later, many of the chests were decorated in an imitation of oriental painted design and imported to the United States.

The arts and crafts movement

During the late 19th century many individuals' lives shifted from the farm to the city where work became specialized in large factories and consumer goods were produced in quantity and at low cost (Kaplan, 1987). Industrialization in the United States contributed to people's uneasiness with technology and social change, and led many
to an uncertainty of machines. Many believed that mass production in a factory setting would decrease appreciation for the arts, as well as a decline in mankind's morals and ethics.

The arts and crafts movement began in an effort to come to terms with industrialization. According to Naylor (1971), the movement was inspired by a crisis of conscience, with its motivation being social and moral, and its aesthetic values derived from the conviction that society produces the art and architecture it deserves.

The arts and crafts movement in the U.S. was strongly influenced by the British arts and crafts movement, where the society also felt the threat of industrialization. One influence on the American arts and crafts movement was an Englishman named William Morris. Morris, a skilled architect, printer, and designer, created an attitude of concern for the arts and crafts among many Americans through writings and lectures. The beginning of this movement is uncertain; many artists and scholars believe it began in the early 1800s, while others define it starting in the late 1800s.

Kaplan (1987) proclaimed that artists were convinced that industrialization contributed to the destruction of work and environment and that reformers created art showing what was wrong with society and gave prescriptions for
living. One goal of the movement was to bring harmony to daily living through beautiful art objects. Smith and Lucie-Smith (1986) described the arts and crafts movement as a rejection of a society that seemed dominated by the needs of industry rather than a genuine revival of hand skills.

The arts and crafts movement led to various styles of arts and crafts. Smith and Lucie-Smith (1986) described the late 19th century as a melting pot, from which arts and crafts designers took ideas from every source possible. One example is from members of the Deerfield Society of Blue and White Needlework, who adapted colonial quilt patterns that led to a revival of colonial styles and colonial skills in other craft fields as well (Smith & Lucie-Smith 1986). Also according to Smith and Lucie-Smith (1986), the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition that promoted Shaker workshops directed attention to artifacts. Another popular style from the late 1800s stemmed from American Indian tribal art such as textiles, pottery, and beadwork. Some non-Indians copied objects for a small time period. Popular styles that were evident after 1900 included the Mayan revival, Art Deco, Mission Style, Colonial Revival, and Art Nouveau among others.

Results from the arts and crafts movement were increased concerns about formal education, workshops, guilds, and
large exhibitions such as the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876. The movement also led to heightened awareness and appreciation for the arts and crafts in communities, whether or not an individual was an artist.

Craft development from 1920 to 1970

After World War II, art education in the United States expanded. One influence on the growing number of universities becoming involved with art education was the Bauhaus, which began with a strong commitment to the crafts, and by the mid-1920s began to emphasize industrial design (Smith & Lucie-Smith, 1986). The Bauhaus provided a new method of teaching which influenced artists to show individualism and reflect their personal point of view through art. According to Manhart (1990), one of the most important contributors to the craft movement was the revolution in American education, which was partly due to the GI bill. Manhart expressed, "Expanding universities encouraged free exchange among students and teachers of craft, art, and design, causing rapid cross-fertilization among many disciplines and techniques" (p. 20).

Along with the expansion of art education in universities, the U.S. government was creating programs for artists. One such program of the 1930s was The Federal Art Project (FAP), which was a division of the Works Progress
Administration (WPA). McKinzie (1973) defined the objectives of The Federal Art Project, as well as other New Deal projects, as the provision of sustenance to destitute workers and the preservation of their languishing skills. The FPA was designed to enable destitute artists to retain their dignity and offer useful products and services to the community. Types of art resulting from the FAP were sculptures, easel paintings, and reliefs and murals on public buildings such as schools and hospitals. Another government program after WWII was the Public Works of Art Projects (PWAP). McKinzie (1973) defines the goals of the PWAP as to aesthetically express the beauty of America and to make a permanent record of the aspirations and achievements of the American people. Painters in many areas of the country were not allowed to paint modernism, cubism, or futurism; rather, they were to paint American life in the 1930s.

Art education and government art projects continued through the 1950s and early 1960s. According to Smith and Lucie-Smith (1986), growth in university art education declined in the late 1960s as American society became less conformist and wanted to get back to nature. Smith and Lucie-Smith (1986) proclaimed, "A revolution against industry once again began to manifest itself and for those who wished to drop out of urban industrial society, the practice of
craft seemed an alternate way of life," (p.34). During the late 1960s and 1970s, students began traveling the world seeking experimentation and individualism. During this time, art and craft fairs became increasingly important to the survival of a craftperson. Fairs allowed craftpersons to exhibit and sell their art, as well as network with other artists. Also during this time, artists were searching for alternate ways of learning a craft. Apprenticeships became one way for aspiring artists to learn a skill without entering the formal classroom.

**Contemporary folk art**

Smith and Lucie-Smith (1986) described contemporary crafts as objects that are produced for everyday use, but are increasingly being used in the same way as paintings and sculptures in the fine arts. Many American folk arts were originally utilitarian, and today many are used for decoration only, or for both utilitarian and decorative purposes. Quilts that were once used for warmth, with ornamentation as a second purpose, are often today used strictly for decoration. Contemporary art quilts that decorate a wall are also common.

A second role of folk arts is to express one's ethnic heritage and help maintain community and social solidarity. Design influences from non-Western and European societies
may remind people of their heritage. Norwegian rosemaling is one example of a popular folk art found in America that is tied to a well-known Norwegian tradition.

A third role of contemporary folk arts is to express individuality. Contemporary artists often use traditional folk art for ideas, and combine their individual creativity to create a new craft. Contemporary pottery is one example. Various artists use traditional Southwest Indian motifs and patterns in combination with their individual ideas to create a new design.

Summary

The review of literature provided a scholarly context for this study, with the concept of tradition as the basic framework. Traditions are a way of transmitting culture and sustaining uniformity and pride within a culture. Traditions from the folk arts come in the form of both process and product. Change in either the process or product was a factor for whether an individual believed the tradition was alive.

The work of three researchers, Baizerman, Niessen, and Graburn, provided details about tradition to consider in this study of Iowa folk artists. Baizerman (1987) defined four areas related to the process of tradition that are
important in keeping a tradition alive. Aspects to consider were: who is to be recruited, where is the working environment, what equipment will be used, and who controls the organization of production. Baizerman believed that the process of creating was the most important factor in keeping a traditional folk art alive. She believed that any changes in the product would not contribute to the loss of a tradition. Rather, the process was more important in sustaining a tradition. Niessen (1990) supported Baizerman in that she described numerous changes in traditional textile products that did not create a lost tradition. Similar findings related to sustaining a folk art tradition were found among artisans from diverse parts of the world and different cultures.

Graburn (1976) added other dimensions for consideration in studying Iowa folk art traditions. He proposed that the continuance of a folk art tradition is tied to demand for the item, availability of traditional raw materials, available time for production, knowledge and skills, rewards and prestige from peers, and the functions the items have in the society.

A second area of literature examined was craft apprenticeships, which include a master and apprentice who come together in order to learn and pass on a valuable skill. The apprenticeship environment is informal, yet
with defined goals and assignments. Since the mid-1960s, state-run apprenticeship programs have allowed an expert master to teach an apprentice a valuable skill. These programs have not only allowed apprentices to learn about their heritage; the programs have also allowed apprentices to view the true life of a master craftsperson through one-on-one instruction.

Folk arts were the third area of literature studied. Folk arts are traditional artistic practices that have a community or family base, express a community's aesthetics, have endured through time, and were learned informally through word of mouth or imitation (Iowa Arts Council 1992-93). The researcher examined the evolution of folk arts from the 1700s to the present, tracing immigration influences; the arts and crafts movement; government sponsored programs throughout the 1930s, 1940s, and early 1950s; educational concerns throughout the 1960s to the present; and contemporary folk arts.

The literature reviewed on craft apprenticeships and folk arts provided a historical base to which the researcher could compare her findings for continuity and change.
METHOD

The purpose of this research was to develop profiles of fiber art dyads who participated in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program as related to personal goals for the apprenticeship, apprenticeship learning environment, relationship between the master and apprentice, perceptions of tradition, activities throughout the apprenticeship, achievements, and effectiveness of an apprenticeship in learning and maintaining a folk art. Additional objectives were to assess whether the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program was meeting its goals, and whether the program was effective in keeping traditions alive in Iowa.

Background Information

In order to develop this research and gain a broader background on folk arts and traditions in Iowa, the researcher interviewed Steve Ohrn, Curator of Sites for the State Historical Society of Iowa. Ohrn, who initiated the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program in 1983, provided his perspective on various Iowa folk arts and traditions as well as the artists who keep traditions alive by participating in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program. The background information gave the researcher a broad base of knowledge
on the different types of folk arts practiced in Iowa and how the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program began. The information was useful for developing questions for an interview schedule and for choosing participants who would be good resources for the study.

Once the background interview was completed, the researcher examined records from the Iowa Arts Council to obtain information on the masters and apprentices who participated in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program. From this investigation, a better understanding was gained of the various folk arts practiced, the educational background of the masters and apprentices, amount of experience participants had in their folk arts, and the length of the apprenticeships. This helped the researcher define parameters for the data collection and sample.

Data Collection

For the study, the researcher employed the case study approach. Sources of evidence for the research included interviews, fiber art products, photographs of the artist's work, and written documentation of the apprentice's and master's application and progress.
Sample

Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose purposive sampling as a way to maximize a range of information on a topic with little redundancy. For a purposive sample, the researcher selects the participants using criteria related to the objectives of the study. The goal of this researcher was to include a purposive sample of ten dyads, for a total of twenty interviews. Names of participants came from the Iowa Arts Council records. There was a total of 18 possible fiber art dyads from which to choose the sample. Criteria for the sample were to achieve variety in type of craft, age of participants, and educational experience of masters and apprentices. The folk art must have been fiber-related and the apprenticeship must have occurred between 1985-1991. This time period was considered recent enough for the participant to be able to recall the apprenticeship activities; yet, enough time had elapsed that the artisans could give evaluative feedback on the master-apprentice experience.

Participants

All 20 participants resided in Iowa. One goal of the researcher was to include both the master and apprentice of each dyad selected for the study. This goal was achieved in all but two case studies. In one situation, the master
was deceased, while another master was not available for an interview because she did not speak English. In two other situations, case studies included three people. One case study included two masters and one apprentice, and a second case study included two apprentices and one master. A total of nine masters and eleven apprentices was interviewed. Nineteen participants were female, while one master participant was male. Ages of apprentices ranged from 26 to 68, with a mean age of 42. Ages of masters ranged from 34 to 78, with a mean age of 67. The folk arts practiced included quilting (6), weaving (4), bobbin lace (2), Norwegian embroidery (2), Czechoslovakian stitchery (3), nalbinding (2), and Hmong Pandau (1). (See Appendix A for the list of definitions of the folk arts.)

Interview schedule

An interview schedule was developed based on the background information from Steve Ohrn and records from the Iowa Arts Council, as well as instruments used by Slaybaugh (1987) and Baizermann (1987). The interview schedule was approved by the Iowa State University Human Subjects Committee. The interview schedule addressed the goals and achievements of participants, relationship between masters and apprentices, learning/teaching environment, activities throughout the apprenticeship, and ideas about
the concept of tradition. Separate interview schedules were designed for masters and apprentices; however, the majority of questions were the same for both. Copies of both interview schedules are included in Appendix B.

The first section of the interview schedule was designed to gain background information on the participants. Participants were asked questions related to why, how, and when they became involved with their craft; how the community responds to their craft; use of their craft; criteria for being a master; their support systems; and how they were passing on their heritage.

The second set of questions was related to the goals for the apprenticeship. General questions as to how they found out about the program and contacted a partner were addressed, as well as questions about their personal goals for the apprenticeship.

The third set of question addressed the activities throughout the apprenticeship. These questions helped gain information on the learning/teaching environment of an apprenticeship as related to teaching method, design choices, equipment and supplies choices, creativity, critiquing the apprentice, and the amount of knowledge and technical proficiency the apprentice had both prior to and after the apprenticeship. These questions led to a better understanding of how an apprenticeship facilitates
teaching a craft.

The fourth section asked questions about the relationship the master and apprentice had before, during, and after the apprenticeship. The fifth set of questions addressed achievements from the apprenticeship. Participants were asked whether their goals were met, and if they exceeded their goals. They were also asked how their products and process of creating changed, how successful the apprenticeship was, and their perceptions of the advantages and disadvantages of an apprenticeship versus other methods of learning/teaching a craft.

The final set of questions was related to the concept of tradition. Participants were asked what makes up the tradition of their folk art, and what their role is in keeping the tradition alive. They were also asked how they view a tradition in terms of product and process.

Data collection

Participants were contacted by a letter and a follow-up telephone call. The letter explained the objectives for the study and invited the recipients to become participants by sharing their experiences in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program. Once the letter was received, the researcher contacted potential participants by telephone to answer any questions concerning the study and to formally
invite them to meet with the researcher. If the potential participants agreed, a time and place was set up for the interview. Participants were also asked at that time if photographing their folk arts would be possible. (See Appendix C for a copy of the introductory letter and telephone protocol.)

One pilot study, consisting of interviews with a master and apprentice, was conducted in order to test the interview schedule and make any necessary changes. Once the interview schedule was revised for clarity and item duplication, the researcher contacted 18 additional informants. The interviews took place in the participants' homes. Interviews lasted between 1½ to 3 hours, and were audio-taped by the researcher. Participants were informed that they could refuse to answer any of the questions, and that their responses were confidential (See Appendix D for a copy of the letter of invitation to the participants and the approval from the Human Subjects in Research Committee). During the interviews, the researcher was able to photograph some of the folk arts and view the learning environment where the apprenticeship took place. Participants often demonstrated their folk art and their method of teaching or learning.
Data Analysis

The goal of the researcher was to develop composite profiles of the dyads by examining responses to the interview schedules, studying participants' files from the Iowa Arts Council, and observing and photographing the artists' folk art products. The same methods for data analysis were applied to both master and apprentice interviews.

Qualitative analysis

Themes. Narrative data were analyzed in two stages. In stage one, themes were identified and described across participants. Masters and apprentices were compared as a group for each theme. In stage two, profiles were developed based on grouping themes within participants.

All twenty interviews were transcribed by the researcher. Responses were then entered into the Data Collector, a computer software program used for managing qualitative data. The program allowed the researcher to sort and code interview responses. The first step was to sort the responses to each question so that all responses to one question could be viewed together. For example, all responses to question A1 could be viewed, all responses to question A2, and so on.
The second step was to separate questions that required inter-rater reliability from questions that did not. Criteria included that questions elicited a wide variety of responses among participants. In addition, responses were often more lengthy. Eleven of the twenty interview questions were judged to require inter-rater reliability with coding between two judges. Examples of questions that required inter-rater reliability were those that asked about how the participant initially gained the craft knowledge, goals for the apprenticeship, teaching methods throughout the apprenticeship, and ideas about tradition in terms of process and product. For each question, major themes were developed from the participants' responses. The researcher reviewed all answers to a question and identified topics related to the theme of the question. A coding guide was developed with definitions. (See Appendix E for a copy of the definitions.) The answers from a sample of five respondents were coded by the researcher and one judge using the coding guide. Changes were made to improve the definitions in the guide. Subsequent samples of responses were coded until inter-rater reliability of 85% was reached between the researcher and the judge. Inter-rater reliability was determined using the following formula (Touliatos & Compton, 1988):
percent of agreements = \[ \frac{\text{number of agreements}}{\text{number of agreements} + \text{number of disagreements}} \]

The remaining interviews were then coded by the researcher and checked by the judge.

Examples of questions that did not require inter-rater reliability were those that elicited short answers or yes/no responses about the community's response to the craft, who was appropriate for learning the craft, the function of the craft, whether the craft was sold for a profit or used for personal reasons, and the artists' support systems. Themes were tabulated in order to calculate the frequency and range of responses.

 Profiles. The second stage of analysis was more holistic than stage one. The researcher and one judge examined each of the twenty transcribed interviews as a whole in order to develop profiles of the participants. All twenty participants were placed in profiles based on emphasis and grouping of particular themes. The dyads were then examined to view whether the paired masters and apprentices fell into the same profiles.

 Quantitative analysis

Three interview questions employed a seven-point scale for participants' responses. The questions were related
to knowledge and technical proficiency of the folk art,
and overall success of the apprenticeship. Means, ranges,
standard deviations, and t-tests were calculated. These
tests were applied to compare 1) the apprentices' ratings
of the apprentices' knowledge and technical proficiency
before and after the apprenticeship, 2) the masters' ratings
of the apprentices' knowledge and technical proficiency
before and after the apprenticeship, 3) the masters' and
apprentices' perceptions for apprentices' knowledge and
technical proficiency, and 4) the masters' and apprentices'
ratings for success of the apprenticeship. The level of
significance applied was < .01.
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Findings are presented in the form of themes related to a folk art apprenticeship and profiles of apprenticeship participants. A discussion of each theme and comparisons between masters and apprentices as a group allowed the researcher to view both similarities and differences among participants. The researcher then developed profiles for the twenty participants. Once all participants were placed into a profile, the dyads were examined to determine whether the paired masters and apprentices were in the same profile.

Themes in a Folk Art Apprenticeship

Initial involvement in folk art

Participants became initially involved with their crafts for a variety of reasons related to a textile's beauty, educational opportunities, and family or community ties. For nine participants, a common response was that they thought the craft was beautiful and interesting, and they loved to do a variety of crafts. One apprentice who had never seen bobbin lace before explained, "I watched her demonstrate bobbin lace and it was so fascinating; I really enjoyed learning the technique." Eleven participants enjoyed learning a variety of crafts. Variety allowed
them to maintain interest in crafts and continue to work with their hands. One nalbinding apprentice added that she had always done a variety of crafts, and she enjoyed the learning process because it kept her involved with many different handcrafts without becoming bored doing only one handcraft.

Another reason participants became involved with crafts was because they were taught through formal education and group memberships, either by choice or requirement. Fourteen learned their craft through a classroom environment. As an example, a weaving apprentice learned the basics of weaving through a university classroom setting, and continued her training through group membership with an Iowa weaver's guild. Another weaver learned how to weave rugs through a guild, and has continued to be a member because she can learn new techniques from other weavers. Finally, a Czechoslovakian stitchery master was required to learn as part of her childhood schooling. She explained, "Back home everybody has to take the stitchery class like any other subject; the teacher was very strict and always made sure our work was neat and clean."

Eight participants learned their crafts during their childhood, often due to the influence from a family member or friend. One master weaver had to learn because her grandfather became ill, and commissioned rugs were not
completed, "I used to watch him a lot when I was little because he used to baby-sit me. I used to wind the shuttles so I kind of had an idea of how to weave. When he became sick I had to do it." Another master weaver learned when his mother was going to sell the family looms. He thought if he didn't learn then that he never would have the chance again.

Six participants became involved with their craft because there was a family tradition or ethnic tie. Many felt proud of their heritage and expressed pride through crafts. A master quilter saved quilt tops and recreated traditional patterns for preservation. She explained, "I had a family quilt that my grandmother made and I wanted to preserve the traditional patterns before they become lost." An apprentice in Norwegian embroidery was interested in the embroidery used in traditional Norwegian costumes, "My master knew the authentic embroidery for costumes, so I knew she was a good source. She is the only one I know of in this country that has researched maybe four or five specific blouse costumes. Since I am 100 percent Norwegian descent, I am interested in things Norwegian." A Czechoslovakian stitchery apprentice became involved because she felt it was important to learn traditional techniques and keep in touch with her ancestry.

Whether learning the craft was a requirement or a
choice, all twenty participants mentioned at least once that the craft was beautiful and interesting to teach or learn. Those who practiced their craft without an ethnic tie were just as excited about passing on folk art traditions as those who had an ethnic tie to their craft.

A major difference in initial involvement between masters and apprentices was that more masters were required to learn their folk art as a child through formal education. In addition, masters (n = 7) were more likely to have had a traditional ethnic tie to their craft, while apprentices (n = 5) simply thought the craft was interesting and beautiful.

Goals for the apprenticeship

Apprenticeship goals varied among masters and apprentices. Most participants had more than one reason for participating in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program. Among the masters, five felt the apprenticeship program was a good chance to pass on a valuable skill and they wished to preserve a particular tradition; five said they participated simply because they were asked and they wanted to help others learn a craft. A master quilter who wanted to keep the tradition of hand quilting on a quilt frame alive stated, "I have this feeling that the younger people won't do it if they can't do it in one or
two days, so it needs to be taught." A second master quilter was interested in maintaining interest in traditional quilt top patterns. She collected and reproduced numerous patterns for use in teaching and to maintain a record of past and present traditional patterns. The master quilter related, "I've seen antique dealers come to the midwest and take quilts to Texas and California, and I wanted to be sure that Iowa had old quilts to look at." Other masters who were of a particular ethnic background wished to preserve their heritage and teach a craft that represented their culture. One master not only wanted to pass on a skill, but she also wanted to work with a specific apprentice. The master believed the student had the drive and interest to succeed at learning a folk art, and would create a positive apprenticeship environment.

Apprentices' goals were more varied than the masters' goals. The first reason that apprentices became involved with the program was to perfect craft techniques with which they were already familiar. Six apprentices wished to improve their existing skills and knowledge of a craft. One bobbin lace apprentice wanted to master a skill so she wouldn't need to use written directions. Another apprentice, who had limited skills in her Hmong Pandau craft, wished to improve and perfect her technique. She described, "I knew a bit before because my grandmother
did it as I was growing up, but I wanted to learn how to cut and design my own patterns."

A second goal was to learn a new technique. Seven apprentices wanted to learn a new skill and technique either because they wanted more of a challenge, or they were interested in learning a variety of handcrafts. A Czechoslovakian stitchery apprentice already was skilled in sewing and quilting, but wanted an expanded challenge with fibers. A nalbinding apprentice had knowledge of various folk arts, but wished to extend her knowledge of crafts and learn new skills. A third apprentice wanted to learn new techniques of applique on quilts.

Another reason for participating for one apprentice was to learn a technique first hand, rather than from a book or classroom. A weaving apprentice stated, "I wanted to really step into the Amana culture and learn how to make a sturdy rag rug from someone who was experienced and who lived there."

A fourth reason for two apprentices was the desire to work with a certain master. One weaver assessed that her master was very knowledgeable and could teach her complicated weaves. Another apprentice evaluated that she could gain not only the skills necessary for quilting, but that her master would pass on the feelings and values of a true artist. The quilting apprentice explained, "I
knew she would be great, and she didn't have any preconceived ideas of what you should learn; it was also spiritual because I understood her values."

Three apprentices participated in order to keep a tradition alive, and to someday pass it on to others. A Norwegian embroidery apprentice, who wanted to learn specific techniques and patterns that are applied to Norwegian costumes, explained, "We still use our traditional costumes, but the embroidery is so expensive; in this country we're trying to figure out a way to reproduce our costumes without the high cost." She also felt that she could take the skills and teach it to other Norwegians. A Hmong Pandau apprentice who wanted to improve her skills so she could satisfy her role as a mother stated, "It is expected of me to make things for my sons, such as when they get married so they will never forget me."

An overall similarity in apprenticeship goals between masters and apprentices was that both wished to preserve a particular folk art tradition. Differences were that the masters (n = 5) more frequently became involved because they enjoyed teaching and they were asked to participate, while many of the apprentices (n = 9) wished to learn or perfect a specific technique and to learn from a particular teacher. Apprentices also wanted hands-on training from a master, rather than learning a craft through a book.
Type of learning environment

Eighteen of the apprenticeships took place in either the masters' or apprentices' homes, most often being the homes of masters. Two apprenticeships took place in the master's studio or office, both of which were located away from the home. Over a one year period, participants put in between 16 to 72 contact hours. The length of time the masters and apprentices spent together depended upon the amount of instruction necessary and the distance between them. In four cases the masters and apprentices were over 60 miles apart.

The teaching and learning process varied among dyads. The learning situation for three dyads in quilting and weaving was extremely informal, where the apprentices choose the pattern and worked mostly on their own, contacting the master only when necessary. The remaining learning situations consisted of the master and apprentice deciding on the pattern, equipment, and size together. For seventeen dyads, the learning process started with the master presenting various patterns from which the apprentices could choose, and then demonstrating the techniques. The master and apprentice working together on a project would follow. In two learning environments, the masters started the apprentices with the first stitches, and then allowed them to work independently. Apprentices would often start on
a project with the master, and continue to practice at
home. They would bring finished work back to the master
for a critique.

Fifteen of the masters verbally critiqued the apprentices
during the apprenticeship. In all apprenticeships, a high
level of quality was expected. As the apprenticeship
progressed, masters would often give advice regarding
technique, design arrangement, and color. One weaving
apprentice stated, "As we were working, my teacher was
right there to let me know if I was doing something wrong."
One master of Norwegian embroidery confirmed this arrangement,
"I was always there to help her and answer questions, while
it was on going. That is why I do not like large formal
classrooms, because it is more difficult to critique students'
work."

Three of the dyads critiqued the folk arts only after
completion. One master quilter explained, "We would put
the apprentice's things on the floor and look at them as
a whole to view the technique, color, and design. We would
try to figure out how the visual effects could be improved."
A bobbin lace apprentice added, "Usually at the end of
a piece she would tell me how I could improve, and she
told me what things I did correctly. It was pretty detailed
so that I would really understand the techniques."
Two of the apprenticeships did not include a critique. A Czechoslovakian stitchery master felt that critiques were not necessary since she did not let her apprentices make any mistakes along the way. Another quilting apprentice stated, "There was no critiquing going on because my level of expertise was very close to the master's level, and she did not make any comments."

When the masters and apprentices were asked what was most important to accomplish during an apprenticeship, ten evaluated that advancing the apprentices' skills and techniques were the most important. One bobbin lace apprentice described, "The most important part is to advance your skills while you have someone there to help you, and to understand techniques."

Five participants assessed that sharing knowledge and communicating well with the teacher were important. A nalbinding master expressed, "I think that when two people communicate and they establish some sort of relationship, information can pass more easily and goals can be met."

A third important aspect of an apprenticeship environment was that the apprentice gain confidence. Three participants believed that the learning environment was successful if the apprentice was comfortable with the process. A nalbinding apprentice related, "I think learning the techniques so you are comfortable with it is important; you should feel
like you could go out and teach it to others."

Four participants agreed that maintaining a working environment and using traditional tools was important to keeping the tradition alive. A Czechoslovakian stitchery master explained, "I am told that I am the only one left in this area to teach this, so I want to keep the tradition alive. I am already 78 years old; others need to learn it and pass it on." A master quilter keeps traditional patterns alive by recording designs and motifs as well as by teaching her apprentice the traditional process. A second master quilter believed the traditional quilt frame must be used for a quilt to be traditional, and therefore taught her apprentice how to make and use a quilt frame.

Additional components that four participants identified as adding to a successful apprenticeship were 1) the apprentice develop patience, 2) all goals are met, 3) the master and apprentice exhibit their work together, and 4) an appreciation of the craft is gained.

One similarity among masters and apprentices related to the learning environment was that both groups agreed that a good relationship was important in order to communicate the techniques and knowledge successfully. In addition, good communication was essential for the critiques that were integral to most apprenticeships. A second similarity
was both agreed that advancing skills and knowledge was important. A significant difference between masters and apprentices was that while some masters said the most important accomplishment was keeping the folk art tradition alive, apprentices believed that gaining confidence in knowledge and skills was important.

**Master and apprentice relationship**

Although most participants (n = 18) in the apprenticeship program had a positive experience, surprisingly few developed friendships that were maintained with depth after the apprenticeship. Prior to the apprenticeship, only five participants were friends. The relationship between those who were already friends did not change during or after the apprenticeship.

Eight participants said that prior to the apprenticeship they were acquaintances through guilds, schools, and community ties. All participants believed they established good friendships during the apprenticeship. One apprentice weaver, whose master is deceased explained, "She adopted me as her granddaughter, and was there when my son had trouble; I was there for her when she died." Only two relationships that started as acquaintances continued after the apprenticeship. An apprentice quilter feels the relationship is stronger, "When we see each other we talk
about what we're both doing, and now even more we talk
more personal, about our kids and families. She is also
interested in the guild and other quilting organizations
that I'm involved with. It is sort of an outlet for her
since she is not involved with any such organizations."

Seven of the participants did not know their partner
prior to the apprenticeship. All seven said their
relationships became friendships during the apprenticeship.
Only two of these relationships continued after the
apprenticeship. One apprentice weaver explains, "Until
this year I got Christmas cards from her, but now we're
so busy."

The most frequent response as to why a friendship
didn't continue was because participants were too busy,
or the master and apprentice lived far apart. In addition,
with many age differences between masters and apprentices,
they often had little in common except their folk art.

**Outcome of apprenticeship**

When asked if the goals of the apprenticeship were
met, 18 of the participants said yes. According to one
master quilter, "My apprentice learned all that she set
out to do, and it was such an ego boost for me, knowing
that I could share it." In addition to meeting apprenticeship
goals, five participants exceeded their goals. One weaving
apprentice stated, "I gained a relationship, which wasn't what I expected. It's nice when total strangers take you into their home. I think weavers are that way on the whole, or maybe it's all craftspeople who want to share." Another apprentice said she learned a lot about the history of her craft that she didn't know and didn't expect to learn during the apprenticeship.

Two participants did not meet their goals for the apprenticeship. One master in bobbin lace expressed that there wasn't enough structure in the apprenticeship, and that she and her apprentice could not meet often enough to accomplish their set goals. A quilting apprentice believed her apprenticeship was unsuccessful because her master was not advanced enough. She explained, "My master quilter and I were at the same level so I didn't gain a whole lot; I wish I could have chosen someone more knowledgeable."

For some dyads, success of the apprenticeship was associated with the dyads exhibiting their work together. Sixteen of the participants exhibited their work or demonstrated the techniques with their partner. Some demonstrated their crafts at the State Historical Museum or craft fairs. Others allowed their work to be displayed with their master or apprentice at the State Historical Museum. A quilting apprentice evaluated that this was a great experience where the master and apprentice could
show off all of their hard work and communicate to others that the apprenticeship was a positive, worthwhile experience.

Seven participants received commissioned work as a result of the apprenticeship program. Word-of-mouth through friends and co-workers led many participants to commissioned work. One weaving apprentice received a commission for a rug from persons who heard she had participated in an apprenticeship program with Amana rag rug weavers.

As a result of the apprenticeship, the working environment and process of creating did not change for any of the masters. However, many of the apprentices (n = 6) identified that they had changed dramatically in the way they worked. Apprentices believed that they learned a lot in terms of design and color, as well as technique, all of which helped them grow as craftspersons. One weaver explained, "I took what I learned from my master, which was the traditional weaving techniques, and I am now doing more contemporary pieces; however, I still appreciate the traditional folk arts."

Participants were also asked what they would have liked to have happened differently. Fourteen of the participants were completely satisfied with the apprenticeship and would not have changed anything. However, six participants identified room for improvement. Two participants expressed lack of enough time to accomplish
all of the goals. One apprentice did not receive enough money for materials and supplies. She spent over 100 dollars of her own to pay for the apprenticeship. A master explained that there was not enough structure in the apprenticeship to learn all the techniques. Her apprentice lived far away; therefore, each time they met it was a race to complete a project. A quilting apprentice expressed she should have chosen a master who was at a higher level of technical expertise. Finally, an apprentice believed she was too far away from her master during the apprenticeship, and it was inconvenient to meet on a regular basis.

When participants were asked whether they would participate again, all apprentices and all but one master said yes. The one master who would not participate believed she was too old to teach. In addition, all apprentices said they would like to become a master someday.

**Effectiveness of an apprenticeship in learning a folk art**

In order to understand the participants' views on whether an apprenticeship was a successful method of teaching/learning a folk art, the researcher asked participants to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of an apprenticeship versus other methods of teaching/learning. Twelve participants agreed that the one-on-one environment was an advantage because the master
could give the apprentice full attention. A Norwegian embroidery master related, "One student is nice because you can really concentrate on everything she does." A Czechoslovakian stitchery master added, "In a classroom I have ten people, and I have to get each one started. It takes so much time, and I have to go around and help everyone so we don't get very far. With the apprenticeship I only have two students and I can sit down at home and teach."

A second advantage of an apprenticeship was that a contract of agreement and money allocated for materials and teaching contributed to a strong commitment. As a bobbin lace apprentice described, "There's something about a contract and a commitment that motivates you to work within a structure and accomplish your goals."

Another advantage expressed by an apprentice quilter was that the apprenticeship was unlike a regular teaching job because you were not required to teach; masters participate because they wish to. Choosing a particular partner to learn from or teach was also an important advantage. According to an apprentice quilter, "It is a real honor to work with someone you have chosen, a person who you think is special. It's a stronger motivation than being in a class of twenty."
Finally, a master weaver believed that an apprenticeship learning environment was valuable but should not be sponsored by the government. She stated, "I would be willing to teach for free, the government shouldn't pay for it. When I was in school if you wanted to learn something you had to pay for it yourself or go to school. I was self taught."

**Perceptions of tradition in terms of product and process**

Participants were asked three questions related to tradition. The first question was abstract because it did not require the informant to conceptualize their own folk art product or process. The final two questions were concrete because they allowed the informant to consider their actual product and process. The first question often elicited different responses from answers to the second and third question.

In the first question, participants were asked their opinions as to whether a craft tradition was the process of creation or the final product. Eight participants believed the process was what represents a craft tradition. These respondents agreed that the final product could appear in any form, as long as the process remained the same.

Only one respondent said that the product was exclusively the craft tradition. The respondent explained, "The final product is most important because of the patterns."
The remaining eleven participants described the craft tradition as a combination of both the process and product. A weaving apprentice stated, "It has to be both because the tradition is the rug itself as well as the process of doing it by hand." A quilting apprentice also believed that both the process and product were important and explained, "For quilts it is both because the patterns are traditional, but also the process of hand stitches is important."

In a second question, participants were asked whether their folk art would be traditional if it continued to be made by the traditional process, yet the final products were different. This question helped the respondents conceptualize what makes up their particular tradition. Answers to this question about a specific folk art were often different from their first response, which was related to tradition more generally. Ten participants said that the craft would continue to be traditional, even with the final product appearing different. A quilting apprentice who creates contemporary wall quilt designs stated, "The process of hand-making it is traditional, and although the designs are different, I'm sure they will be a tradition themselves someday." A second quilting apprentice added comments related to affect, "The feelings and motivations are still there, the same as it was traditionally; the
tradition can be kept, even if it is a crazy design because the feelings are still there." A nalbinding master added, "I think that if you're following a tradition it should be like a branch of a tree. If you have the same system of nutrients and exchange going on, then it is still a tradition. I have a problem with things always having to be made the same way. For example, if it always has to be red, then it is no longer a living tradition. If a design looks really wild, that's okay as long as there's still some connection to the traditional technique." The comments from these three artisans presented a dynamic rather than static craft.

In contrast, eight participants believed that their crafts would no longer be a tradition if the end product did not appear the same. A master in Norwegian embroidery explained, "It must be white linen thread on white linen fabric or else it is not the traditional Hardangersom." An apprentice of Hmong Pandau also explained that the tradition would be lost if the product did not appear the same and stated, "The patterns and colors are what is most important to us and represents our culture." Two participants were not sure what made up their traditional craft.

In a third question, participants were asked whether the tradition was alive if the process was different, while the final products appeared the same. Only four participants
said that the craft tradition would be maintained despite a different process. A quilting apprentice explained, "The patterns are more important than the process; I don't feel it is necessary to always do it by hand. If my great, great, great grandmother could have afforded a sewing machine when she was alive, then she would have done all of her quilts on the machine. The same goes with clothing; with machines and factories, people didn't continue to make everything by hand; we have grown through the years."

Fourteen participants said that the craft tradition would not exist if the process were to change. Most respondents identified that the craft tradition had to be hand-made. A weaving master stated, "The rugs wouldn't be traditional if they were manufactured because all of the meaning would be gone." A quilting master also felt that the tradition existed because it was hand-made and explained, "I would never let machines enter my classroom because quilting is an art of fingers, not machine." Two participants did not respond to this question.

Overall, as participants reflected on their specific folk arts, sixteen participants allowed for little change in the process in order for the tradition to be maintained. Ten participants believed the folk art had to be hand made in order to sustain the tradition. On the other hand, eight participants believed the final product was most
important, and the designs, patterns, colors, and motifs used determined whether a folk art was traditional. When the participants reflected on tradition in general, both product and process were important. However, when reflecting on their own folk art traditions, they were less accepting of change in the process than in the product.

Ratings of knowledge and technical proficiency

Masters and apprentices rated knowledge and technical proficiency of the apprentices both before and after the apprenticeship. Data from the t-test analyses are presented in Tables 1 and 2. Seven-point scales were used to measure the level of knowledge and technical proficiency with 1 being "no knowledge or technical proficiency," and 7 representing "much knowledge or technical proficiency".

Both masters and apprentices believed the apprentices' knowledge and technical proficiency increased significantly from before to after the apprenticeship (see Table 1 and 2). Before the apprenticeship, both masters and apprentices rated the apprentices' knowledge and skill at about a 4, which is mid-range on the seven-point scale. After the apprenticeship, ratings of 6 and higher were given to the apprentices' knowledge and skill. Before the apprenticeship, apprentices believed they had a slightly higher level of knowledge and technical proficiency than the masters'
Table 1. Masters' and apprentices' perceptions of apprentices' knowledge and technical proficiency before and after the apprenticeship.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Before</th>
<th>After</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apprentices' rating of knowledge</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>6.45</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>-5.93</td>
<td>★</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters' rating of knowledge</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>6.56</td>
<td>.83</td>
<td>-8.22</td>
<td>★</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprentices' rating of technical proficiency</td>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>6.18</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>-7.35</td>
<td>★</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters' rating of technical proficiency</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>6.44</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>-4.66</td>
<td>★</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .01

Table 2. Comparison of masters' and apprentices' perceptions of apprentices' knowledge and technical proficiency.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Master</th>
<th>Apprentice</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge before</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>- .15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge after</td>
<td>6.44</td>
<td>.83</td>
<td>6.44</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Technical proficiency before</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>-.73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical proficiency after</td>
<td>6.33</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td>6.11</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>-.48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
believed. After the apprenticeship, the masters' ratings of knowledge and technical proficiency were slightly higher than the apprentices' ratings. These ratings were not statistically significant.

A comparison between masters and apprentices ratings of apprentices showed no significant differences (see Table 2). These ratings included only complete dyads, and therefore did not include all participants. Masters and apprentices viewed the apprentices' level of knowledge and technical proficiency in a similar manner both before and after the apprenticeship.

Participants were also asked to evaluate the overall success of the apprenticeship. Using a seven-point scale, participants were asked to rate the success of the apprenticeship, with 1 being not successful, and 7 being very successful. The masters' ratings of the success of the apprenticeship (m = 6.89) were slightly, but not significantly, higher than the ratings of apprentices (m = 6.67) (t = .61, df = 8, p > .05).
Profiles of Apprenticeship Participants

Profiles of folk artists were based on a holistic grouping of responses across the interviews. Two profiles emerged to differentiate participants in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program. Through the profiles, the folk artists were categorized into groups that described their lives as folk artists. The profiles aided the researcher in understanding the folk artists as well as in addressing whether the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program was meeting its goals, and whether the program was effective in keeping traditions alive in Iowa. These final assessments are presented in the conclusions section of the following chapter.

Profile I: Focused artist with ethnic, community, and family support

The researcher found a total of eight participants who were focused artists with an ethnic connection to their craft. Four masters and four apprentices made up Profile I.

Focused artists practiced one traditional folk art, which was a representation of the artists' ethnic heritage. Their support for creating the craft came from others in their families and communities who shared the same heritage.
Focused folk artists were recognized in the family or community for practicing the traditional craft. For some, practicing the folk art allowed the artisans to learn how to be members of their society. In many cases (n = 6), the craft was used for traditional costumes that are worn at ethnic festivals and events.

Participants in profile I were deeply involved with their communities prior to the apprenticeship. Their folk arts provided one means for being accepted and respected in their communities and families. The folk art also provided a way to socialize.

Participants who were grouped in profile I expressed pride and loyalty towards their heritage, community, and family members. The folk artists enjoyed the recognition they received from their peers, and appreciated the traditions associated with the folk arts. All were excited about keeping the traditions alive and passing on the skills and knowledge to others both inside and outside their communities.

Examples of several masters and apprentices illustrated Profile I. A Norwegian embroidery master practiced her folk art not only because she enjoyed the craft of embroidery, but also because she was of Norwegian descent (See slides 1, 2, and 3 in Appendix F). She resided in a Norwegian community and was regarded as an expert among her peers.
Her knowledge and skill of the folk art has given her status in the community. She explained, "I have developed a terrific reputation in the Norwegian community. If anyone comes to the museum or calls and asks anything about the craft, they all say to ask me. I like to teach all over the U.S."

Many of her pieces were used for traditional Norwegian costumes. She studied various traditional Norwegian costumes and taught the embroidered patterns applied to the costumes. Her apprentice, already skilled in needlework, wanted to gain knowledge of traditional patterns, and therefore chose her as a master.

A second master practiced the folk art of rag rug weaving. She learned the craft as a child, and 76 years later she uses the same loom. This master craftsperson was well-known in her community. Museums and private collectors called on her to create traditional rag rugs. She passes on her heritage by using traditional colors and patterns, and teaching the process of hand-weaving.

A third master in Czechoslovakian stitchery (See slide 4 in Appendix F), is highly regarded as an expert of patterns and designs on traditional costumes, as well as traditional techniques. Over 90 percent of the community she resides in is of Czechoslovakian heritage. This master was required to learn her craft as a child, and brought numerous patterns with her when she came to the U.S. Because of her knowledge,
others in her community view her as special and very knowledgeable of traditions from their ethnic background. This master expressed her concern for the traditions, "I have so many patterns and designs that I sold long ago, but now I let people see my patterns and order one. This way I am not giving away my original designs."

Four apprentices were focused artisans with an ethnic, community, and family connection to their folk art. One Hmong Pandau apprentice learned her craft because as a woman in her society, she was required to have the knowledge and skills of the traditional craft (See slide 5 in Appendix F). Her craft was a type of embroidery that can be applied to traditional costumes, using certain motifs and colors. The apprentice learned the craft because it was expected in her society. She explained, "The clothes are used for funerals, weddings, and celebrations. When my parents and in-laws die, or when my sons get married, I have to make the costumes or else I look bad. My mother made things for me, and I want to leave things for my kids, it is expected."

A second apprentice practiced the craft of Norwegian embroidery (See slide 6 in Appendix F). She became involved in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program to learn patterns and designs applied to traditional costumes. She planned to learn the patterns from her master, and
teach what she learned to other craftpersons in her community. The craft served as a method for socialization within her community. Since a large percentage of the population in her community was of Norwegian descent, she had the opportunity to pass on her knowledge and skills, and be recognized by her peers.

In summary, folk artists in Profile I used their crafts as a method for socialization within the community. All participants, including apprentices, in Profile I began the apprenticeship with a certain level of knowledge and skill in their folk art. Their purpose for practicing the craft was to show pride in their heritage, to maintain or establish a place in their family or community, and to pass on their skills and knowledge to others in the community.

Profile II: Diversified artist with interest in a variety of traditional folk arts

A total of ten participants belonged to Profile II. This included three masters and seven apprentices who were diversified artists with an interest in a variety of crafts.

Participants who were grouped into Profile II were drawn to the traditional folk arts, but practiced a variety of crafts. Many had an attachment to old traditions and enjoyed creating folk arts, even if they were not a part
of their ethnic heritage. These artisans most often gained support from family members and from other artists. All (n = 10) belonged to guilds where similar craftspersons joined together to share their crafts.

Rather than an attachment to one specific tradition, participants in Profile II had an overall appreciation for old traditions and arts and crafts in general. These participants enjoyed learning about a variety of cultures, with a high appreciation for cultural diversity in the U.S.

Within Profile II, some participants created a wider range of products than others. Four participants exhibited high levels of creativity in producing their traditional craft. Perhaps due to their creative focus, they concentrated on fewer crafts. Those who practiced a wider variety of crafts (n = 7) seemed to focus less on creativity within the craft. Rather, they learned the techniques of a craft and moved on to another craft. As examples of these two variations, a bobbin lace apprentice practiced a wide variety of crafts. Once she learned how to make bobbin lace, she decided to move on to another craft. On the other hand, a weaving apprentice learned the craft of weaving, and used her creativity to make many different designs and patterns on her loom.

Three participants illustrated Profile II. A nalbinding
master practiced a variety of traditional crafts such as tapestry, weaving, and knitting. She had no ethnic link to nalbinding, but simply thought the craft was beautiful and a challenge to teach. She explained, "I thought it was beautiful, and it seemed very rare; I have always loved older things and I like to do crafts that came before, historically." Although the folk art of nalbinding is Scandinavian, the master is not. She received her support from family members and other artists who have a love for old traditions.

An apprentice who was grouped in Profile II participated in a quilting apprenticeship. She also produced a variety of crafts including knitting and painting. As an apprentice, she learned various traditional quilt patterns from Iowa. Although she had a deep appreciation for traditional quilt patterns, she enjoyed creating contemporary designs. She explained, "I think quilting is a living tradition. I dye fabric and contrast darks and lights, and it is still traditional." Her support came from members of the quilter's guild where she can share her design ideas and learn new patterns from other quilters.

A third participant in Profile II was a weaving apprentice (See slides 7 and 8 in Appendix F). She also had a deep appreciation for old traditions and practiced a variety of crafts such as tapestry and knitting. As
an undergraduate student, she enjoyed experimenting with various weaving techniques and using her creativity to create different crafts. She participated in the apprenticeship program in order to work with rag rug weavers from the Amana Colonies. Once she learned the techniques of rag rug weaving, she began making her own designs, using nontraditional colors and patterns. She explained, "I wanted to work with authentic weavers and learn the techniques of weaving. I really appreciate the folk arts, but I also enjoy going off on my own and making creative patterns that stem from the folk arts."

Two participants did not fit into either profile. A quilting master who collected traditional patterns was very focused on her folk art. However, she did not have any ethnic, community, or family connection to her craft. In addition, she was not involved with a craft-related group from which she would receive support. The master was happy re-creating traditional patterns and documenting patterns for historic preservation. A second master in bobbin lace was also very focused on her folk art. She too did not have any ethnic ties to her craft, and had few fellow lace makers from which to gain support. She simply enjoyed making her lace and teaching others the techniques. These two participants may illustrate the emergence of a third profile of artists who are intensely
focused and prefer to work alone. Social supports from family, community, or fellow artists are not a necessity to fuel these artists' motivations and interests.

In a comparison of Profile I and Profile II, the researcher discovered that both groups believed that both the process and product were important in maintaining a craft tradition. As an example, a quilting master in Profile I believed the process and product was important. Her traditional quilts had to be produced on a traditional quilt frame. In addition, the stitching had to be hand-sewn, using traditional patterns. A second example from Profile II is from a master in nalbinding. She also believed the process and product were important, and created her folk art in the traditional process, using the traditional wool from Scandinavia.

**Dyad profiles**

The researcher's initial objective was to create profiles of the dyads rather than profiles of participants. However, while analyzing the themes within the interviews, the researcher assessed that it would have been difficult to group each dyad. Therefore, in developing the profiles, each participant was analyzed in a holistic manner, independently of his/her partner. Surprisingly, all dyads but one fell into the same profile. In one case the master
was a focused artist with an ethnic, community, and family tie to the craft while the apprentice enjoyed creating a variety of traditional crafts, and gained support from other artists. Therefore, while the profiles were intended to describe individual participants, they also described the master-apprentice dyads.
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The United States includes citizens from a large number of diverse ethnic backgrounds. Many individuals have demonstrated their cultural pride and uniformity through creating folk arts traditional to their heritage. State-run folk art apprenticeship programs are one method that individuals are using to pass on their ethnic traditions. Apprenticeships allow a skilled master to teach an apprentice the skills and knowledge necessary to create a traditional folk art. Previous research on the concept of tradition, craft apprenticeships, and folk arts provided background information for this research.

Folk art apprenticeships in the fiber arts were the focus of this research. The Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship program, which started in 1984, has allowed individuals to share and pass on their folk art traditions through a master and apprentice learning environment. A master-apprentice learning environment is informal, face-to-face instruction, with defined goals. An applicant finds an experienced master and applies to the Iowa Arts Council for a grant. The grants covered supplies, transportation, pay for the master, and child care, among others.
Apprenticeships have lasted from one day to one year, most often being one year.

The first objective of this research was to describe the participants' experiences in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program, and develop dyad profiles. The researcher addressed questions related to 1) how the participants initially became involved with their crafts, 2) personal goals for the apprenticeship, 3) type of learning environment, 4) relationship between master and apprentice, 5) activities throughout the apprenticeship, 6) outcome of the apprenticeship, 7) effectiveness of an apprenticeship on learning and maintaining a folk art tradition, and 8) perceptions of tradition in terms of process and product. The second objective was to assess whether the program was meeting its goals by comparing findings to the program's defined goals. The final objective was to determine the program's effectiveness in keeping Iowa traditions alive.

Twenty fiber arts participants from the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program were chosen for this study. A purposive sample allowed the researcher to select participants who varied in crafts practiced, age, and educational background. The apprenticeship must have occurred between 1985-1991 so the informant would be able to recall the experience; yet, enough time had elapsed for the participants to evaluate the success of the program. In
depth interviews took place in either the homes or studios of the participants. Two interview schedules with similar questions, one for masters and one for apprentices, were used in the data collection. Photographs of folk artists' work were taken.

Once all twenty interviews were transcribed, the researcher examined responses using content analysis. The first stage in analysis was to identify major themes throughout the responses. The second stage was a holistic analysis, where groupings of themes were examined among participants. All but two participants were categorized in one of two profiles.

A variety of themes emerged from the data. The themes described the participants' involvement in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program and their lives as folk artists. Participants had various reasons for becoming involved initially in their folk arts. All participants agreed that their craft was beautiful. Some craftspersons were required to learn their craft at one point in their life, while others had a personal desire to learn. Those who created their folk arts because of a particular ethnic background were very proud of their heritage and wanted to keep their craft traditions alive.

Goals for the apprenticeship varied among participants. Most wanted to pass on or learn a valuable folk art tradition.
Others believed the program was a chance to maintain a folk art tradition. Many apprentices wanted to learn or perfect a craft skill. A popular response was that apprentices wanted a new challenge. Participants also valued the face-to-face instruction, rather than a large classroom environment. Others had a particular master with whom they wanted to work.

The learning environment was informal, often in the masters' home, with ongoing interaction between the master and apprentice. Most apprenticeships had defined goals to accomplish each week. Often the apprentice would work on a project between meetings. Critiques were applied in eighteen apprenticeships. Fifteen apprenticeships involved an ongoing critique during the apprenticeship. Three apprenticeships critiqued only after a project was completed.

Many friendships were made during the apprenticeships. Masters and apprentices often became friends as they worked together. Those who were friends with their partner prior to the apprenticeship remained friends after the apprenticeship. However, only four newly established friendships continued in depth after the apprenticeship.

All but two participants achieved their goals for the apprenticeship. Some of the participants exceeded their goals by gaining friendships, learning the history of the folk art, and receiving commissions for their work.
as a result of the apprenticeship. All participants believed that the apprenticeship learning environment was a positive experience and all but one master would participate in the program again. In addition, the quantitative data supported these findings with significant increases in masters' and apprentices' perceptions of the apprentices' knowledge and technical proficiency as the apprenticeship evolved.

When participants were asked whether folk art traditions in general were the product or process, many believed it was both. Others said the process was important and that the craft had to be hand made in order to be traditional. Some believed that the product was important, and that traditional designs and patterns had to appear in order to be traditional. The questions related to process and product ranged from general to specific. When participants were asked to relate the question to their specific folk art, they often responded differently than they responded to folk arts in general. Most participants allowed for little change in the process for a tradition to be maintained. More often, especially from the apprentices point of view, change in the product was allowed.

Two profiles emerged when the data were analyzed holistically within the interviews. The researcher found all but one dyad fitting in the same profile. Therefore,
while the profiles were intended to describe individuals, they also described dyads.

Profile I included **focused artists with ethnic, community, and family support**. This type of folk artist \((n = 8)\) made only one type of folk art that represented his/her ethnic background. Often, the focused artist made the folk art in order to be recognized by the family or community. The folk art functioned as a tool for socialization into the community. After the apprenticeship, many shared their knowledge and skills with others in their community. For the majority of apprentices, they participated in the apprenticeship program in order to refine existing skills.

As an example, a Hmong Pandau apprentice participated in the apprenticeship program to learn the traditional cut work and embroidery. By having the knowledge and skills of this craft, the apprentice will be accepted by her culture. She plans to use her skills to create costumes for family members to wear on special occasions. Without knowledge of the folk art, she would not gain respect from others in her society.

Profile II included **diversified artists with an interest in a variety of traditional folk arts**. Folk artists in this group \((n = 10)\) practiced a variety of crafts, yet had a love for old, traditional crafts. These folk
artists had no ethnic, community, or family connection to the folk art, but had an appreciation for cultural diversity. Their support systems included family members and other artisans. All of the diversified artists belonged to guilds where they could share their knowledge and skills. Within Profile II, the researcher found that some folk artists practiced a greater variety of crafts than others. Some were extremely creative in a few crafts, while others were less creative, yet practiced a wide variety of different crafts.

As an example of a participant grouped in Profile II, a master in nalbinding had knowledge of a large number of crafts. Although the craft of nalbinding was Scandinavian, this was not her ethnic background. Rather, she was interested in all things old and traditional. Her involvement with a guild and support from her family allowed her to share her crafts.

Conclusions

One objective of this study was to assess whether the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program was meeting its goals by comparing findings to the program's defined goals. The program's goals were to "identify, document, honor, and perpetuate the diverse, ethnic, community-based,
occupational and familial folk traditions of Iowa" (Iowa Arts Council, 1992-93, p.35).

After examining the participants' responses and viewing the various folk arts taught through the apprenticeship program, the researcher believed that the program was meeting its goals. In addition, many participants exceeded their goals. A variety of evidence supports this assessment.

The program allows a skilled master to teach folk art skills and knowledge to a student. Through this process, future generations will be able to continue to learn about traditional folk arts. Apprentices (n = 11) explained their desire to pass on the knowledge and skills they gained by becoming a master themselves someday. By becoming a master, apprentices would further enhance the future of Iowa folk arts. Masters (n = 8) also agreed that they would like to pass on their heritage by participating in the program a second time.

In addition to passing on skills and knowledge, many participants (n = 16) exhibited and demonstrated their crafts to the public. This created an awareness of Iowa folk art traditions as well as an awareness of the craftpersons. Some participants received commissions for their work as a result of the program, which also created an awareness of the traditions.
In review of the two profiles from this research, the program also proves to be a way for participants in Profile I to be socialized into their communities. Masters often taught others the skills and knowledge, and gained respect and admiration from community members. Profile II allowed participants to share and exhibit their appreciation for cultural diversity. Participants learned about a variety of crafts and cultural traditions. Additional benefits were increased knowledge and an opportunity to interact with people with similar interests.

A bobbin lace apprentice said she learned more about the history of lace than she expected to. Seven participants said they made friendships during the apprenticeship. A weaving apprentice explained, "They had my family and I over for dinner and really treated me like I belonged, even though I was a different nationality. It surprised me how warm they were." A second weaving apprentice expressed, "My master was a great friend, and really adopted me as her granddaughter. I could go to her with any questions." A master in Norwegian embroidery expressed, "I felt really close to my apprentice. She even invited me to stay with her over the weekend while the festival was going on." These interactions also contributed to opportunities for participation in guilds and networks of artisans in Iowa.
In summary, the program was meeting its goals of identifying, documenting, honoring, and perpetuating folk arts through not only the apprenticeship teaching/learning process, but also through exhibits, demonstrations, and commissioned work. The program was also meeting its goals to include the diverse ethnic, community-based, occupational, and familial folk traditions of Iowa. A wide array of folk arts from various ethnic backgrounds was included. In addition to meeting its goals, the program allowed participants to make friendships, whether temporary or life-long. Folk artists had the opportunity to share their most treasured skills and knowledge with someone who had similar craft interests.

The findings illustrated that two different groups of artisans were attracted to the program. One group was part of an ethnic community and practicing their craft was a method of socialization into their community. Community members recognized them as experts in the craft, and often went to them to learn the skills and knowledge. The second group included folk artists who did not practice one craft representative of their ethnic background. Rather, they practiced a variety of folk arts. This functioned to contribute to their appreciation for cultural diversity.

The third objective of this study was to assess the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program's effectiveness in
keeping traditions alive in Iowa by comparing findings to scholarly literature on tradition. The literature suggested that traditions come in a variety of forms and that they can change through time. In addition, traditions are a means of transmitting culture and helping future generation maintain their roots (Shils, 1981). Traditions can continue through time in their original form or in newly interpreted forms. Shils also believed that traditions come in the form of process and product.

The program participants agreed with the literature in that traditions come in a variety of forms. Change in traditions was evident in folk arts that some participants created. As an example, a master rag rug weaver did not use the browns, reds, and yellows found in traditional Amana rag rugs. Rather, he made use of bright colors, or any colors that were available. A quilting apprentice did not use traditional patterns; instead she used her own creativity to make wall and bed quilts. On the other hand, some participants kept their folk art traditions exactly as they had appeared through the generations. A master in Norwegian embroidery would only use the traditional white linen thread on white linen fabric with the traditional motifs when she made her crafts. A Czechoslovakian stitchery master would only embroidery the traditional patterns and colors that she learned as
a child. Finally, the findings from this research agreed with the literature as eleven participants believed a tradition is in the form of both product and process.

In a second study, Baizerman (1987) identified important elements which help maintain a tradition. The first factor was maintaining gender and age patterns in recruitment. Many participants in this study believed that anyone could learn the craft and sustain the tradition. These opinions may negate the traditional gender and age roles of some cultures from the past. The second consideration was that the learning take place in a traditional environment. In this study, learning took place in the masters home, which would be considered a traditional environment for a folk art. Baizerman also believed traditional equipment must be used. In all but one apprenticeship, traditional equipment such as a loom, quilt frame, and natural fibers were used. The final consideration was a traditional division of labor. In all crafts from the apprenticeships, only one craftperson created the folk art. This pattern would be similar to past divisions of labor.

Graburn (1976) contributed additional factors that perpetuated the existence of a craft tradition. These included: 1) continued demand for the item, 2) availability of traditional raw materials, 3) time to work and lack of competition, 4) knowledge of skills and aesthetics,
5) rewards and prestige from peer groups, and 6) role of the item in supporting the belief or gift-giving system.

Findings from this research supported the presence of many of Graburn's factors. For those craftspersons who marketed their folk art, there was a demand for the item. In addition, demand was present for participants in Norwegian embroidery and Czechoslovakian stitchery who produced their folk art to sew on traditional costumes. By producing their own patterns for the costumes, they saved money. Traditional raw materials existed in all apprenticeships. A Norwegian embroidery master expressed the importance of using traditional materials, "I was so disappointed when the white linen thread was unavailable in the 1970s. I used synthetic thread which did not give the same appearance that the traditional linen gives."

All participants who were in Profile I had a significant amount of time to spend on their folk art. Many participants in Profile II had many other responsibilities and practiced their crafts in their spare time. An understanding of the aesthetics of a particular folk art tradition was evident for all masters. Apprentices learned these aspects through the apprenticeship. However, some apprentices from Profile I, who were familiar with a folk art from their ethnic background, already understood some level of aesthetics through their heritage. Rewards and prestige were evident
in many participants' lives. As Profile I illustrated, many folk artists learned and taught their crafts in order to be recognized by their communities. The role of the folk art in the belief system of a particular background varied in importance. For example, knowledge of the belief system for the Hmong Pandau apprentice was significant in her understanding the role of the craft. In contrast, an apprentice in nalbinding had little knowledge of the Scandinavian belief system, and had little use for such knowledge.

In summary the findings overall supported the literature on tradition from Shils, Baizerman, and Graburn. Most participants agreed with Shils's point of view that traditions come in the form of both process and product. All but one of Baizerman's four elements that help maintain a tradition were evident in this research. Finally, all of Graburn's factors that contribute to a craft tradition's existence paralleled participant's experiences in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program.
RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations are offered both for further research and for promotion of the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program. Further research on apprenticeship programs is recommended on a larger scale by examining participants in other state-run apprenticeship programs throughout the United States. By evaluating programs in other states and comparing the different agendas, a more comprehensive assessment would result.

A second recommendation would be to expand research on participants beyond fiber artists. A larger and more comprehensive sample could be studied through the use of more closed-ended questions to conserve time. In addition, a more diverse sample would give a broader perspective on teaching/learning environments, and how traditions are kept alive in other media.

A third recommendation directed towards panel members for the Iowa Arts Council is to consider craftpersons with little or no knowledge of a folk art as potential participants to become involved in learning new skills and knowledge. The program should not be limited only to persons with a certain level of knowledge and skill in a particular folk art; rather, prospective participants who wish to become an apprentice with no knowledge and skill in a
particular craft should be considered. Participants in Profile II may well represent this type of craftsperson, one who enjoys learning about a variety of crafts rather than focusing on one craft.

A final recommendation would be to define a master in each folk art. An understanding of what a master represents would aid panelists in selecting participants and help apprentices find a master in their folk art.

Findings from the two profiles in this research can be useful to both coordinators of the program and prospective participants. An understanding of participants goals and achievements, as well as the learning environment will aid coordinators in allocating funding to a variety of types of participants.

Through promotional materials that feature the profiles, folk artists who are interested in the apprenticeship program will receive a clearer picture of an apprenticeship teaching/learning environment and an understanding of the various types of participants. In addition, interested artists can view what others gained from the program and assess the possibilities for personal growth.


ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my major professor, Dr. Mary Littrell, for her support and guidance throughout this research, as well as during my undergraduate and graduate years. Dr. Littrell's knowledge of craft development opened my eyes to the world of crafts, and inspired me to examine some of the culturally diverse folk arts throughout Iowa. In addition, I would like to thank Dr. Sara Kadolph for her guidance throughout my graduate career. I also want to acknowledge Dr. Alyce Fanslow and JaneAnn Stout for their contributions to this research.

Thanks also to my husband, Alex, and parents, Carl and Corinne, for their support and patience during my graduate coursework and thesis.
APPENDIX A: DEFINITIONS OF FOLK ARTS
1. Quilting: Process of layering three fabrics which include the face fabric, batting, and the backing fabric. The three layers are stitch bonded with thread (Kadolph, Langford, Hollen, & Saddler, 1993). Quilts may be used as blankets, wall hangings, or for other decorative purposes.

2. Weaving: Process of interlacing yarns to create a fabric. Uses may be wall hangings, rugs, table runners, and place mats.

3. Bobbin lace: Bobbin lace is made using a pillow and numerous pins. Pins are arranged on the pillow according to a particular pattern. Yarns, which are on bobbins, are wrapped around the pins to create the design. Bobbin lace is for decorative purposes on tables and walls.

4. Norwegian embroidery: Embroidery is made by stitching threads onto fabric to create a design. The designs are often applied to traditional costumes. The Norwegians create two types of embroidery:

   a. Cross stitch - threads are crossed to make small Xs throughout a fabric.

   b. Hardangersom - fabric is cut and embroidered to create a design. Norwegians use only white linen thread on white linen fabric.

5. Czechoslovakian stitchery: A form of embroidery, creating designs by stitching thread onto a fabric. The designs are often applied to traditional costumes. The Czechoslovakians create two types of embroidery:
a. Cross stitch (see above)

b. Cut work - fabric is cut and embroidered to create a design. Bright colors are used.

6. Nalbinding: The process of creating loops with a strand of fiber using either a needle or fingers. The loops create the base structure of the fabric. Often felting is done to give a texture to the fabric. Wool is the fiber used. Items such as hats, mittens, sweaters, and blankets are made by the nalbinding technique.

7. Hmong pandau: Designs on fabric are created through cutting and stitching, embroidery, and quilting. The designs and colors represent different groups of the Hmong. The colors are often bright, using green, yellow, blue, and hot pink. The fabrics may be hung on the wall or used for traditional costumes.
I would like to begin this interview by telling you the types of questions I will be asking you. We will be discussing your background in the craft of ______, goals for the apprenticeship, activities throughout the apprenticeship, your relationship with the apprentice, achievements from the apprenticeship, and your ideas about the concept of tradition.

A. Background Information:

The first set of questions are to help me understand your involvement with the folk art of ______, as well as how you became a master in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program.

A1. Let's start by talking about how you got involved with your craft. (family; friend; community; formal education; self taught; other)

A2. Why did you get involved with your craft? (personal choice or insistence from a family member)

A3. Where did you gain the knowledge and learn the skills necessary to practice your craft? (formal education; studio; home; self taught)

A4. How/why is the craft of ______ considered traditional in your family or community?

A5. What is the community's response to the craft in terms of their awareness of the traditional craft, use of the craft, value of the craft? (may also refer to family and/or social group)
A6. From your perspective, which persons are appropriate for learning the traditional craft of ______? (age; gender; status; ethnic background; personal or family tie)

A7. What do you consider is the purpose of your craft in terms of how it will be used? (utilitarian vs. decorative)

A8. Is your craft marketed for profit or used for personal reasons?

A9. If the craft is marketed, what is your method of distribution? If marketed, how do you define your target market?

A10. Who are your support systems? (may refer to those who buy your crafts or help market your crafts, other artisans who practice the craft, or other forms of support) How do they show support for your work?

A11. Looking at your background in the folk art of ______ how would you define a master ______? What qualities do you have that make you a master?

A12. Have you been a master prior to this apprenticeship? When, how long?

A13. How are you passing on your heritage in addition to participation in the apprenticeship program?
B. Apprenticeship Goals:

The second set of questions are to help me understand your goals for the apprenticeship program.

B1. How did you find out about the apprenticeship program?

B2. What were your reasons for getting involved with the Folk Art Apprenticeship Program?

B3. How did you and _____ get in contact and make arrangements for, participating in the program?

B4. What criteria did you use to determine the budget for the proposal?
   (equipment, paying the master, supplies)
C. *Apprenticeship Activities:*

The third set of questions are to gain insight into the teaching/learning environment of the apprenticeship.

C1. We'll begin with where did the teaching/learning take place?  
(home; studio; other)

C2. Explain the method of teaching/learning/practice you used as a master. This may include plans followed for each meeting, homework between sessions, and typical activities throughout a meeting.

C3. Apprenticeships may touch on a variety of aspects in learning a folk art. What was your involvement in each of the following?:
* Choice of equipment/tools
* Choice of supplies/materials
* Choice of motif
* Choice of color
* Choice of size
* Choice of technique
* Choice of product

C4. How did you teach the creative process? (combining design and techniques) How much innovation did you allow for the creative process and production techniques?

C5. During the apprenticeship, how did you critique the apprentice? Did you critique during production or after the craft was completed? How detailed were the critiques?

C6. What do you feel is most important to be accomplished in an apprenticeship learning/teaching environment?
The next two questions deal with the amount of knowledge and the technical proficiency the apprentice had both prior to and after the apprenticeship. A rating scale is used for both questions. I'll ask about knowledge first and then about technical proficiency.

C7. How much knowledge did the apprentice have before and after the apprenticeship? On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being no knowledge, and 7 being much knowledge, rate the apprentice both before and after the apprenticeship. (knowledge refers to knowledge of the craft, not skill) What criteria are you using in making these ratings?

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C8. How much technical proficiency did the apprentice have before and after the apprenticeship? On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being no technical proficiency, and 7 being much technical proficiency, rate the apprentice. What criteria are you using in making these ratings?

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D. **Apprentice/master relationship:**

The next set of questions are to describe the relationship between you and the apprentice before, during and after the apprenticeship.

D1. Explain the relationship, if any, you had with the apprentice prior to participation in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program.

D2. Explain the personal relationship you had with your apprentice during the apprenticeship.

D3. Did your relationship with the apprentice continue after the apprenticeship formally ended? How?
E. Apprenticeship Achievements:

The next set of questions are to understand what you have gained from your participation as a master in the program.

E1. Were your goals for the apprenticeship met? (refer back to apprenticeship goals) Were there other things you gained/learned/achieved from the apprenticeship program?

E2. How were your own products and the way you do your work influenced as a result of the apprenticeship? (compare products before, during, and after)

E3. Did you exhibit your work with the apprentice? If so, where?

E4. Have you had any opportunities, such as commissioned work, directly as a result of the apprenticeship? If so, what, where?

E5. I'd like you to evaluate the overall success of the apprenticeship. On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being not successful, and 7 being very successful, rate how successful the apprenticeship was. Why did you give this rating? (the most significant part of the apprenticeship that effected the success)

not successful 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very successful

E6. What would you have liked to happen differently during the apprenticeship?
E7. What are the advantages and disadvantages of an apprenticeship vs. other methods of learning/teaching a craft such as formal education, self teaching, other?

E8. Would you become a master in the future?
F. Tradition:

The final set of questions are to understand your concept of a folk art tradition.

F1. For you, what makes up the folk art tradition of _____?

F2. In order to maintain the folk art tradition of _____, what is most important for you to teach in an apprenticeship?

F3. Some people feel that a craft tradition is the product, while others feel the tradition is the process of creating the craft. What is your opinion?

F4. If the craft of _____ continued to be made in the long-established manner but the final products were quite different in appearance than in the past, would you consider the tradition still alive? (Probe: ways the product could change but retain the tradition)

F5. If the products of the craft tradition of _____ appeared the same as they had in the past, yet were created by a new or different method, would the craft tradition still be alive? (Probe: ways the process could change but retain the tradition)
Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program
Apprentice Interview

Apprentice ________________

Folk Art ________________

I would like to begin this interview by telling you the types of questions I will be asking you. We will be discussing your background in the craft of _____, goals for the apprenticeship, activities throughout the apprenticeship, your relationship with the master, achievements from the apprenticeship, and your ideas about the concept of tradition.

A. Background Information:

The first set of questions are to help me understand your involvement with the folk art of _____, as well as how you became an apprentice in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program.

A1. Let's start by talking about how you got involved with your craft.
   (family; friend; community; formal education; self-taught; other)

A2. Why did you get involved with your craft? (personal choice or insistence from a family member)

A3. Where did you gain the knowledge and learn the skills necessary to practice your craft?
   (formal education; studio; home; self-taught)

A4. How/why is the craft of _____ considered traditional in your family or community?

A5. How does your community, social group, or family respond to the traditional craft? (respect, admire)
A6. From your perspective, which persons are appropriate for learning the traditional craft of ________? age; gender; status; ethnic background; personal or family tie

A7. What do you consider is the purpose of your craft in terms of how it will be used? (utilitarian vs. decorative)

A8. Is your craft marketed for profit or used for personal reasons?

A9. If the craft is marketed, what is your method of distribution? If marketed, how do you define your target market?

A10. Who are your support systems? (may refer to those who buy your crafts or help market your crafts, other artisans who practice the crafts, or other forms of support) How do they show support for your work?

A11. Looking at your background in the folk art of ______ how would you define a master ______? What criteria did you use when selecting a master?

A12. Have you been an apprentice prior to this apprenticeship? When, how long?

A13. How are you passing-on your heritage in addition to participation in the apprenticeship program?
B. Apprenticeship Goals:

The second set of questions are to help me understand your goals for the apprenticeship program.

B1. How did you find out about the apprenticeship program?

B2. Since acceptance into the apprenticeship program requires some knowledge and technical proficiency of the folk art, what inspired you to become an apprentice in the Folk Art Apprenticeship Program? (gain additional practice, learn a new technique) What were your goals for the apprenticeship?

B3. How did you and _____ get in contact and make arrangements for participating in the program?

B4. What criteria did you use to determine the budget for the proposal? (equipment, paying the master, supplies).
C. **Apprenticeship Activities:**

The next set of questions are to gain insight into the teaching/learning environment of the apprenticeship.

C1. We'll begin with where did the teaching/learning take place? (home; studio; other)

C2. Explain the method of teaching/learning/practice the master used. This may include plans followed for each meeting, homework between sessions, and typical activities throughout a meeting.

C3. Apprenticeships may touch on a variety of aspects in learning a folk art. What was your involvement in each of the following?:
   * Choice of equipment/tools
   * Choice of supplies/materials
   * Choice of motif
   * Choice of color
   * Choice of size
   * Choice of technique
   * Choice of product

C4. How did you learn the creative process? (combining design and techniques) How much innovation was allowed for the creative process and production techniques?

C5. During the apprenticeship, how were you critiqued by the master?
   Were you critiqued during production or after the craft was completed? How detailed were the critiques?

C6. What do you feel is most important to be accomplished in an apprenticeship learning/teaching environment?
The next two questions deal with the amount of knowledge and the technical proficiency you had both prior to and after the apprenticeship. A rating scale is used for both questions. I'll ask about knowledge first and then about technical proficiency.

C7. How much knowledge did you have before and after the apprenticeship? On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being no knowledge, and 7 being much knowledge, rate yourself before and after the apprenticeship. (Knowledge refers to knowledge of the craft, but not skill) What criteria are you using in making these ratings?

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C8. How much technical proficiency did you have before and after the apprenticeship? On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being no technical proficiency, and 7 being much technical proficiency, rate yourself. What criteria are you using in making these ratings?

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D. Apprentice/master relationship:

The next set of questions are to understand the relationship between you and the master before, during and after the apprenticeship.

D1. Explain the relationship, if any, you had with the master prior to participation in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program.

D2. Explain the personal relationship you had with the master during the apprenticeship.

D3. Did your relationship with the master continue after the apprenticeship formally ended? How?
E. **Apprenticeship Achievements:**

The next set of questions are to understand what you have gained from your participation as an apprentice in the program.

E1. Were your goals for the apprenticeship met? (refer back to apprenticeship goals) Were there other things you gained/learned/achieved from the apprenticeship program?

E2. How were your own products and the way you do your work influenced as a result of the apprenticeship? (compare products before, during and after)

E3. Did you exhibit your work with the master? If so, where?

E4. Have you had any opportunities, such as commissioned work, directly as a result of the apprenticeship? If so, what, where?

E5. I'd like you to evaluate the overall success of the apprenticeship.
On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being not successful and 7 being very successful, rate how successful the apprenticeship was. Why did you give this rating? (the most significant part of the apprenticeship that effected the success)

| not successful | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | very successful |

E7. What would you have liked to happen differently during the apprenticeship?
E8. What are the advantages and disadvantages of an apprenticeship vs. other methods of learning/teaching a craft such as formal education, self teaching, other?

E8. Would you become a master in the future?
F. Tradition:

The final set of questions are to understand your concept of a folk art tradition.

F1. For you, what makes up the folk art tradition of _____?

F2. In order to maintain the folk art tradition of _____, what is most important for you to learn in an apprenticeship learning environment?

F3. Some people feel that a craft tradition is the product, while others feel the tradition is the process of creating the craft tradition. What is your opinion?

F4. If the craft of _____ continued to be made in the long-established manner but the final products were quite different in appearance than in the past, would you consider the tradition still alive? (Probe: ways the product could change but retain the tradition)

F5. If the products of the craft tradition of _____ appeared the same as they had in the past, yet were created by a new or different method would the craft tradition still be alive? (Probe: ways the process could change but retain the tradition)
APPENDIX C: TELEPHONE PROTOCOL
Hello, This is Criss Krabbe, a graduate student at Iowa State University in the Textiles and Clothing Department. Recently I sent you a letter explaining our study to learn about the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program. The purpose of our study is to understand the effectiveness of the program in teaching a craft and keeping traditions alive in Iowa. Did you receive the letter? Do you have any questions?

I will be interviewing fiber artists who have participated in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program to understand their experience and their relationship with the master/apprentice. I would like to invite you to participate in the study. Your participation would be voluntary; however, I hope you will choose to participate in order to help us learn more about the apprenticeship program. During the interview you will be free to not respond to any questions with which you are uncomfortable. I understand you practice the tradition of _____, and that you participated in the program with _____ in 19__.

Would you be willing to participate in this study? I would like to set up a time when we can meet together. Would you be available to meet in your home on ____? The interview will last about 1½ hours. When we meet, I would
like to see some of your work and possibly photograph it. I will tape the interview in order to more accurately record the information, but these tapes will be erased after analysis and your opinions kept confidential. Do you have any questions about what we will be doing? Thank you for talking with me. I look forward to seeing you on the ___ at ___ o'clock. Goodbye.
APPENDIX D: INVITATION LETTER AND HUMAN SUBJECTS APPROVAL
The Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program is now in its eighth year. We hope your participation in the program has been valuable to you in maintaining Iowa folk art traditions. We are writing to you about a study we are conducting to learn more about the effectiveness of an apprenticeship in teaching a craft and passing on traditions. The specific purposes of the study are to describe participant's experiences with the program, understand the relationship between masters and apprentices, and gain insight into the educational environment of an apprenticeship.

For the study, I will be interviewing fiber artists who have participated in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program. Your name was given to me by the Iowa Arts Council. I would like to invite you to be a participant in the study. As a graduate student in the Textiles and Clothing Department at Iowa State University, your responses will help me develop my master's thesis. During the interview I would ask you a series of questions related to your experience in the apprenticeship program as well as questions concerning your work as a fiber artist.

The interview would last about 1½ hours. Your opinions will be kept confidential. I would prefer to conduct the interview in your home; however, we could meet where you prefer. I will telephone you to discuss any questions you might have and to set up a time when we could meet. We look forward to learning about your experiences in the folk art apprenticeship program. Thank you very much for your time.

Sincerely,

Criss Krabbe
135 Dotson Dr. #B26
Ames, IA 50010
(515) 296-2252

Dr. Mary Littrell
152 LeBaron Hall
Ames, IA 50011
(515) 294-5284
The research involves describing the experiences of fiber artists who have participated in the Iowa Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program. Additional purposes are to understand the relationship between masters and apprentices, gain insight into an apprenticeship learning environment, and to understand how involvement in the program helps keep traditions alive in Iowa. Data will be gathered by interviewing 20 people who have participated in the program between 1985–1991. Both males and females are included in the study, as well as ages 18 and above. The location of all informants is in Iowa. All subjects will receive a letter explaining the project and a phone call to set up the interview three days after receiving the letter. A structured interview will be followed for each. Each interview will take approximately 1½ hours in the informant's home. Participation in this study is voluntary, with no compensation for participation.

(Please do not send research, thesis, or dissertation proposals.)
9. Confidentiality of Data: Describe below the methods to be used to ensure the confidentiality of data obtained. (See instructions, item 9.)

Interviews will be taped; however, all recordings will be erased when the research is complete. In the telephone protocol, informants are told their responses will be recorded and erased, and that their responses will be kept confidential.

10. What risks or discomfort will be part of the study? Will subjects in the research be placed at risk or incur discomfort? Describe any risks to the subjects and precautions that will be taken to minimize them. (The concept of risk goes beyond physical risk and includes risks to subjects' dignity and self-respect as well as psychological or emotional risk. See instructions, item 10.)

None

11. CHECK ALL of the following that apply to your research:

- □ A. Medical clearance necessary before subjects can participate
- □ B. Samples (Blood, tissue, etc.) from subjects
- □ C. Administration of substances (foods, drugs, etc.) to subjects
- □ D. Physical exercise or conditioning for subjects
- □ E. Deception of subjects
- □ F. Subjects under 14 years of age and/or □ Subjects 14 - 17 years of age
- □ G. Subjects in institutions (nursing homes, prisons, etc.)
- □ H. Research must be approved by another institution or agency (Attach letters of approval)

If you checked any of the items in 11, please complete the following in the space below (include any attachments):

Items A - D Describe the procedures and note the safety precautions being taken.

Item E Describe how subjects will be deceived; justify the deception; indicate the debriefing procedure, including the timing and information to be presented to subjects.

Item F For subjects under the age of 14, indicate how informed consent from parents or legally authorized representatives as well as from subjects will be obtained.

Items G & H Specify the agency or institution that must approve the project. If subjects in any outside agency or institution are involved, approval must be obtained prior to beginning the research, and the letter of approval should be filed.
Checklist for Attachments and Time Schedule

The following are attached (please check):

12.☐ Letter or written statement to subjects indicating clearly:
   a) purpose of the research
   b) the use of any identifier codes (names, #’s), how they will be used, and when they will be
      removed (see Item 17)
   c) an estimate of time needed for participation in the research and the place
   d) if applicable, location of the research activity
   e) how you will ensure confidentiality
   f) in a longitudinal study, note when and how you will contact subjects later
   g) participation is voluntary; nonparticipation will not affect evaluations of the subject

13.☐ Consent form (if applicable)

14.☐ Letter of approval for research from cooperating organizations or institutions (if applicable)

15.☐ Data-gathering instruments

16. Anticipated dates for contact with subjects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Contact</th>
<th>Last Contact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2/17/92</td>
<td>9/1/92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. If applicable: anticipated date that identifiers will be removed from completed survey instruments and/or audio or visual
   tapes will be erased:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month / Day / Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9/1/92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. Signature of Departmental Executive Officer Date Department or Administrative Unit

19. Decision of the University Human Subjects Review Committee:

   ☐ Project Approved   ☐ Project Not Approved   ☐ No Action Required

   ___________________________  ___________________________  ___________________________
   Patricia M. Keith           Name of Committee Chairperson  Date  Signature of Committee Chairperson

GC: 1/90
APPENDIX E: DEFINITIONS FOR CONTENT ANALYSIS
Definitions for content analysis

1. Time I: Time constraints

2. Time II: Length of time one practiced folk art.

3. Variety: Craftperson practiced many diverse crafts.

4. Formal Education: Type of learning environment where a classroom with an instructor and defined goals are present. More than five students are present.

5. Informal Education: Type of learning environment which may take place in a classroom; no more than five students are present. More often, the learning takes place in the home or studio.

6. Tradition: May refer to product or process.

7. Enjoyment: Pleasure creating the craft for both the process and product.

8. Experiment: Experiment with various techniques.

9. Interest: Desire to learn the craft.

10. Requirement: Required to learn the craft either in school or by a family member.

11. Childhood: Anything referring to the folk artists' youth.

12. Ethnic Background: Anything referring to the folk artists' heritage.

13. Group Membership: Refers to the folk artists' participation in a group such as a guild.

14. Challenge: Level of difficulty of the techniques for a specific folk art.

15. Aesthetics: Beauty of folk art in terms of product and process.

16. Achievable: Able to learn or teach the knowledge and techniques of a folk art.

18. Self taught: Learned the craft techniques and knowledge through publications and experimentation.


20. Change: Desire for learning or teaching a different folk art.

21. Rarity: Folk art is seldom heard of.

22. Functional: A utilitarian craft.

23. Expert Master: Others refer to as knowledgeable of folk art; an expert in both product and process.

24. Innovative: Able to be creative and try new techniques and patterns.

25. Spirituality: Sharing personal values and knowledge.

26. Independence: Ability to teach the folk art; understanding the techniques at a level where directions are not necessary.

27. Networking: Sharing with others.
APPENDIX F: SLIDES OF THE FOLK ARTISTS' WORK