Artistic Production and (re)production: Dis-engaged young people's educational experiences of Arts Award programmes

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Abstract

A growing number of alternative qualifications have been designed to enable 'disadvantaged' young people to 'catch-up' to the mainstream. The Arts Award is one such award. Positioned as a vocationally relevant qualification within the education landscape, Arts Award's inclusion strategy aims to afford entry to further and higher education as well as to employment. Situated within neoliberal education and cultural policy, the award is tasked with building cultural capital through universal provision. Arts Award is offered not only to elite schools and the 'omnivorous' middle classes, but also to young people who are deemed to have limited access to the 'arts'.

This thesis explores what Arts Award offers to young people who are regarded as 'dis-engaged' from mainstream education. Ethnographic case studies, conducted in five sites, captured the experiences of the young people accessing the programme in conjunction with low-level qualifications or no qualifications at all. Three 'vocational' strands are explored, strands which are most associated with educating those with low economic and cultural capitals. Four key elements of Arts Award's strategy: policy, practice, pedagogy and pathways are analysed.

The works of Pierre Bourdieu and Paul Willis are brought together and used analytically in order to develop the concept of Artistic Production and (re)production, which is applied throughout the study. This framework is used to describe opportunities for young people to be agentic and become entrepreneurial arts producers, within the constraints of the particular practices, capitals and dispositions on offer. The concept of Artistic Production and (re)production is a way of exploring a tension within Arts Award between the assimilation of common culture and the social hierarchisation of the field.

Analysis of the data demonstrated that there were both productive and reproductive logics of practice at work within the fieldwork sites. This resulted in an unequal offer for dis-engaged young people taking up the award. Arts Award's narratives, which support the doxa of meritocracy, have led to misrecognitions about how and why the award is practiced differently in different sites. These misrecognitions include assumptions about 'access' equating to 'inclusion' and the award holding equivalent capital to mainstream qualifications. This research found that the accrual of capitals and dispositions was not universal, with a limited number of young people being able to use these to their advantage. It is argued that Arts Award acts as a gatekeeper to young people's future arts pathways and when it is enacted through the pedagogy of poverty its potential as a programme that could engage with cultural citizenship is not realised.

This research makes a contribution to knowledge about youth arts programming and pedagogies. It questions the assumed benefit of arts programmes for 'at-risk' young people and the positioning of arts education within vocational programmes. Highlighting issues of equity, the study demonstrates that despite changes to the ways that young people access arts education, and the mobilisation of programmes such as the Arts Award with a commitment to social justice, there continues to be (re)production.

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Please note that some of these films are password protected as part of the ethical considerations for the research. To request the passwords please email frances.artsaward@yahoo.co.uk.

List of Abbreviations

ACE	Arts Council England
AE	Alternative education
BB	Beat-Boxers[1] (fieldwork site: alternative education programme, non-compulsory aimed at NEET young people)
CCIs	Cultural and Creative Industries
DIY	Do It Yourself (self-taught art skills, often developed at home, without the support of a professional)
FE	Further education
FDP	Fresh Day Project (fieldwork site: alternative education programme, compulsory attendance for school excludees)
FP	Fresh Project (fieldwork site: youth project targeted at young people 'facing challenging circumstances')
HE	Higher education
IE	Informal education
NEET	Not in Education, Employment or Training
SC	Springbank College (fieldwork site: further education college programming Arts Award as an alternative to BTEC)
YMP	Youth Media Project (fieldwork site: open access youth arts project)

[1] The names of the fieldwork sites have been changed.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Arts Award's position in the vocational landscape

Since 2000, there has been an expansion in the vocational education sector, with around half of 16 year olds following vocational or informal learning routes post-16 (Colley, James et al. 2003). In response, there have been a growing number of alternative qualifications, such as Arts Award, which have been designed around enabling disadvantaged young people to 'catch-up' to mainstream education. Positioned as a vocationally relevant qualification, Arts Award strategy of 'inclusion' aims to affect entry to further and higher education as well as the labour market. However its positioning in relation to other vocational awards situates it low on the educational hierarchy – a long way beneath elite qualifications such as LAMDA (London Academy of Music and Dramatic Arts), which is aligned to art colleges and acting schools and conservatoires, and with less value even than BTEC (Business and Technology Education Council) as part of further education. This is problematic for young people accessing the award as their main education offer.

For those who are positioned to take up higher education, Arts Award is offered as personal development, often as part of gifted and talented or extra curricular activities. For those who are aligned with the lower education trajectory of vocational education, what this qualification prepares young people for is questionable. Previous research has demonstrated that young people who occupy this lower positioning are unable to access higher education arts courses or attain employment in high arts institutions, instead being side-lined towards the Cultural and Creative Industries (CCIs) (Friedman, O'Brien et al. 2016, O'Brien and Taylor 2017, Brook 2018). However the connection between the cultural and creative industries and the 'arts' is a troubled one, as many young people taking up arts degrees struggle to find employment within these industries. What is valued in these industries differs from that of the 'high' arts, where emerging cultural capital, cosmopolitanism (Prieur and Savage 2015) and cultural omnivorousness (Peterson and Kern 1996, Warde, Wright et al. 2007) are significant strategies. *What* is consumed becomes of less importance than *how* it is consumed and in turn *what* young people can do with it - for example, its conversion to economic capital.

Neoliberal education policy that highlights social inclusion and the rhetoric of opportunity has resulted in deficit terms for those young people who are viewed as not taking up opportunities and not investing in themselves (Edwards 2009, Archer and Hutchings 2010, Bradbury, McGimpsey et al. 2013). These young

people are frequently depicted as in trouble or in need of intervention, and for them arts education programmes such as Arts Award have become a 'targeted' approach predominantly concerned with behaviour modification, rather than a universal programme for cultural and intellectual development. In response to this deficit model, vocational training schemes have been called on to deal with 'dis-engaged' youth. However they have been criticised for their low-level, low value, non-academic qualifications (Norwich 2002, Simmons 2009, Smyth, McInerney et al. 2013) and focus on a 'practical' rather than an 'academic' curriculum (Kelly and Price 2009, Bathmaker 2013). Remedial programmes designed for these particular groups of young people have led to their labelling as 'non-academic', 'good with their hands not their heads' and being given a 'second chance' (Evans, Meyer et al. 2009, McGregor, Mills et al. 2015, Polidano, Tabasso et al. 2015). This has implications for the social patterning of young people from lower socio-economic backgrounds (Polesel 2010) and their socialization into subordinate economic roles, where education becomes a process of 'filtering' (Bates 1991) for vocational habitus (Colley, James et al. 2003).

Cultural policy has also mirrored this individualist and instrumental shift in arguing for its contribution to health, crime reduction, employment and education. Research has attempted to demonstrate 'impact' in order to justify continued public expenditure (Jermyn 2001, Long, Welch et al. 2002, Staricoff 2004, Hughes, Miles et al. 2005). Publically funded arts have been positioned by government policy as integral to a civilised society and a flourishing economy. New Labour's 'cultural turn' (Buckingham and Jones 2001) established a connection between education and culture, in particular with economic and social inclusion agendas. Projects that engaged young people in cultural opportunities were assumed to be in and of themselves a good thing, with increased participation benefitting both individuals and society. However the improving qualities of culture and the assertions that the arts 'do good', have been critiqued. An instrumentalised viewpoint of the arts and culture has claimed social impacts through the absorption of cultural policies within existing social policies (Merli 2002, Belfiore 2010, Belfiore 2012). The current emphasis on achievable measurable outputs, providing value for money and the forefronting of 'soft skills', which are of little value to employers, are situating these vocational arts programmes in risky terrain.

The growing sectors of vocational and alternative education make assumptions about the contribution of qualifications, such as Arts Award, towards take up of further and higher education as well as entry to employment. They fail to acknowledge the inequalities that are reproduced by a long-standing hierarchy of qualifications within the field of education. In simply creating more low-level qualifications, the educational gap between the classes may continue to grow and further narrow opportunities for working class young people to enter arts jobs.

1.2 What is the Arts Award?

This thesis investigates 'dis-engaged' young people's experience of the Arts Award. Launched in 2005, Arts Award is a major initiative set up by Arts Council England and is now accredited by Trinity College London. Historically, its development followed the Children Act (2004) and Every Child Matters guidelines (2003), which placed the job of tackling child poverty and social exclusion with the local authority through Children's Services. An analysis of the approach and delivery of Arts Award describes it as:

> *"a government-initiated programme, … charged with developing an arts learning framework for all young people, and especially those less likely to engage in the arts or benefit from existing cultural provision"* (Fleming, 2010).

This sets out the award's agenda in terms of universal access and inclusion of *all* young people.

Arts Award is an initiative situated within the vocational and 'cultural education' landscape, which maps schools, arts practitioners, local authorities, voluntary organisations and the CCIs in partnership. As one of the recommendations of *The Henley Review* (Henley 2012), the award is heralded as a "valuable and valued qualification" (p. 45). The role of Arts Award within this policy is to "support access" (p. 13) to the arts and culture as part of the cultural passport scheme, which prescribes the range of arts education that children and young people should be entitled to. Arts Award is positioned as a vehicle to raise cultural capital in all young people through both publically funded arts and culture and to incorporate emerging and technological practices aligned with the CCIs.

Now in its twelfth year, Arts Award is a vocational qualification that is growing in popularity, with 355,992[2] awards being achieved by young people by 1st January 2018. It holds an unusual hybrid position as a vocational qualification, which incorporates academic knowledge through engagement with various artforms that can afford entry to higher education. In line with other practice-based qualifications, the award offers work experiences and currency for employment in the arts and CCIs. This hybridity as a qualification is designed to address a biased class take-up for the arts, by seeking to develop audiences for the arts and routes to employment for young people. Therefore, Arts Award has the potential to address issues of distributional justice (Gewirtz 1998, Griffiths 1998) by offering arts learning experiences that are deemed accessible to young people from all backgrounds. This thesis investigates these different experiences in

[2] Figure as of 1st January 2018. Source: www.artsaward.org.uk

relation to young people who are regarded as 'dis-engaged' from education through four key elements of Arts Award's strategy: policy, practice, pedagogy and pathways.

1.3 How does the award work?

The young people's Arts Award is a national qualification, which supports young people to "grow as artists and arts leaders, connecting them with the wider arts world through setting personal challenges in an art form of their choice" (2016 Annual Guide, p.2). Trinity College London is the accrediting body, in association with Arts Council England. There are five levels, four of which (Explore, Bronze, Silver and Gold) are on the RQF (Regulated Qualifications Framework) – the UK national qualification framework, which defines and links equivalent credit values across different qualifications. Arts Award Discover is an introductory level. Anyone aged up to 25 can take part in Arts Award Explore, with Bronze, Silver and Gold open to ages 11 and above. The young people in this study were between the ages of 13 and 21, taking part in the latter three levels.

Arts Award is growing in popularity, in particular within the youth and alternative education sector, due to its 'easy' application to informal learning environments. Not only a school based programme, young people can work towards the award at an arts and cultural organisation, a youth club or anywhere that registers itself as 'centre'. These centres must employ a trained 'Adviser'. Adults with a minimum of three years experience in working with young people, in any context, can train as an Arts Award Adviser. Their key role is to design the programme for young people to follow. This could take the form of weekly arts classes, drop-in sessions or intensive summer schools. This flexibility of length of programme, regular contact with young people and variety of settings contribute to the award's key claims to inclusivity. Following the training, which currently costs £197[3], the Adviser is issued with a 'toolkit', which dictate the activities, assessment criteria and modes of evidencing in order to achieve the award, which will be explored below.

The Arts Award recognizes a wide spectrum of artforms and activities that make up the arts. The 2013-14 Arts Award guide describes a "flexible framework" (p.4), which covers a wide range of arts and cultural activities, including creative, technical and support roles. This encompasses many possibilities for participation which appeal to young people's varying interests. Research shows that engagement in the arts and arts learning experiences are greater when the young person has a particular interest in the artform (Kinder 2004, Hughes,

[3] Cost as of 1st July 2018. Source: www.artsaward.org.uk

Miles et al. 2005, Catterall 2012). This is a key strategy of Arts Award in terms of inclusion.

There are common threads to each part of the award, which grow in complexity, total qualification time (Bronze 60hrs, Silver 95hrs, Gold 150hrs), level of responsibility and self-guided learning required by young people with each level.

- **Arts Practice:** This is a practical and artistic activity. Some undertake a one-off workshop, whereas others work at developing a specific artform for many months. Key to this part is reflection from the young person on how their artform knowledge and skills have developed.
- **Arts Research:** This is a learning and researching activity. Young people are encouraged to learn about artists who inspire them, to be the audience for "live" arts events, and to participate in opportunities hosted by local arts organisations. Key to this part is reflection from the young person on what they have found out.
- **Arts Leadership:** This is a skills development activity. Young people take up a leadership role, with an emphasis on planning activities and the role of communication. This varies from a simple 'skill-sharing' activity to more complex leadership projects including managing a whole performance, workshop series or public event. There is usually a performance or sharing element to this activity.

Young people create an arts log or portfolios by collecting 'evidence' of their journey and skills development. These can take any format, which includes blogging to photography and video, but they are principally in written form. As well as supporting the young person to collate their portfolios, the Adviser must assess them. The toolkit sets out the four assessment criteria that the Adviser must ascertain that the young person has reached. These criteria are specific to the level undertaken, to the activities of the young person and there are no pre-set benchmarks:

- **Artform knowledge and understanding** – understanding of arts practice and knowledge of arts provision in the community
- **Creativity** – artistic imagination and demonstrating a creative response
- **Planning and review** – ability to analyse situations and design appropriate plans of action as well as the ability to review outcomes
- **Communication** – a practical understanding of effective communication in a range of situations, ability to convey information and to justify their approach

These assessment criteria will be analysed in chapter 4.

Once the Adviser has assessed the portfolios, a visiting Moderator then moderates these. This currently costs per individual portfolio (Bronze £23, Silver

£28, Gold £40)[4], however there is a minimum moderation charge of £450. The other costs of the Arts Award, such as practical activities, visits to arts events, support for the young people and moderation costs, are usually covered by the centre through arts or education funding and occasionally by financial contribution from parents. The Arts Award does have an open application Access Fund, of up to £1500 per centre, which is available twice per year for work with 'disadvantaged' young people. As funders such as Arts Council England and Youth Music look favourably upon funding projects with an Arts Award component, the Arts Award qualification has often been an 'add-on' rather than a stand-alone programme within informal education settings.

1.4 Why Research Arts Award Programmes?

Arts Award is a growing programme in the context of growing numbers of young people outside mainstream education needing to take up qualifications in the alternative framework. The patchy provision and inconsistent quality of these qualifications and educational experiences have resulted in (often unintended) exclusionary outcomes. Current education policy in England represents a trap for young people between the alluring promises of opportunity and aspiration, and the confines of underachievement and individualisation (Atkins 2010, Turnbull and Spence 2011). Formal education has been held accountable for the reproduction of socio-economic inequality, whilst outside of school, programmes that engage with young people's cultural knowledges and accrue both social and cultural capital are upheld as a way of addressing imbalances (Alexiadou 2002, Reay 2004, Machin 2006).

The Arts Award has the potential to address issues of distributional justice by offering arts education that can contribute to cultural citizenship and is accessible to young people from all backgrounds. A vocationally relevant qualification that supports young people to progress into further education and employment would have value. However, despite initiatives such as this, access to and employment in the arts remains classed and tensions still exist between the 'vocational' and 'academic' variants within education. Embedded within cultural and youth policy are assumptions about the arts for social good, and education policy continues to position education as a cure for societal problems. These assumptions need to be challenged and refreshed in new situations as society changes over time. This thesis seeks to investigate the assumed inclusive offer of the Arts Award drawing on these key tensions.

[4] Cost as of 1st July 2018. Source: www.artsaward.org.uk

This is an important time to research this programme as there was a significant change to Arts Award's governance in May 2017. Arts Award's inception was closely guided by Arts Council England (ACE). However, Trinity College London who accredited the award, took the decision not to continue a 'funding agreement' with ACE. Continued support and commitment to the development and growth of the award has been pledged by ACE, with it remaining a priority area for the Bridge organisations (a network of 10 organisations set up regionally to connect the cultural and education sectors) and the national portfolio organisations (arts and cultural institutions in receipt of regular public funding). ACE will continue to fund Arts Award activity through the Bridge organisations, but not through Trinity College London. This change identifies the award a significant area for research as the shape of who is offered participation and able to take it up may change. A key risk for the future is that reductions in funding may impact upon accessibility. Increases to moderation fees, paid by projects and more frequently by the young people themselves or their parents, could be a result and therefore may be a barrier to those who may not otherwise have access to arts opportunities. As a consequence, Arts Award may strengthen its position within elite schooling, in line with other Trinity College London qualifications and only become an option for those with existing high levels of cultural capital.

In 2012 Arts Award commissioned an Impact Study. Led by London South Bank University, this study sought to explore how participation in Arts Award impacts on young people's personal and social skills, arts-related and creative skills, knowledge and understanding of the arts and cultural world, participation in arts and cultural activities and opportunities, and aspiration for arts-related further study and careers (Executive Summary). The methodology for this study was limited to quantitative data, surveys with Advisers, other stakeholders, young people taking Arts Award and one-off interviews with 68 young people. These young people followed up for case study were deemed high arts achievers with notable and inspiring arts 'pathways' to higher education or arts employment. The findings focused on 'hard' and 'soft' outcomes, without challenging the connotations of these for different groups of young people taking up the award. One of the future recommendations of the research was further investigation into the unconventional educational trajectories facilitated by Arts Award, given the potential openings for disadvantaged young people. This is a gap that this research is designed to fill through an ethnographic approach.

1.5 The Research Question

What shapes 'dis-engaged' young people's educational experiences of the Arts Award?

This research will explore the varying activities and how they impact upon the experiences of young dis-engaged people on Arts Award programmes. It will investigate both the opportunities and constraints of the Arts Award for young people experiencing it through low-level educational programmes. The investigation highlights the role of policy, practice, pedagogy and pathways as aspects of the award. The research uses ethnographic case study with arts-based research methods to explore these experiences. It is set in the context of literary debates from the fields of the 'arts' and education and makes particular reference to the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Paul Willis.

This research was carried out in five sites, comprising of:

- Post-16 further education college
- A non-compulsory alternative education programme targeting NEETs
- A compulsory alternative education programme, through school exclusion referrals
- An open access youth arts project
- A youth arts project targeted for young people in 'challenging circumstances'

A decision was made to avoid the formal education sector and schools, who often run the award for gifted and talented students and also to avoid arts organisations, who run the award often for young people who come with strong arts backgrounds. This decision was taken to allow a focus on non-formal programmes and young people with limited arts backgrounds. It was important to project a positive perspective of 'dis-engaged' young people as a group and highlight that a young person could be considered 'dis-engaged' for several reasons: they have elected to remove themselves from school because of dissatisfaction, they have been rejected from the school system because of behaviour or disability issues or there are elements in their family or social life that prevent them from engaging with school.

There is very little research about Arts Award, with only one impact study commissioned by Trinity College London and undertaken by London Southbank University (Hollingworth 2016) as previously mentioned. This longitudinal study focused in particular on young people from formal schooling who had engaged with official arts institutions and came from arts-rich backgrounds. Despite statistical data being regularly kept on Arts Award - annual reviews, regional participation reports, sector support information - qualitative data offering 'thick description' (Geertz 1973) of young people's different experiences is lacking.

This research has developed rich individual stories about what young people chose to engage with, how and why. An ethnographic focus on a variety of settings running the award is significantly different from the approach that has previously been taken. Arts Award literature has argued that the award offers greater impact for harder to reach young people and in contexts outside the school environment. However this has never been formalised through research into these non-mainstream groups taking the award. Therefore, the key contribution of the research is to generate data on marginalised groups taking the award in non-formal arts education environments, in order to demonstrate the different offer of these programmes.

1.6 Aim and objectives of the research

This research aims to demonstrate the different offerings and experiences of the Arts Award programme for 'dis-engaged' young people accessing the award through low-level 'vocational' strands. Specific objectives include:

- To explore the award in the context of current debates about culture, the arts and education
- To apply an understanding of current theoretical concepts to real life situations
- To explore the differing offer of these programmes across the chosen settings
- To describe the first-hand individual experiences of this particular group of young people undertaking the award
- To investigate what practices young people chose to engage with from the different programmes
- To explore the key affordances of the experience of Arts Award programmes for 'dis-engaged' young people
- To consider the implications for the design of future arts education programmes

1.7 Being on the 'inside'

The arts have been part of my life through both formal education and informal activities. I studied art history at university and my first job was a hospital Arts Co-ordinator. My recreational activities include making electronic music and film, taking part in dance and attending live music events. These experiences whilst being enjoyable on an individual level have also connected me socially to others. I developed a sense of vocation for working with the arts in everyday contexts and my work as a Youth Arts Worker brought these formal and informal experiences together. I was able to develop particular ways of working with the

arts that held currency for young people and engage them a variety of different arts projects. In return, working with young people who were frequently deemed as marginalised was inspiring and empowering for me. This is the context in which I first started working with Arts Award, on which this research is based. This study, therefore, brings two key elements of my life and work together, investigating what happens when the arts are used as a way of working with young people.

As a Youth Worker and Arts Education Co-ordinator working for 8 years within the local authority, I have been working with Arts Award in a variety of roles:

- As an Adviser, organising many Arts Award projects, incluing longer-term programmes where young people progress through different levels.
- As a Moderator, working across the East Midlands region to moderate the work of Advisors to ensure that portfolios meet the assessment criteria to gain the award. This work has enabled me to become aware of the different approaches to Arts Award programmes by a variety of organisations that work with young people.
- And as a Support Panel Member (Consultant) working on priority areas of development set by the National Team, offering tailored support for organisations wanting to build and embed Arts Award within their programmes as well as developing resources for future delivery. This has included supporting the development of the Gold level, in particular within FE colleges.

This practical and strategic experience, as well as the challenges faced in these roles, contributes to the knowledge base for the research. The study has been an opportunity to explore various ideas based on my previous experience, such as the award's utility in working with young people on the margins of education, its cultural responsivity and connection with young people's interests. It took quite some time to be able to 'stand back' from this experience and to be able to look objectively at the young people's experiences. These reflections are discussed in more depth in chapter 3.1 Reflexivity and Epistemology, and chapter 8.5 My learning journey. My supposition about the different offers for young people from different educational sites will be tested-out by this research, alongside the programmes bold labelling as 'accessible for all'.

1.8 A multi-modal thesis

In order to explore young people's experience of an arts education programme, creative and visual outputs from its participants were considered as data. Where the use of creative methods is important for exploring the experience of others, it is also important for communicating the key messages and arguments within the

thesis and as part of the dissemination of research. The use of visual and audio material is vital for the unpacking of meaning within this research and to communicate its messages. Therefore this thesis presents visual vignettes in the form of montages of images, texts and transcripts but also films, photographs and audio, originating from the participants. These creations are both representative of the young peoples experiences, but also acknowledge a different way of knowing that the arts encompasses. The use of "presentational" or symbolized knowing (Liamputtong and Rumbold 2008) which represents experiential learning in expressive forms is a relatively underdeveloped area in academic research.

Five film clips have been created to accompany this thesis in addition to an Arts Award film analysed. Image thumbnails appear as part of the chapters, such as the one below, which can be clicked in order to access film and audio clips. The intention is that they assist in representing the young person's experience and contribute to the experience of the thesis as a work of art in itself.



Figure 1: Example of a film clip thumbnail. Hyperlinks also cited in List of Films (p.9)

1.9 Thesis structure

The thesis is structured around current theoretical concepts and literature. Chapter 2 explains how Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital and habitus and Paul Willis' common cultural framework are used as analytical tools throughout the thesis. From these concepts the terminology of Artistic Production and (re)production have been crafted in order to describe and analyse the particular practices of young people accessing the programme through the chosen sites. This chapter elaborates why this lexical choice has been made and then uses these terms as a way to explore the literature in relation to the field of education and the arts.

A research methods chapter follows which gives details of the research study and the methods for researching the different offers of the Arts Award programmes.

It describes ethnography as the suitable methodology for this research, and sets out my epistemological stance based upon previous work experience as a Youth Arts Worker. Ethical concerns are addressed and the five Arts Award projects, are described based on their settings within further and alternative education programmes and youth work projects. The research design is discussed referring to the decisions made to include particular sites and young people in the research. A pilot project explored particular methods – talking around objects, making work together and analysing lyrics, images and films as data – confirming these to carry forward to the main study. The suitability of these methods to the aims of the research is considered. Finally chapter 3 presents a data audit and the process for analysis, and includes three data analysis methods – the juxtaposition of visual data, film making as interactional analysis and 'Event Ethnography'.

There are four analysis chapters in this thesis. Chapter 4 focuses on documents, undertaking an analysis of textual and multimodal artefacts, research publications and Arts Award resources in order to explore Arts Award's 'doxic narratives'. Following this, Chapter 5 maps the practices the Arts Award within the 'vocational' strands comprising low-level education. This focuses on the differing arts practices, capitals and dispositions on offer to young people through these programmes. In Chapter 6 the varying pedagogical practices of the Arts Award advisers are examined, with a focus on the arts leadership component of the award. The objective of this chapter is to explore the impact of the differing logics of practice of the fieldwork sites and their effect upon the pedagogical approach of the Advisers. Chapter 7 focuses on the future arts pathways indicated by the participants on the programmes through the component of arts research. In exploring the future directions of young people following the Arts Award, patterns can be discerned which have implications for young people's trajectories through the field of education.

The final chapter presents a summary of the key arguments throughout the four areas of analysis: policy, practice, pedagogy and pathways and reflects on the implications of the research findings. These implications are considered from three different perspectives: for young people, for Arts Award Advisers and government policy and funding. This chapter reviews the thesis' empirical contribution in exploring the experiences of a marginalised group and the contribution to research methods and conceptual frameworks produced by the study. The limitations of the study are also addressed. The thesis concludes with a reflective account of my personal learning journey through the research.

Chapter 2 – Theoretical and literary resources

This chapter explores theories and literature that inform the thesis. The work of Pierre Bourdieu and Paul Willis are used to together in order to analyse the practices of the Arts Award, in particular for young people accessing the programme through the different study sites: a further education college, two alternative education programmes and two youth work projects. Specifically, Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital, habitus and doxa and Paul Willis' common cultural framework are drawn on in combination to explore the tension between an assumed universal accrual of cultural capital within the continuous social hierarchization of the field. It is argued that, taken together, these two theoretical approaches highlight the social and the cognitive (Bourdieu 1999), the tension between works which create their public and works created by their public (Bourdieu 1985) and illuminate how fields both produce and reproduce.

Throughout the thesis the terminology of Artistic Production and (re)production are used in order to describe and analyse the experience of the young people engaging with the programme in these 'vocational' settings. This chapter elaborates why this lexical choice has been made and then uses these terms as a way to explore the literature in relation to the field of education and the 'arts'.

This chapter is structured in five parts:

2.1 Willis' framework of common culture is explored alongside key concepts of bedroom culture, grounded aesthetics, proto-communities and symbolic resources.

2.2 An examination of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of field, capitals, habitus and doxa follows.

2.3 The analytical framework of Artistic Production and (re)production is explored. Artistic Production seeks to be inclusive and democratic through engaging young people with non-traditional artforms, emerging cultural capital and shifting their position from consumer to producer. Where as (re)production represents the repositioning of young people through a continually uneven accrual and conversion of capitals in the field.

2.4 A review of literature relating to education and the 'arts' is explored in relation to Artistic Production and (re)production. There is a particular focus on cultural value, cultural democracy

and cultural citizenship, arts in education, and vocational education. This discussion draws out key assumptions and tensions within arts programmes and their value within the field of education.

2.5 Arts Award's position as a field in itself is explored, which is most useful to practitioners working with the award in situating these debates.

2.1 Common Culture

Paul Willis and Pierre Bourdieu are two key theorists of cultural production and the analytical framework for this thesis brings them together for the first time. Willis' work has made a key contribution to cultural studies emphasizing consumer and popular culture and socialization through styles of music. His ethnographic studies have foregrounded the experience of working-class youth cultures. Bourdieu's work has focused on practices of power within society, exploring how social life maintains and reproduces the social order across generations. His influential concept of capital is frequently used in arts and educational research, in particular to investigate hierarchies. Both writers frequently use the same vocabularies of 'culture', 'production' and 'reproduction' but with diverse meanings, which will be explored in this chapter.

Paul Willis' ethnographic work of the 1970s and 80s explored the symbiosis of popular and working class culture (Willis 1977, Willis and Corrigan 1983). Willis questioned the distinction between high and low arts, arguing instead for a 'common culture'. Rather than being a new form of cultural practice, Willis suggested that common culture is a process, whereby young people draw on their available cultural resources as an input for their own cultural productivity in the contexts of their everyday lives. Common culture has a dual significance of being frequently found everywhere, in the everyday, as well as being shared amongst individuals and groups (Willis 1990). Willis criticized education and cultural policy's narrow view of culture (Laermans 1993) and argued for more democratic cultural policies that stimulate the possibilities for all to become cultural producers. He rejected ideas of cultural populism, suggesting instead that we are all artists: *"Let's look to the streets, to the common culture, not to the towers, for what is to be learnt"* (Willis, 1990). In arguing for the need to recognize the 'new diversity' and meaning-making from below, Willis emphasises the creation and consumption of different forms such as mass media, fashion, language and the arts.

Willis questioned the basis upon which culture is defined and supported in Britain. He argued that the arts supported by Arts Council England were a small and increasingly irrelevant part of our cultural scene and that the high arts did not reflect people's capacity for informal creativity. The arts, he asserted, are more often used as a category of exclusion rather than inclusion with many young people feel disconnected to high-art forms and the institutions that support them (Hall and Thomson 2010). He argued for a re-mapping of culture associated with the development of youth arts policy and provision, reasoning that the majority of young people are outside of the reach of official institutions but have their own cultural passions and interests. Art should no longer be the

preserve of these institutions, but instead recognised as part of everyday and ordinary cultural experience, part of our common culture, he asserted.

Willis' approach resonates with arts education research – and with the Arts Award itself. In terms of education, this framework focuses on informal education and the everyday encounters and experiences of young people, often in their home spheres or leisure time. Common culture is particularly valuable for research into arts education programmes, such as Arts Award, which happen in the informal arena. This research engages with this framework as a way of investigating the everyday and popular cultural engagement of young people through the Arts Award programme. The concept encapsulates the varieties of arts engagement that are outside of forms recognised by publically funded arts and enables a new sense of recognition for the young people involved.

The focus in the study is on the particular experiences of the young people and their creative works, which encompassed everyday and often subcultural arts practices, drawing on new forms of capital built outside of arts institutions. Engagement with common culture is a key strategy of Arts Award due to the incorporation of non-traditional artforms: anything from cake decorating to nail art, alongside a focus on everyday participation, often through digital and DIY practices. Drawing on a common cultural framework requires additional concepts of bedroom culture, symbolic creativity, grounded aesthetics and proto-communities – which I will now explain.

2.1.1 Bedroom culture, symbolic creativity, grounded aesthetics and proto-communities

Rather than look at arts institutions, Willis looked to the young person's personal spheres, at home rather than at school, through '**bedroom culture'**. He highlights "the hidden continent of the informal" (p. 16), where young people significantly participate in cultural practices, focused on their leisure-time. Bedroom culture was first explored as part of youth street subculture (McRobbie and Garber 1975) which positioned the bedrooms as a site of symbolic creativity where young people drew on cultural consumption to produce new and agentic meanings. Rather than seeing people as 'labour power', meaningful only in work, Willis regarded them as full creative citizens who undertake symbolic activities in the construction of their own identities. He argued that young people use **symbolic creativity** (Willis 1990) as identity work with the artistic resources that they find around them, namely TV and media, music and fashion.
Willis argues that young people have learnt how to interpret the codes within this media and learnt how to play with and reshape them. Young people's cultural consumption through everyday practices is a way of finding their place

in the world and therefore viewing Arts Award as an arena where what young people's produce and consume can glean important perspectives on how they view the world.

Recent research has documented the richness of bedroom culture for arts activities such as lyric writing, music production and gaming (Manchester and Pett 2015). Technology is key mechanism with many young people utilising their personal phones, computers or iPads to undertake these practices and connections made through social media networks rather than physical groupings (Livingstone 2007). In arguing that we need to re-think and re-classify what counts as culture, Willis shifts focus onto the cultural activities that are accessible and of real interest to young people. Young people utilise symbolic resources from cultural media and new screen-based technologies in order to be active producers. Previous research (Sefton-Green 1999, Green 2003, Buckingham 2008) has demonstrated the centrality of digital practices in young people's experience of culture, including the use of social media in marketing culture as a social endeavour. This research looked to see how much a common culture was promulgated through the Arts Award.

Young people give relevance to their artistic experiences through immediate, practical sense making in relation to previous life experiences, often grown from experiences as consumers, fans and dancers. For example, there is a long-standing tradition of music consumption and production amongst young people, which accrues subcultural capital (Thornton 1996, Hodkinson and Deicke 2007). Willis refers to this as grounded aesthetics as a way of recognising a bottom-up approach to defining cultural meanings. **Grounded aesthetics** (Willis 1998) are used to critically judge experiences that are shared with others as a form of social practice. This is a democratic approach to cultural production, where particular codes of interpretation can be developed that are specific to particular groups, which creates the culture around it. A shift in importance occurs from the assumed superiority of high art and traditional aesthetics, towards cultural activities that can form part of their individual identity formation, artistic dispositions and group agency. This study explores participants' repertoires of grounded aesthetics of performing, which were a key part of the sharing and showcasing components of the Arts Award.

Willis coined the term **proto-communities** (Willis 1990), to refer to groups made up of young people with shared artistic interests and aspirations and a shared investment in increasing their control over cultural materials and conditions for production. Practices include frequent discussion and sharing of ideas, collaboration and a sense of working towards a shared goal. Music, for example, is a practice in which symbolic communities form, that embody grounded aesthetics and cultivate them with others through collaborative

creativity (Burnard and Dragovic 2015). Willis also argues for the importance of local arts networks in common culture, including performance opportunities, local cultural goods such as arts produced on the street and music by local record labels. Artistic engagement happens in local venues, such as shops, pubs, clubs, schools and youth centres. Within this research, the Arts Award was a mechanism, or one umbrella, that brought these young people together. I looked to see whether the experience of developing their artforms and spending time together creating work and even performing some of this work, contributed to the participant's sense of feeling part of a group.

2.1.2 Looking beyond Common Culture

Common culture is useful in exploring informal learning and under-the-radar arts engagement. However there are some issues within its application as a framework through which to investigate Arts Award:

- Willis' framework is often positioned against the controlling economic power of Marx's cultural commodity fetishism (Walker 1986). However common culture lacks acknowledgment of the power of the markets, instead viewing cultural commodities and cultural consumption as being simply for pleasure, rather than profit. This fails to account for the potential economic barriers to cultural consumption and the class-based take up of agency and active meaning-making by young people.
- Willis is part of a 'subcultural' turn in sociological research, where young people are portrayed in an empowering transition from consumer to producer. However, recent research has demonstrated that access to the arts sector is often through individual drive, is highly classed and influenced by family background (Friedman, Laurison et al. 2015, Friedman, O'Brien et al. 2016).
- His criticisms of arts institutions fails to acknowledge their potential for working alongside everyday creative practices and with groups of young people seen as 'outside' institutions through outreach work. This is a relationship that Arts Award encourages.
- Finally, Willis is critiqued for avoiding judgments of quality: quality of works produced or the arts experience (Walker 1986). This is one of the key issues with Arts Award. The open assessment criteria allows each young person to progress at their own pace, and this is not measured against a set standard. In contrast, other vocational qualifications set out boundaries and benchmarks for artistic quality.

Acknowledging these limitations, the research embraced common culture as a framework where bedroom culture, grounded aesthetics, proto-communities and

symbolic resources are used as key analytic descriptors for the young person's experience. However what Willis viewed as 'culture' is narrowly defined as the 'arts' through a particular media studies lens. To be able to understand the offer of the Arts Award within the wider cultural and sociological landscape, this thesis also draws on the work of Pierre Bourdieu and in particular, his concepts of field, capitals, habitus and doxa.

2.2 Field, Capitals, Habitus and Doxa

Pierre Bourdieu is frequently used in arts and educational research in particular to look at the hierarchy of capitals within the field (Reay 2004, Friedman 2012, Oakley and O'Brien 2016). His toolkit of field, capitals and habitus has been applied for example to cultural fields of photography, literature, visual arts (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993, Bourdieu 1996, Bourdieu and Whiteside 1996). He argues that the working classes are unable to access elite arts because their prior experiences and cultural knowledge aren't necessarily recognised within the field. Therefore they can start at a disadvantage in comparison to the middle classes. People, who Bourdieu understood as individual agents, can draw on particular capitals as a way of taking up different positions within the field. Cultural capital takes the form of particular knowledge or practice, which manifests power and agency through sites of learning or "modes of inculcation" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). In altering the distribution and relative weight of forms of capital, change can occur in the field. Arts Award seeks to raise the cultural capital in a wider range of young people as possible in order to re-distribute it. The following section will present Bourdieu's key concepts in relation to how they could be used to explore Arts Award.

2.2.1 Field

A field is a social space, a 'little world' (Thomson 2014) that produces capitals, habitus and dispositions through social relations. Each field has its own values and logics of practice, however, these are patterned by the broader social field of power. A field is an axis organised with positions that move both horizontally and vertically, as agents occupy various positions in the field. The field can be thought of as a game, which people can play to improve their position. Upward social mobility is the end goal of this axis, referred to as field operations (Grenfell 2011), which are often patterned in terms of social class. If an agent can demonstrate alignment with the particular habitus of the field, then they can maintain or progress their position. Fields have their own logic of practice, their own mechanisms (Grenfell 2011), which operate according to Bourdieu's theory of practice. Hierarchies are produced and reproduced through the logics of the

field. The field therefore, is always competitive and structured so that some face an advantage over others. There are always tensions between positions, the agents who occupy them and the social contexts in which they find themselves. Therefore the concept of field is a useful tool for this research in understanding social practices and the workings of power and inequality in particular social spaces (Bathmaker 2015).

But field is not a singular entity. There are multiple fields, which are often overlapping, as each field overlays with the social world as the overall field of power. The field of power is weighted towards the field of wealth, the market and the political field, which heavily dictates ideas about what constitutes valuable capital in society. In turn this impacts upon agents social and cognitive processes (Bourdieu 1999). The education field provides the capitals for all other fields and dictates what Bourdieu refers to as legitimate culture or good taste (Bourdieu 1984). Historically there has been a divide between 'vocational' and 'academic' practices within the field of education. Previous research (Macrae, Maguire et al. 2003, Reay 2004, Lumby 2012, Ball, Macrae et al. 2013) has demonstrated that young people who encounter 'academic' schooling are more likely to progress onto higher education, than that of their 'vocational' counterparts. Young people who are directed out of mainstream schooling towards vocational or alternative education are most likely to end up with low-level qualifications, or drop out of education all together. Within the field of the arts too there are hierarchical practices of cultural production from the 'high' arts to 'popular' culture and the distinctions between these forms have been regarded as representation of social stratification (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993).

This study applies the concept of field by arguing that Arts Award is itself a field, within the field of education. As a field, Arts Award contains its own hierarchies of capitals and practices, which mirror those of the arts and education. These come into play in through the positions of the agents, the participants within this research, who are aligned with low economic and cultural capitals and lower status qualifications, frequently regarded as 'vocational'. In positioning Arts Award as a field its efforts to disrupt the field of education can be explored by this research. Its intention to act as a bridge spanning both vocational and academic practices - from high art to the creative and cultural industries, from elite to alternative schooling – can be explored.

2.2.2 Capitals

The field represents a social macrocosm where agents use capitals to take up, maintain, lose or improve positions (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). The use of

capitals can shift an agent's position with the field. Bourdieu explains position-takings in relation to power in the field:

> *"For each position in the hierarchy of consecration there is a corresponding relationship—more or less ambitious or resigned—to the field of cultural practices which is, itself, hierarchized"* (1985, p.28).

An agent takes position within a field depending on the habitus and dispositions they possess. The spaces of positions are the lived experiences of the agents (Bourdieu 1999). Particular capitals such as social (networks and associations), cultural (knowledge and experiences) and symbolic (prestige and recognition), can be accrued as personal resources and converted to economic capital (material assets and money). Different capitals are valued in different fields and playing the game of the field is a process of accumulating capitals that are deemed valuable in that field. Whilst Bourdieu's concepts represent constantly striving for upward social mobility, by association, this implies downwards mobility for some and what Bourdieu refers to as 'positional suffering' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

Previous research has utilised Bourdieu's ideas around the continual transmission and perpetuation of social inequalities through education to demonstrate that UK government policy initiatives, such as parental involvement schemes and gifted and talented programmes, simply renew the educational advantages of the middle classes as a way of recognising their capital in working-class schools (Reay 2004). Cultural capital has become a mechanism for the reproduction of class advantage (Bennett 2011, Lareau 2015). In many cases, young people are able to compensate for deficits in education, for example by drawing on other resources such as extra programmes and initiatives. However, when a deficit is combined with weak personal agency this is likely to have negative outcomes for the young people (Furlong, Cartmel et al. 2003). What young people bring, through their 'cultural repertoire', is important (Nash 1990). There are differences in the cultural toolkits that families from different class background bear and these differences can translate into different educational trajectories. Socioeconomically disadvantaged individuals are socialized into dispositions that destine them to think and act in ways that recreate the conditions of their own disadvantage. Previous research demonstrates that social class still continues to exclude some groups from particular educational experiences and young people from different social backgrounds accrue capital in different ways or capital that holds different value (Friedman, Savage et al. 2015, Friedman, O'Brien et al. 2016).

Bourdieu argues that capitals are heavily linked to consumption and inherited patterns of consumption as cultural capital is passed down through families.

Much like symbolic resources (Willis 1990), capital is a useful concept through which to explore both young people's patterns of cultural consumption, but also their production. Capital can help to explain individual agents positions or position-takings within the field, which is a useful perspective on Arts Award which foregrounds social positioning. Qualifications are symbolic capital, which can be converted to cultural capital, however it is the combinations of capitals that count in the field. In response, this thesis will pay particular attention to symbolic capital, as an enhancer of educational capital (Harker 1984) and social capital as networks within education (Putnam 2000) for this particular group of young people.

2.2.3 Habitus

Bourdieu contends that it is the interaction of habitus, cultural capital and field that generates the logic of practice. The trio maintain a relationship of mutual attraction (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Agents acquire a particular habitus because of their position in the field. Habitus is embodied as matters of taste, unconscious thoughts and motivations that guide behaviours and give agents a sense of belonging in that field (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993). Actions are structured from the inside (Bourdieu 1999). Habitus is the socialisation into particular dispositions which predisposes agents towards certain ways of behaving (Burnard, Trulsson et al. 2015). Fields create dispositions, which produce practices, and in turn reproduce field through habitus. Dispositions are shaped by the agent's educational background and social class that in turn dictates their positions in social space. Individuals can utilise dispositions to see where they fit within the field. It is the relationship between practice, learning and identity, that combines to create vocational habitus (Colley, James et al. 2003), which is of particular significance to this study. Bourdieu views dispositions as the products of opportunities and constraints which agents encounter in their early life experiences. Dispositions are formed as young people invest in fields of life and therefore steer actions, experiences and understandings. These both produce and reproduce a sense of what is possible. They are transposable and evolving with the needs and demands of the field.

Habitus enables various practices as ways of operationalising cultural and social capital (Stahl, Burnard et al. 2017). For example, a child that grows up in a household where they were encouraged to play an instrument associated with classical music, such as the piano or violin, is considered to have musical habitus (Prior 2013). Where individuals fail to display the appropriate habitus, often they are left feeling like a 'fish out of water', feeling out of place or in constant fear of revealing their lack of knowledge within the field (Stevenson 2003). However, those who feel like a 'fish in water' (Clark and Zukas 2013) have their place

within the field confirmed. An agent may have primary and secondary habitus' which represent the collision between past and present or between individual and collective history of family and class (Reay 2004). Colley et. al, (2003) highlight vocational habitus that relates to the young person's experience of learning that makes them feel suited to a particular job. The dispositions developed by the young people undertaking the programme, which aligned towards vocational education and employment in low-skill, low-pay jobs, are significant for this study.

Bourdieu depicts a work of art as the product of the Artist's Habitus, which comes into play when they take up position in the field of cultural production (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993). Creating artwork is a disposition towards alignment with this habitus. Therefore habitus is strongly linked to acts of production that can also re-produce socially patterned dispositions. Habitus and dispositions are linked to different kinds of education and employment, as they are situated within the social hierarchy of the field. Previous research has argued that particular forms of education, such as vocational are a process of "screening" (Bates 1991), for personal and social attributes in order to undertake a certain job. Habitus as vocational practice (Guile 2009) represents how agents build an inclination to work in a particular field, but also capital relevant to that field through developing communal patterns of thoughts and behaviour. Manifesting in ways of doing, being and thinking, they represent a sense of what is possible, an induction into a particular habitus. Bourdieu argues that agents can be helped to understand their own position through aligning themselves with a particular habitus, which is rendered more malleable and open to change (McRobbie 2002). Thomson & Coles (2018) researched young visual artists and identified a variety of dispositions that ranged from 'artist' to 'curator' to 'artist entrepreneur'; these dispositional clusters served as an induction for their participants into work in the cultural and creative industries through self-employment, the gig-economy and a sense of doing something for the love of it, even if it left them financially unstable. This thesis will explore the dispositions on offer in relation to acts of production but also the re-production of social positioning.

2.2.4 Doxa

Doxa represents an assumption, an unspoken rule that conceals power and confirms hierarchy within the field. Doxa as values, practices and beliefs define both fields and their relating habitus. Within the arts field, a key example is the Young British Artists movement, which saw contemporary art enter the mainstream through the arts market. Within the arts field, its theory of practice – the what, how and why – denotes the unspoken 'rules' that govern practice within the arts world. Art rules in the way it does because of the arts rules, which

govern its practice (Grenfell and Hardy 2007). In terms of contemporary art, its doxa include being new and fresh, experimental and shocking. This was encapsulated by Robert Hughes' book *Shock of the New*. In response, Bourdieu argues that avant-garde arts or those that are counter-alternative to the field, such as the YBAs, will eventually become taken up by the mainstream.

Within the field of education, meritocracy is the dominant doxa. Meritocracy equates educational attainment to class (Goldthorpe 2003). Bourdieu argues that despite education's claims for social mobility, the main purpose of education is to reproduce the legitimate culture of the dominant classes. Therefore his concepts are useful in critiquing meritocracy. Through formal qualifications education and employment are socially stratified, where education mediates less opportunities for those with less social status. Bourdieu argues that the notion that some young people are more 'gifted' or 'talented' than others is a mechanism intended to obscure the actual measurements of academic ability, which stem from the cultural habits of particular classes. Educational systems through setting and streaming, persuade the lower classes "that they owe their social fate ... to their individual nature and their lack of gifts" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). Meritocracy legitimates and produces misrecognition, an adverse effect where education initiatives are designed to privilege certain forms of capital in young people but inadvertently perpetuate division and social reproduction (Milbourne 2002, Francis and Mills 2012). For example 'one-size-fits-all' approaches to schooling often disregard the needs and interests of individuals obscuring the further marginalization of those who do not fit this model (Reay 2006, Mills and McGregor 2013).

The concept of doxa will be taken up by this study in relation to Arts Award. The class-based nature of different cultural values, often leads to misrecognition and a non-recognition of working class culture. In exploring Arts Award's doxic narratives and assumptions that can lead to these misrecognitions, the logics of practice which support the doxa of meritocracy can be highlighted. The sites of study: an FE college, alternative education programmes and youth projects have their own doxic narratives, which can bring about adverse effects for the agents aligned to these positions. This thesis explores these narratives and misrecognitions.

2.2.5 Bringing Bourdieu up-to-date

Bourdieu's hierarchies of capital were created in the 1960s and 70s in response to capitalist society. His emphasis on class reproduction through the possession of high cultural capital has been criticised as being incongruent with new forms of consumerism under neo-liberalism and with the erosion of the boundaries of

high and low art under postmodernism (Bennett 2011). New forms of capital have been developed in response to new research around class structure in the UK today (Savage, Devine et al. 2013). For example, the BBC Great British Class survey identified the 'new affluent workers', who tended to come from non-middle-class families, and had not followed conventional educational routes through university to middle-class positions. This class were considered hungry for cultural capital through omnivorousness (Warde, Wright et al. 2007). The **cultural omnivore** consumes all types of culture: high arts and popular culture, which are now acknowledged as a false dichotomy (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016). It appears that the upper and middle classes are now not averse to participation in activities of popular culture, which contradicts Bourdieu's homology between class and taste.

A new form of capital - **'emerging' cultural capital** (Bennett, Savage et al. 2005) is derived from popular culture and is defined as engagement with non-traditional forms. These include digital arts, screen-based media and entertainment, previously considered lowbrow, and now the foundation of the creative industries and the cultural economy. The CCIs exemplify a particular kind of market – a social network market – where economic and cultural capitals are seen in opposition (O'Connor 2010). This is key to understanding the agent's position within the social hierarchy based on an axis of economic capital on one hand and cultural capital on the other. Emerging cultural capital therefore became less about what is consumed but more about how it can be converted to economic gain (Bennett, Savage et al. 2005). Young people are required to demonstrate skills in maneuvering between choices as a disposition. Emerging cultural capital therefore can be seen as a way of bypassing capital accrual through traditional structures such as schooling and arts institutions and accruing alternative capital, that is frequently referred to as **subcultural capital** (Thornton 1996, Bullen and Kenway 2005, Hodkinson and Deicke 2007).

Within the field of education and its hierarchy of artforms, there are implications for the young people drawing on subcultural artforms. Despite examples of conversion to economic capital, where participants in club culture can get jobs as artists or graphic designers, as re-mixers or producers (Jensen 2006), it is questionable the extent to which subcultural capital can be translated into economic gain. Social class is inextricably linked to the ability to convert subcultural capital (Friedman, O'Brien et al. 2016, Oakley and O'Brien 2016, O'Brien and Taylor 2017). Despite social mobility, there is still a 'class ceiling' where the upwardly mobile are successful in entering elite occupations, yet they invariably fail to accumulate the same economic, cultural and social capital as those from privileged backgrounds (Friedman, Laurison et al. 2015).

This research will engage with the concepts of emerging cultural capital, subcultural capital and omnivorousness. These different varieties of capital reflect how young people engage with the arts today. It is important to understand how different capitals are valued differently in the field. For example, whilst subcultural capital is recognised as avant-garde in the arts field, it can be misrecognised or even penalised in the education field. Capitals will be useful in order to investigate whether the Arts Award's strategy of incorporating both high arts and popular culture masks the habitus required by some groups of young people to convert engagement with more 'deviant' practices such as rap music and graffiti art into cultural capital.

Whilst Bourdieu does enable a "double reading" (Bourdieu 1999) that allows individual capitals to be plotted on a social hierarchy, there are other shortcomings with Bourdieu's concepts in relation to this study which I will now explain:

- Bourdieu's ideas fail to convey how young people interact with artforms as part of the everyday. In claiming that taste and aesthetic judgment are largely determined by the field, the wider socio-cultural context is overlooked (Burnard 2016).
- His work is criticised for not recognising the agency of the dominated working classes, where hierarchies of knowledge reinforce inequality rather than valuing difference. For example, Born (2010) calls for a broader, less-compartmentalised perspective on cultural consumption, which acknowledges production by accounting for the agency of the producers.
- Bourdieu makes pessimistic reading with his depiction of insurmountable dominant political forces. However, his contention that fields are always in flux does leave capacity for change, but through a different approach to Willis' possibilities for change through resistance. Bourdieu contends that through reflexivity and habitus 'drag' agents can become aware of their own social positioning and through new creative responses can transcend the social conditions in which it is produced (Reay 2004).
- His concepts of socialisation through education are focused mainly on mainstream schooling, rather than specific instances of vocational learning which conceptualises learning as cognitive acquisition rather than social participation (Colley, James et al. 2003).

We live in an age where two things are happening simultaneously: the dispersal of some forms of social and cultural authority and the concentration of forces of media and cultural production (Couldry 2005). What Bourdieu offers is recognition of these social and cultural hierarchies, whilst Willis acknowledges symbolic creativity through mass media consumption. Neither Bourdieu nor

Willis offers the main lens through which this research will be analysed. There is value in bringing these two approaches together in order to explore Arts Award, as together they enable the recognition of both the social and the cognitive, the practice in the mind of the agents within structures. Through combining Bourdieu's conceptual tools and Willis' framework of common culture together, I have developed a framework for analysing this research. The following section defines this framework titled Artistic Production and (re)production.

2.3 The Concept of Artistic Production and (re)production

Having explored the strengths and limitations of the application of Willis' common culture and Bourdieu's toolkit of field, capitals and habitus as theoretical underpinning for this study, this section explains the concept of Artistic Production and (re)production. This lexical choice is derived from a post-Bourdieusian theory of cultural production (Kuttner 2015). Both authors are key theorists of cultural production, often using the same vocabularies, but with different intentions. Production, as inferred by Bourdieu is positioned as a wider process embedded within cultural, social, political and economic reproduction. Whereas 'culture' implies something more narrowly aligned to the arts through the particular cultural studies lens applied by Willis. This coupling is reflected in the tension within Arts Award, between the assimilation of common culture within the social hierarchization of the field.

The concept of Artistic Production and (re)production is an endeavour to recognise that processes of production do not necessarily lead to advancements in relation to the young person's position within the field. Production and reproduction are symbiotic – reproduction cannot exist without production. In other words, any act of Artistic Production holds the *potential* for the acquisition of capitals but this does not always happen. Engaging with (re)production as an analytical framework enables the recognition of wider factors that may impact upon an individual's capacity to built and convert capital – for example existing cultural knowledge or the combination of qualifications. This is problematic for Arts Award which claims that all forms of arts activities are improving for young people alongside a wide range of 'soft' skills on offer. What is hoped for is Artistic Production, which is regarded as beneficial, rather than (re)production, which is viewed as a negative impact – hence the idea of the two concepts being opposing. Further discussion of the concept follows, presenting the resulting framework, which will be applied to the research.

2.3.1 Bringing Willis and Bourdieu together

As argued, Paul Willis and Pierre Bourdieu are two key theorists of cultural production and the theoretical stance of this thesis brings them together for the first time. Using Bourdieu and Willis in dialogue enables an understanding that in producing capitals, the field is both productive and reproductive. It acknowledges that whilst Arts Award offers a vehicle for Artistic Production by positioning young people as arts producers, social hierarchies also impact their position in the field. Combining Willis with Bourdieu not only brings the field of media and commercialized arts to the table, but also views the arts as a social construction, a collision between who we are and the market for cultural consumption, as well as see them as possessing genuine potential to develop and change, not only individuals, but society at large (Grenfell and Hardy 2007).

Bringing common culture together with field, capitals and habitus enables a triangulation, a conversation between the artistic, the cultural and the social. In his paper *Cultural production is different from cultural reproduction is different from social reproduction is different from reproduction* (1981) Willis sets out a precise relationship between cultural production, cultural reproduction and social reproduction. He argues that each class develops its own cultural forms, in relation to its position in the social system. Despite changes to the ways in which young people engage with the arts through common culture and new agentic meaning-making, these cultural forms contribute to the reproduction of class positions within the social system.

By examining the production practices using everyday artforms within Arts Award, the productive and reproductive practices within the field can be mapped. Bourdieu identifies a tension between 'creative liberty and the laws of the market', between works which create their public and works created by their public (Bourdieu 1985). This represents a tension within Arts Award itself, between the universal assimilation of common culture on the one hand and the uneven accumulation of capitals on the other. Willis contended that some sense of agency and freedom were possible but within the constraints of particular structures inhabited by young people. However as Walker (1986) argues, until the right use is made of this freedom, the choices and preferences of the agents will serve reproductive ends. In response this study sought to investigate the (re)production of capitals and dispositions on offer to 'dis-engaged' young people who are positioned through low economic and cultural capital in the field of the education.

2.3.2 Recognising Artistic Production

Artistic Production is derived from common culture, where bedroom culture, grounded aesthetics, proto-communities and symbolic resources are key practices of the young person's experience. Its key practice is creating with the arts. This may manifest in objects, performances, digital work and self-production in relation to artistic identity development. Arts Award can be positioned as a tool for Artistic Production due to the award's aims to enable a greater number of young people to engage with and experience the arts. The award's practices are inherent in Artistic Production where young people engage with the arts in order to produce, to create and to share. It can be seen to propagate capitals that are viewed as counter-cultural, as alternative ways of knowing and being.

Artistic Production is heavily reliant on cultural consumption, using a common cultural framework where artworks are produced following the consumption of available resources and symbolic creativity (Willis 1990). The arts are everywhere and everyone can produce. This represents a challenge to the hierarchy of values and opens up questions about what is upheld as 'legitimate' culture and whose culture? Artistic Production is an approach, which seeks to be more democratic, shifting the young person from consumer to producer. It is a vehicle for transformation, in particular in relation to marginalised groups, characterising habitus as constituted by transformative traits (Mills 2008). Willis refers to these group processes as a lived collective awareness and forms of resistance (Willis 1981). Artistic Production is where the arts are used as part of symbolic creativity as a way of defining and positioning social groups. It offers an agentic perspective on young people's cultural engagement and involves the creative use of meanings, materials and practices (Willis 1981).

Through Artistic Production, young people can occupy the position of producer through acquiring and using artist dispositions. By opening up the idea of who can be artistic producers, the arts are opened up to the new social structure – the new affluent workers (Savage, Devine et al. 2013), the cosmopolitans (Stevenson 2003, Prieur and Savage 2015) and the cultural omnivores (Warde and Gayo-Cal 2009). But young people cannot be arts producers without first being consumers. In an era of globalisation, consumption is omnipresent. The marketisation of the arts and education has resulted in new forms of consumerism that have eroded the high/low boundaries of the arts. Formerly the preserve of the institutions, the arts have entered the informal spheres of leisure time and the home. The arts are no longer the stronghold of the upper classes as through Artistic Production each class can develop its own cultural forms, by drawing on symbolic creativity and the resources available to that class. These often manifest in subcultural capitals and DIY and digital arts practices, as a form of meaning-making from

below, which acknowledge the agentic nature of young people. However, there are wider cultural and social factors that underpin these affordances and here an understanding of the concept of (re)production is useful.

2.3.2 Recognising (re)production

Cultural patterns, activities and attitudes are produced and reproduced in each generation (Willis 1981). Reproduction represents the action of copying something, a duplication or repetition. However the term also has social connotations of class, breeding and procreation, as well as economic resonance with proliferation and multiplication. Bourdieu's concepts can be used to describe (re)production as the field produces and reproduces capitals, dispositions and habitus. He identifies the schooling system as the most significant institution in terms of (re)production, arguing that education is a cultural practice, which reproduces social inequalities (Harker 1984). In his writing on distinction (1984) Bourdieu argues that cultural preferences and taste vary in relation to class, but also different artforms are hierarchized. This is both divisive and unifying as the field is both productive and reproductive. (re)production, therefore, is a concept that explores the production and reproduction of capitals and positions within the field.

Definitions of production and reproduction raise fundamental questions of unequal power relations, about assumptions of the 'norm' and how these processes are facilitated. The youth stage is a key period of production (and reproduction) with capital accumulation having a lasting impact upon young people's future lives (Farrugia 2017). In *Learning to Labour* (Willis 1977), Willis depicts the adverse effect of the 'lads' counter-culture in terms of the reaffirmation of a working class pattern of failure (Bottrell and Armstrong 2007). These adverse effects are related to the education field, which privileges certain forms of capital, through the doxa of meritocracy. In this way (re)production is often overlooked, and in particular, the reproductive practices embedded in conventional approaches to curriculum, pedagogy and assessment (Thomson, McGregor et al. 2009).

Previous research (Reay 2001) has argued that accruing cultural capital is a tactic of the educational marketplace, where middle-class parents seek to reproduce their privileged class position in their children. Working class students are 'cooled out' by education not because they are working class, but because they lack the objective skills and language required to succeed (Colley, James et al. 2003, Smyth, McInerney et al. 2013). Social networks also reproduce inequality (MacDonald, Shildrick et al. 2005). What Bourdieu refers to as large-scale cultural production or middle-brow art (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993) was

characterised by a subordinate position. However, middle-brow art is now correlated to economic investment and market profit through reaching the widest possible public, the accrual of emerging cultural capital (Prieur and Savage 2015) and satisfying the cultural omnivores (Warde, Wright et al. 2007, Friedman 2012). Arts Award seeks to transcend this hierarchical positioning through engaging with low cultural capital as a way of acquiring economic capital. The field has responded to the market with its alignment to the CCIs.

As well as Arts Award's positioning of young people as arts producers, the field also positions them through social relations. Within some fields social capital is often held in higher regard than cultural capital. In arguing for access to more cultural capital for more young people, this can obscure the social capital at play within the field. This is often misrecognised by the education system as talent (Reay 2017). Arguments for specialised arts programmes often rely on notions of the arts broadening access (Gaztambide-Fernández, Saifer et al. 2013). However notions of talent hide the role that social advantage plays. By exploring what capitals and dispositions are produced and reproduced in the field by Arts Award, the social relations and structures of disadvantage they create and recreate can be further examined.

The following sections of this chapter present a review of the literature, with particular reference to literary resources on cultural value, the arts in education and vocational education and training.

2.4 Cultural value

The definition of 'culture' is complex. As a notion it also begs questions about whose culture and to what ends? The value that a young person or social group places on culture denotes their habitus within the field. To simply define culture as the lived experience of its participants or inhabitants fails to acknowledge the complex social, political and economic relations at stake. In relation to the conceptual framework for this study, culture in terms of Artistic Production is ordinary (Williams 2011) everyday (Willis 1990) and interpretive (Geertz 2008). Whereas the understanding of culture in terms of (re)production is a wider social process which highlights differences between difference social classes and their educational experiences (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). Drawing on this definition of culture, cultural practices, such as reading the classics and enjoying ballet, become expected of particular classes and those who can demonstrate familiarity with these can maintain or advance their position. Culture, therefore, becomes a tool of power (Habermas 1991), a closed conversation between professionals and politicians (Holden 2004) where from an early age, formal schooling teaches high culture values and communicates instrumental values in

culture through performativity (Manchester and Pett 2015). Adult discourses pervade the notion of culture and previous research has argued that young people's voices have been excluded from the cultural value debate in favour of those more 'official' spokespeople (Bennett 2005, Bunting, Staff et al. 2007, Oakley and O'Brien 2015, Crossick and Kaszynska 2016). This study seeks to explore the values of common culture for particular young people.

The recent *AHRC Cultural Value project* bought together different research that explored longstanding questions around the definitions of culture. Its report (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016) recognised society as unequal and the implications for this in terms of hierarchies of taste and the portrayal of particular social groups – key sources of (re)production. The potential values of culture for young people were highlighted as wellbeing, personal development, recreation, employment and cultural access. Much like Arts Award, the report takes a wide categorisation of the arts. This is justified by arguing that a wide categorisation transcends inequalities within the cultural field, which are built upon a narrow definition of arts and culture. Categorising culture through hierarchies of taste or public funding, has been critiqued as a 'deficit model' (p.9). One of the relevant projects from this body of research was *Teenage Kicks* (Manchester and Pett 2015) which argued for the recognition of different modes of cultural engagement: culture in the home, amateur arts, commercial and popular culture. Engaging with the work of Willis (1990), this research found that the home is the key site for Artistic Production and digital practices, influencing young people's experience of culture.

Particular kinds of cultural experience are more highly valued depending on the hierarchy of capitals within the field. The *Understanding Everyday Participation* (UEP) project (2012 – ongoing) seeks to explore the relationship between participation and cultural value. This project explored participation in culture from a wide perspective from hobbies to community-based activities, emphasising the social and civic dimensions of everyday cultures. Research from this project found that it was participation rather than particular cultural practices that were most important (Belfiore, Bunting et al. 2011, Ebrey 2016, Miles and Gibson 2016). Everyday participation is situated in nature. Rather than seeing the arts as separate from everyday life, art is understood as culturally situated involving "actual people, under real social circumstances, in particular cultural contexts, and within specific material and symbolic relations" (Gaztambide-Fernandez 2013). These definitions were consistent with Willis' framework of common culture. In June 2018, I presented the analytical concepts of this study: Artistic Production and (re)production, at the UEP conference as a way of exploring the often hidden power structures within the everyday. The analysis also engages with De Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life* (De Certeau and Mayol 1998) as a way of exploring the accepted way of 'doing everyday

things' that are embedded with power dynamics and hierarchies of cultural value.

Previous research has demonstrated that young people value culture and engagement with the arts as opportunities for identity work (Atkinson 2002, Taylor 2005, Kelly 2006). Identity development is a key element of Artistic Production, manifesting in young people's desire to express and explore their identities in relation to visual culture. Sociological perspectives on identity consider its production through social relations (Lawler 2015), the contradiction between the autonomous self and social forces (Giddens 1991) and deeply embedded within family history, gender and social class (DiMaggio 1994, Reay 1998, Archer, Hollingworth et al. 2007). Arts participation is a practice of fashioning the self and one of the strategies that young people can utilise to position themselves. There has been a shift from the consumption-based identities of capitalist society (Bauman 2013) where brands are used to generate 'cool' identities and capital, to production-based identity where the exchange value of education is emphasised through symbolic capital (DiMaggio 1994, Trondman 2004, Lareau 2015). Arts education programmes should provide the resources for identity production, as part of educational entitlement. For example, UNESCO's four pillars of learning includes a category on identity – learning to be, where it is recommended that young people are provided with the social and self analytical skills to be all-rounded 'complete' people.

This section has explored the diverse connotations of culture and recent research relating in particular to young people's cultural values. This thesis seeks to make a contribution to this area of literature by focusing on the experiences of the young people in this study. The following section explains two key concepts in relation to cultural value and their application in the analysis: cultural democracy and cultural citizenship, which represent a particular opportunity for arts education to develop particular dispositions. This is followed by an exploration into the Cultural and Creative Industries, and their relationship with Arts Award.

2.4.1 Cultural Democracy and Cultural Citizenship

Debates between cultural democracy and the democratisation of culture (Evrard 1997, Hughson and Inglis 2001, McDonnell 2014) represent the tension between Artistic Production and (re)production. The democratisation of culture attempts to match cultural tastes and patterns to the demographic through groups and structures that create a hierarchy or a canon of art much like the work of Bourdieu (1974). Where as Willis' work on common culture (1990), resembling cultural democracy depends on free individual choice, markets and consumption, rather than state funding. Willis criticism of policy's narrow view of culture

evokes genuine democratic cultural policies that stimulate the possibilities for everybody to become fully developed cultural producers. He argues for the need to recognize 'meaning-making' from below which incorporates a range of DIY arts practices, the inclusion of non-formal arts education participation in the sphere of the home and the production of work using 'ready-made' resources. In this way cultural engagement is responsive to and representative of Artistic Production.

The democratic agenda for the arts, set out in New Labour's cultural policy – the 'third way', was an attempt to remove the high / low dichotomy and to advocate for grassroots cultural provision. However this has been criticised for its populism, its measurement by 'bums on seats' and defensive instrumentalism (Belfiore 2012, McDonnell 2014). As opposed to the ripple effect mode of communication from centre to periphery of democratisation of culture, cultural democracy is more about networks of independent units and is more relevant to the structure of the CCIs, technology and digital arts practices today. Different artform practices also follow different logics of practice. For example, film industry funding follows the logic of markets, whereas performing arts are more likely to be publicly funded. Logics of ownership, authority, authenticity and artistry (Väkevä 2010) are promoted as a kind of creative agency that is fit for the citizens of democratic society. Rather than seeing people as 'labour power', meaningful only in work, Willis regards them as full creative citizens who undertake symbolic activities in the construction of their own identities and the societies around them. This can be regarded as part of cultural citizenship where citizens become active in the practices of meaning-making through their own diverse cultural identities (Stevenson 2003).

There is a body of literature that argues for the reframing of arts education as a process of developing cultural citizenship (Pakulski 1997, Boele van Hensbroek 2010, Stevenson 2010, Mai and Gibson 2011, Kuttner 2015, Thomson, Hall et al. 2019). Using this approach contributes to an ongoing dialogue about the role of arts education in supporting participatory democracy and social change (Kuttner 2015). Cultural citizenship positions arts education as a key tool for developing young people's dispositions towards the arts as a form of Artistic Production. There is a responsibility on these programmes for generating a particular habitus through which young people can demonstrate activism, agency and engagement with cultural life as competent and responsible members of their cultural communities. Kuttner (2015) defines three categories of cultural citizenship: (1) *informed cultural citizens* who have the capacity to understand, appreciate, and critique works of art as an active consumer; (2) *participatory cultural citizens* who see themselves as an active participant, who can produce, remix and share work created; (3) *justice-orientated cultural citizens* who feel a civic

responsibility to use their artistic practice to actively promote justice and address inequalities in society.

Cultural citizenship recognises and celebrates difference as part of the diversification and fragmentation of the cosmopolitan tastes of global society (Stevenson 2003). Not only are these cosmopolitan dispositions displayed through engagement with everyday cultures, but they also acknowledge the less visible and more marginalized groups in society. Cultural citizens are active, choice-driven and are more likely to develop entrepreneurial dispositions and symbolic presence (Pakulski 1997, Stevenson 2010). A rights-based approach, where young people have rights to produce and participate (Mai and Gibson 2011), can claim co-authorship and develop activist practices against cultural exclusion (Boele van Hensbroek 2010), is upheld. Through this lens the rights to culture are embedded with notions of entitlement, the right to be different and to celebrate diverse identities, where those previously stigmatised are re-valued and those marginalised are legitimated (Pakulski 1997). Therefore the notion of cultural citizenship is taken up by this thesis as a way of exploring the possibilities for Artistic Production and an alternative perspective on arts education – one that is designed to develop young people's artistic dispositions through engagement with cultural life.

2.4.2 The Cultural and Creative Industries

The Arts Award is aligned towards particular artform practices and dispositions that are of value for employment within the CCIs. In the UK, there have been several large-scale publications or literature reviews undertaken by Arts Council England (ACE) and Creativity, Culture and Education (CCE) that focus on the arts as inclusion (Jermyn 2001), cultural labour markets (Oakley and O'Brien 2016) and the more recent focus on the economic impact of the arts (Reeves 2002, Arts Council England 2015). The foregrounding of the social and economic 'impacts' have arguably resulted in a narrowed value of studying and participating in the arts that is focused on gaining employment. This has resulted in a new kind of cultural policy, where culture has become a commodity, mass produced and mass consumed under new economic discourses (O'Connor 2010). Much like current UK economic focus of education as gaining accreditations, which can be directly linked to employability, the arts are justified by their contribution to the economy. A key reason for taking up cultural education as set out in the Henley Review (2012), which will be analysed in chapter 4, is that studying or participating in the arts should contribute to an individual's economic future through the accrual of capitals. This perspective on culture, through an economic lens, is in direct contrast to the notions of cultural democracy and cultural citizenship explored above.

A particular type of creativity is embedded within this economic focus. Creativity through the CCIs has become a discourse (Craft 2003) which instrumentalises creativity through mechanisms of problem solving and leadership skills, making it a marketable and desirable skill to be gained through education. This rhetoric of performativity denotes creativity as something that can be measured and advanced towards through education's meritocratic doxa. Ken Robinson's report *All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education* (National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education, NACCCE, 1999) reflects the creativity agenda within education. Creativity has now become tasked with economic growth, strengthening communities and improving education, which in turn has led to more instrumental measurements and markers of 'progress'. Here two contrasting narratives emerge of the importance of creative self-expression and the constructs of creativity as a 'skill-set' (Fleming 2008). Traditionally creativity started with a 'genius', a talented individual, identified and propagated by cultural critics. However, now the creative genius almost became irrelevant, lost amongst the specific social environments in which their talents become recognized and legitimated (Negus and Pickering 2004). What remains is a deconstruction of creativity, which is aligned to particular dispositions relevant to the CCIs – a marketable skill-based version of creativity.

Arts Award encompasses both definitions of creativity by utilising language such as "artistic imagination" and "creative thinking skills" (Adviser toolkit p.69). These have an emphasis on particular dispositions for creativity that can be acquired and learnt. Therefore, these can be regarded multiple creativities (Burnard 2016) where particular practices and dispositions engender the individual to act in a particular way - as opposed to the high-arts artistic genius who works alone in their bubble. The music industry for example values collaborative creativity, through ensembles and performances. This evokes the network approach represented by cultural democracy. Other kinds of creativity inherent in Arts Award include performance creativity and symbolic creativity (Burnard 2016), which are relevant to identity work and the development of particular dispositions. Many young people show creative dispositions, but these may have previously been neglected. Everyday creativity (Ivcevic 2007, Magsamen 2011, Jones 2014) has a focus on real-life, the here and now of daily activities, which manifest in certain behaviours that are thought of as innovative, original and experimental with a focus on process rather than an end product (Richards 1988). Creative learning, therefore, manifests in both what and how the young person learns (Sefton-Green 2008, Thomson and Sefton-Green 2010). This will be explored further in chapter 4 in relation to the assessment criteria for Arts Award.

Having explored the 'bigger picture' in terms of definition of culture, cultural values in relation to young people and the key concepts from this body of

literature taken up by this study, the chapter now moves on to examine arguments around the 'arts', the field of education and their influence on this study.

2.5 What are the 'arts'?

Over the last fifteen years, cultural policy has argued for the arts contribution to health, crime reduction, employment and education. They have reached out into other walks of life from schools, arts schools and artists' initiatives, to regeneration, arts and health and social projects. Arts-led urban regeneration was seen as an engaging tool for working with communities (Bianchini and Parkinson 1994, García 2004) and within youth offending, the arts had been used as a mechanism by to create a diversionary focus (Hughes, Miles et al. 2005). Accompanying this were compendiums of evidence for the arts (Myerscough 1988, Matarasso 1997, Fiske 1999, Reeves 2002, Ruiz 2004). However these did not satisfy the continuous political calls for a stronger evidence-base for the arts. Now in the age of austerity these claims no longer stand up and funders do not attribute the same level of support, particularly within governmental contexts. There has been a marked shift from social rhetoric surrounding the arts field to an economic focus, which is propped up by the CCIs, as explored in the previous section.

There has been a long history of the arts being positioned as integral to a civilised society and since Victorian times there has been an increased emphasis on the arts being 'good for the poor'. New Labour's 'cultural turn' established a connection between education and culture, in particular with economic and social inclusion agendas. Creativity and culture as part of education have become seen as ingredients that will magically somehow transform society (Buckingham and Jones 2001). Projects that engaged young people in cultural opportunities were assumed to be in and of themselves a good thing. Increased participation benefitting both individuals and society (Long, Welch et al. 2002). However, recent research has questioned these assumptions (Karkou and Glasman 2004, Belfiore 2006, Belfiore 2010, Friedman, Savage et al. 2015, Oakley and O'Brien 2015). An entirely instrumental viewpoint of the arts and culture has been highly criticised in terms of evidencing social impacts, claims of 'value for money' and the absorption of cultural policies within existing social policies (Merli 2002, Belfiore 2006, Belfiore 2010). Despite arguments that aesthetic experience and intrinsic impacts of the arts are not limited by social background (Sanderson 2008), cultural consumption and capital accrual continue to be uneven.

The arts field works to particular logics that ratify its practices and capitals. Logics including 'norms' of behaviour and assumptions about the improving qualities of culture, or as Bourdieu argues, 'doxa' have resulted in some groups in society being categorised as 'culturally excluded'. Projects that engaged disadvantaged people in cultural opportunities are seen to have the potential to address social inequalities (Jermyn 2004). These assumptions are based upon the Bourdieusian notion of cultural capital accrual and they also rely on engagement with legitimate culture through official institutions. Both these factors are problematic in terms of accessing practices and logics that are beneficial for Artistic Production. Here, (re)production occurs as some groups do not have the opportunity to participate fully in the arts and culture, or what is regarded as arts and culture by some. These groups are projected as possessing the wrong set of values – a 'culture of poverty'(Lewis 1966), which is seen as resistant to the norms of participation, production and consumption.

Epistemologically, definitions of the 'arts' raise questions about knowledge, who defines that knowledge and under what agenda. Understanding the arts is predicated on understanding cultural and social contexts that shape and sustain them (Gadsden 2008). The arts can be considered as a way of defining ourselves in the relation to others cultural knowledge (Lawler 2015). In Bourdieusian terms, there is an assumption that high and low artforms denote a hierarchy of the value, corresponding to a social hierarchy. The practice of different artforms correlates to this hierarchy, accruing different forms of capital. However taking a common cultural perspective opens up the field of the arts to incorporate everyday practices as a way of recognising young people's symbolic creativity (Willis 1990). A recent report *Young People's Cultural Journeys* (Arts Connect 2018) argued that there is a disconnection between the funded sector's definition of arts and culture and those of young people. Two key findings were that the 'arts' were strongly associated with visual arts and that YouTube and other social media platforms are changing arts consumption. In line with Willis' arguments around the importance of digital artforms, the Arts Connect report states that over a third of young people post creative or cultural content online. Key cultural influencers for young people are the family, friends and the 'hyper-local', whilst school was deemed of lesser importance, with low school cultural provision actually deterring cultural engagement. In response, this study sought to pay particular attention to young people's arts engagement through digital forms, online platforming and local arts networks. The selection of informal arts education sites for this research will also give a juxtaposition to previous schools experiences of arts education.

2.6 The field of education

Education is frequently positioned as a way out of (re)production, as a mechanism that can raise cultural capital and benefit individuals through social mobility. Education's key doxa of meritocracy dictates that everyone can achieve irrespective of background, geographical location and access to resources (Goldthorpe 2003, Souto‐Otero 2010, Young 2017). In being hard-working and taking up opportunities to better yourself through education young people are positioned as responsible and agentic (Taylor 2016, Littler 2017). However, meritocracy has received much critical attention, in particular in relation to measures of performativity (Burnard and White 2008, Simmons and Thompson 2008), uncritical notions of academic standards (Armstrong 2005) and misrecognitions about education's privileging of particular knowledges and capitals. Education policies are often criticised for focusing on instrumental outcomes such as employment as a means to an end (Daniel and King 1997, Belfiore 2006, Sanderson 2008, Rimmer 2009, Simmons 2009, Rose, Daiches et al. 2012, Brooks 2013). The current neoliberal focus on individual accountability situates blame within individual young people if they do not 'fit' the system (McGregor, Mills et al. 2015). This often manifests in negative consequences such as the stigmatisation of groups and communities, distinguishing between the deserving and undeserving poor (Hayes, Gray et al. 2008). This can shift attention away from other forms of inequality, such as underlying structural conditions (Merli 2002, Levitas 2004, Roberts 2004, Levitas 2005).

Formal education has been held accountable for the (re)production of socio-economic inequality through the uneven distribution of qualifications (Reay 2004). Outside of school, social difference is used as a process of production and reproduction of a youth 'underclass', whose individual biographies, economic marginalization and social polarization create socially excluded places and populations (MacDonald 1997). These instances of (re)production are multi-layered: beginning with the family and then being formalised through schooling, which certifies, structures and entrenches it (Francis and Mills 2012). Alternative education programmes arise from the inability of mainstream education to accommodate all learners (Slee 2011, Azaola 2012, McGregor and Mills 2012) and research has demonstrated that these variants of mainstream education have offered lower standards (Norwich 2002, Smyth, McInerney et al. 2013). There is a growing sector of alternative qualifications, such as Arts Award, that are designed as a bridge to enable disadvantaged young people to catch-up to the mainstream. However in reality, what these qualifications offer young people is questionable (Simmons 2009).

Research into arts and educational programmes for 'dis-engaged' young people have demonstrated some adverse effects. For example, a one-size-fits-all model often disregards the needs of individuals and further marginalises those young people who already face significant social and economic difficulties in their everyday lives (Daniel and King 1997, Mills and McGregor 2013). Those who were deemed to be 'a problem' are offloaded into vocational or alternative education which is often in remedial form (McGregor and Mills 2012). Frequently they are offered 'hands-on learning' and the kind of education that is destined to lead to low-skilled insecure work and a re-engagement with low-level education that prepares them for little else (Smyth, McInerney et al. 2013). For those who are least well qualified and live in the most deprived areas, this kind of education or training is (re)productive. Allocation to courses and training schemes confer little benefit, either in terms of labour market advantage or educational progression (Thompson 2011). This research will investigate these practices within low 'vocational' qualifications and explore their impact upon the young person's position in the field.

A culture of vocationalism in education (Banaji and Burn 2007) assumes young people with low academic ability should focus on a practical curriculum or a life skills curriculum. This was termed the therapeutic turn (Hyland 2006, Ecclestone and Hayes 2009) in vocational education. Work-based learning or vocational courses are frequently positioned as the remedy to young people's educational problems (Evans, Meyer et al. 2009). Similarly with alternative education, assumptions are made about young people as unsuited to the normal curriculum (Simmons 2009), as educational practices function as behavioural monitoring and control (Thomson and Pennacchia 2015). Education within these low-level sites are tasked with a moral imperative to change the subjects rather than the practices, which can alter attitudes to engaging with education in the future (Wrigley 2008). An assumption of these vocational strands is that if education cannot provide hard 'outcomes' for young people, such as qualifications and jobs, then providing soft 'skills' such as communication skills and 'confidence' is of equal importance. This presumption re-iterates the divide between the academic and vocational practices and obscures the persistent binaries between practical and knowledge-based curriculums (Kelly 2001, Jubas and Butterwick 2008, Grugulis and Vincent 2009). In response, the analysis of chapter 4 in particular, focuses on the languages of 'hard' and 'soft' skills used by Arts Award.

Having investigated the tensions and hierarchies within both the 'arts' and the field of education, the following section explores what happens when these two fields come together – when 'high' arts are brought into 'low-level' education.

2.6.1 Arts in education

Arts education practices can be considered as a site of struggle due to the assumed relationship between cultural consumption and production with particular education levels and social classes. Bringing the 'arts' together with education represents a paradox within arts education where the arts are considered as something that is traditionally elitist and divisive, whilst education is seen as democratic and for the masses. As argued earlier in this chapter, Artistic Production seeks to break down the high/ low arts binary, with many arts programmes tapping into a broader perspective of creative activities. Arts Award seeks to engage as many young people as possible in the arts through a wider range of participation activities. This is designed to appeal to young people's varying interests, as research has demonstrated engagement in arts education is greater when the young person has a particular interest in the artform (Kinder 2004, Hughes, Miles et al. 2005, Catterall 2012). This wider categorisation of the arts is also aligned to encompass artforms and activities from the CCIs, which form the basis for the economic emphasis of the value of arts programme within the UK today (Garnham 2006, O'Connor 2010).

Research around the purpose and value of arts education has tended to be characterised by three traditions: the arts for personal development, as pedagogical tool (Harland, Kinder et al. 2000, Karkou and Glasman 2004, Kinder 2004); the arts for social development, as an initiative of capital building (Matarasso 1997, Jermyn 2001, Long, Welch et al. 2002); and the arts for economic development, as jobs and income (Reeves 2002, Arts Council England 2015). There has also been a distinction between the methodological approaches and focus of findings internationally. US research has focused on the correlation of academic skills and participation in the arts, through the notion of 'transfer' (Moga, Burger et al. 2000), frequently using quantitative methods or meta-analysis and has become increasingly scientific in nature (Fiske 1999, Catterall 2002, Deasy 2002). In comparison, UK research has been qualitative and narrative, highlighting the personal, social and economic impacts on the individual of arts learning (Matarasso 1997, Taylor 2005, Sefton-Green 2008). More recently, the focus has been to explain the value of the arts through biological interpretations such as neuroscience (Asbury and Rich 2008, Posner and Patoine 2009). However a focus on cognition and the notion of 'transfer' as the correlation between the arts and creative skills, has been disproved as the skills developed through the arts have then only been transferred back to arts subjects or activities, rather than wider academic performance.

Whilst the differing perspectives and tensions between these research traditions are a useful context for this research, the most useful body of literature for this study explores the arts as a pedagogical tool (Gadsden 2008, Galton 2008, Pringle

2008, Hickey-Moody, Savage et al. 2010, Batsleer 2011, Thomson, Hall et al. 2012, Fleming 2013). Previous research demonstrates that there are significant advantages for arts-engaged young people deemed as disadvantaged and than those who do better in arts-rich environments (Catterall 2009). Intensive involvement and prolonged engaged with the arts have significant impact on young people's learning (Catterall 1999) as well as how artists engage with learners, through artist-led pedagogy (Sefton-Green 2008) and Artists' Signature pedagogies (Thomson, Hall et al. 2012). However, previous research has highlighted a difference in pedagogy based on the social-class of the young person as presented in the pedagogy of poverty (Anyon 1980, Haberman 1991). Research has demonstrated that the group of young people more likely to experience the pedagogy of poverty were accessing education through vocational streams (Hayes, Hattam et al. 2017), which focused on controlling and monitoring behaviour. The tensions within 'vocational' education will now be explored in order to set the context for the fieldwork sites.

2.6.2 Vocational Education and Training

Regularly positioned as a second chance, and often second choice, Vocational Education and Training (VET) is seen as an alternative to general, subject-based 'academic' education (Bathmaker 2013). VET has always been seen as 'practical' due to its strategies of work-based learning and its alignment with the demands of employers. Previous research has demonstrated that young people ascribed higher value to their learning on the job, working 'on the kit' and 'in the real world' (Colley, James et al. 2003). Arts Award mirrors these characteristics of practical experience, work-based learning and its assumptions about getting young people ready to take up employment.

Taking a vocational qualification, in theory positions young people as ready to enter the workforce. However, there has been a disjuncture between what VET can do theoretically and globally, as well as how its functions in the UK. As an alternative qualifications pathway, its assumptions of increased opportunity have been challenged as perception (Furlong 2009). VET has been critiqued for giving young people access to weak forms of knowledge (Wheelahan 2007), reducing opportunities for students to be exposed to rigorous academic courses, and consequently, reducing their chances to progress onto further and higher education (Kelly and Price 2009). VET's positioning within the labour market has been problematic with recent policy ignoring research, by reverting back to a focus on general skills and on basic English & maths, so that young people can develop adaptable dispositions (Wolf 2011). The focus on 'skill' rather than on academic 'knowledge' and more recently on 'transferable' or 'learning' skills has been critiqued (Bathmaker 2013).

Previous research has argued for VET as part of a social and cultural reproduction (Frykholm and Nitzler 1993), where high drop-out rates and the low exchange value of VET result in the reproduction of educational disadvantage. The socialisation of working-class young people into subordinate economic roles (Iannelli and Raffe 2006), and the take up of lower-level qualifications by young people from low socio-economic areas (Foley 2007) compounds the notion of vocational habitus (Colley, James et al. 2003). This has implications for equity and social justice, as research has argued that qualifications that offer different capitals and weaker forms of knowledge simply reproduce class inequalities (Allen and Ainley 2007, Wheelahan 2009, Bathmaker 2013).

However VET does hold possibilities for young people and its recent revival, through international development and widening participation agendas, has argued for the potential contribution to social inclusion and economic growth (Nilsson 2010). It aims to contribute to poverty alleviation and social justice by widening participation in education and provide training targeted at employability (Powell 2014), with a particular focus on those communities most affected by unemployment and poverty. There is a growing body of literature that calls for the re-positioning of VET with a more democratic focus that highlights the importance of 'everyday skills' (Unwin 2004, Powell 2014). The 'new wave' of VET research takes a human development approach with an emphasis on young people's agency, and positions them as a resource for society. This is in opposition to the narrow focus on VET for the sole benefit of employers 'learning about work, not just learning to work' (Wheelahan 2007, McGrath 2012, Winch 2013). This rescues the concept from its current manifestation as a deficit activity where the privileging of 'academic' education and its engrained cultural prejudices continue to reduce VET to the status of activities more suitable for young people not deemed academic (Unwin 2004). The human development approach argues for the intrinsic value of education, for example a sense of achievement or fulfilment through the process of taking part in education. This aligns with the concept of Artistic Production set out by this thesis and with the concepts of cultural democracy and cultural citizenship explored above.

2.6.3 The 'vocational' / 'academic' divide

The labelling of different kinds of education as 'vocational' or 'academic' is a misrecognition based on privileging of particular manifestations of cultural capital – those most associated with the middle classes. Previous research has highlighted the tensions between vocational and academic courses and links the former to less desirable low-wage occupations (Furlong 2009). For example, art schools have a particular link to young people who take up a higher education

pathway (Banks and Oakley 2016) and VET is positioned for young people on a lower educational trajectory. In a meritocracy, the type of qualifications a young person accrues dictates their life-chances, with the take-up of vocational options being heavily classed and gendered (Johnson 2004, Avis 2008). The connections between the field of education and employment reflect and reinforce societies' social class structure by streaming young people into different life courses which highlights the values of vocational and academic education (Heinz 2009). The field reproduces the vocational / academic divide by labelling practices, which are often used to justify social streaming of different forms of education. The logic of practice of the field of education therefore is sorting and selection.

Arts Award traverses both vocational and academic streams of education. Despite its close links to VET as part of the 14-19 agenda, which attempted to equalise the value of vocational and academic pathways, it is distanced from VET as it is described as a 'vocationally relevant' qualification. The award is seen as something that supports vocational education, but does not directly deliver it. Therefore Arts Award presents an opportunity to bridge this divide, as there is the potential for this vocational qualification to enable a young person access to higher education, with the UCAS points attached to the Gold level, which is against the current trend in the take-up of VET.

Building on this analysis of both the opportunities and constraints of VET, the following section will map the field of Arts Award in relation to the positions of the agents within this study and their alignment to the low economic and cultural capital qualifications.

2.7 Mapping Arts Award's field

The growing take up for Arts Award within vocational education can be seen as a way of re-addressing the balance of cultural capital. Although there are examples of Arts Award being taken up by elite schools and utilised as a springboard to higher education or further arts education such as private dance and drama schools, there are very few examples of young people combining Arts Award with vocational or alternative qualifications who are able to enter to higher education. Therefore the kind of opportunity Arts Award represents for those at the low-level qualification sites of education to progress to the higher levels is questionable. This research will explore the experience of young people from these sites and the offer of Arts Award for them.

The below diagram depicts Arts Award as a field within the wider field of education that is aligned to the subfield of secondary schooling. Its horizontal rather than vertical positioning reflects its attempts, not only to 'include' all

young people, but also to bring arts education into the mainstream. As a field Arts Award spans both vocational and academic directions and has equivalent points value across the European Qualifications Framework (EQF). At gold level Arts Award equates to upper secondary education and holds 16 UCAS points, at silver level it is positioned alongside GCSE at level 3 and at bronze level it can be taken up be either primary or secondary schooling. At the lower levels it sits alongside the Duke of Edinburgh award, which is similarly tiered and alongside AQAs – an alternative qualification framework. However, as this diagram demonstrates, as well as the hierarchical positioning of the higher levels of qualification, the positions in the field also relate to the levels of cultural and economic capital possessed by the agents. For example, the Duke of Edinburgh award is on the same qualification level as AQAs but holds higher status cultural capital. This study will focus on young people undertaking Arts Award in the lower qualification / capitals positions of the field.

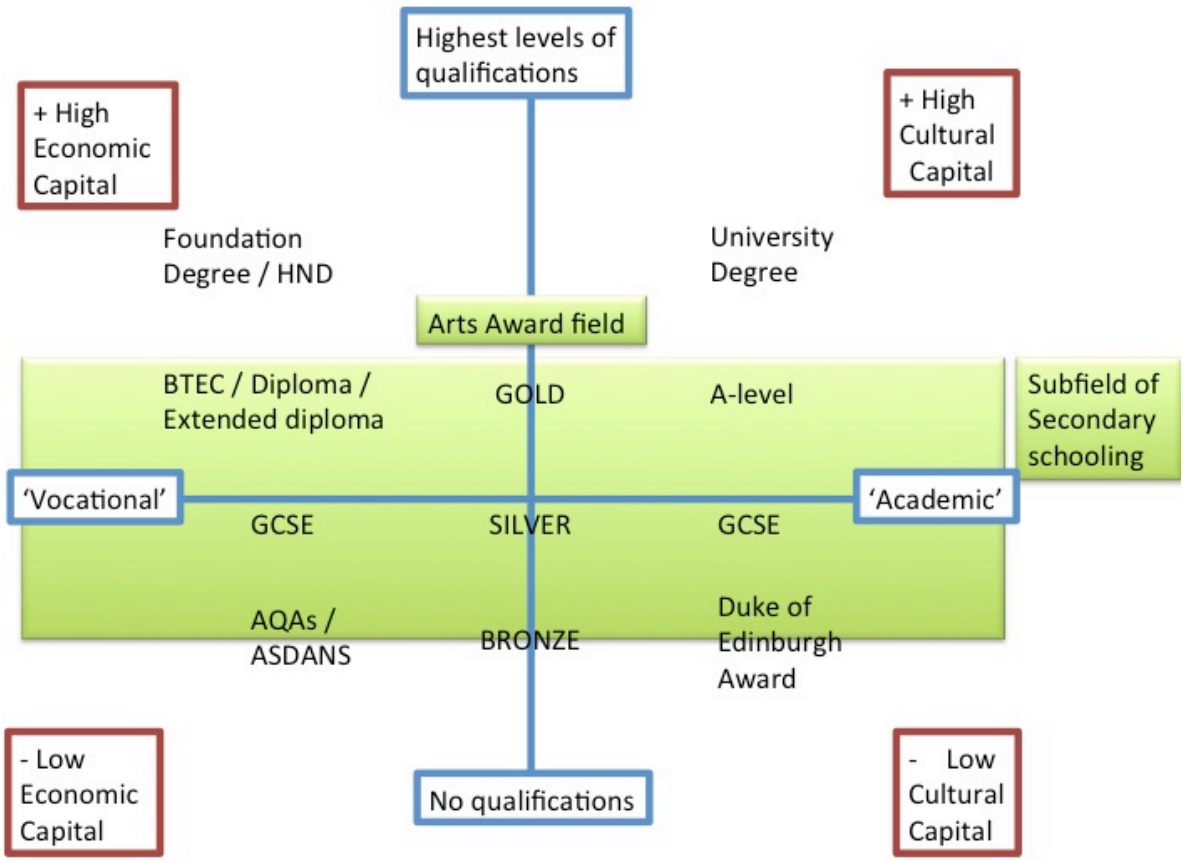


Figure 2: The Arts Award's field with the field of education
Distribution of qualifications across the subfield of secondary schooling

The following section of the literature review will explore the tensions within three strands of education, which are most associated with young people in the lower status vocational qualifications quadrant of the diagram. Research around

further, alternative and informal education programmes is most useful in situating the particular fieldwork sites within those debates.

2.7.1 Vocational, alternative and informal education strands

The multiple and overlapping qualifications within the field of education represent different combinations of 'vocational' and 'academic' education. Research has demonstrated that young people with low status qualifications originate from low cultural and economic capital backgrounds. Where alternative qualifications are an addition, they build cultural capital, but when they are a substitute they reproduce the positions within the field.

The labels of 'vocational' 'alternative' and 'informal' education are used in this literature review as examples of low status and low qualification positions. Whilst each offers 'practical' curriculums and informal pedagogies, these sites of education have been criticised for enabling access to weak forms of knowledge or a lack of 'academic' curriculum. When academic work or more mainstream qualifications are offered, as in alternative education, these are often of a lower level. Despite their positioning outside of mainstream education, these strands are hosted by educational institutions, such as further education colleges, pupil referral units and youth services, which are all associated with take up from the lower social classes. The 'targeting' of these forms of education has exacerbated their social alignment. There are also hierarchies within these varieties. For example within further education (FE) some young people follow an 'academic' route by taking A-levels, whereas other follow 'practical' courses such as car mechanics or health & beauty. Within alternative education (AE) home-educated young people are positioned as non-deviant in comparison to young people attending a pupil referral unit having been 'kicked out' of school. Informal education is also streamed along similar class lines with open access youth project being regarded as a 'top-up' to education capitals, whilst targeted projects focus on those under deficit labels.

Each of these strands seeks to develop various combinations of capitals, practices and dispositions, which vary across the field. Vocational education draws on symbolic and social capital as a way of developing work-ready dispositions in young people who are not able to convert their cultural capital to high enough qualifications to access higher education (HE). In AE the offer of qualifications is 'patchy' meaning that young people are unlikely to progress into FE or HE. For these young people obedient dispositions are encouraged around the re-engagement with society in general. IE develops symbolic and social capitals alongside bridging and bonding capitals (Buckley, Goulding et al. 2007, Clegg 2011, Coburn 2011), which are designed to make up for deficits in an individual's

cultural capitals. The focus of this kind of informal education (IE) provision is often around the personal and social development of the young person. Together these different strands attempt to create alternative hierarchies through which young people can build capitals, as a 'booster' to qualifications. However, as this research will explore, their logics of practice work to support the doxa of meritocracy. Each of the strands has their own relative autonomies and doxic narratives which (re)produce the position of the agents within the field. In response, this thesis will pay particular attention to the different capitals and dispositions of offer to the young people through the different programmes.

2.7.2 Further education

FE pathways are typically defined as upper secondary or tertiary education and are work-related learning with a broad curriculum and vocational pathways often situated within specialist institutions. FE colleges are frequently seen as second class education, as 'Cinderella services' sandwiched between school and university sectors (Lumby 2001). They offer alternatives to programmes delivered in academic sixth forms, which are focused around scientific and technical skills. This separation of vocational, as an alternative to 'academic' education is often justified by enabling young people to develop 'practical' skills that are more value in the job market. However, research has provided little evidence that the attitudes and skills inculcated by work-based learning have significant labour market value or aid re-integration into high-skills educational pathways (Simmons 2008).

Positioned as part of the "learning economy"(Field 1996), there is growing pressure in further education colleges to train for employability rather than employment. Ideologically, further education has sharpened the emphasis on the capacity to learn throughout the working life (Field 1996), which has consequences for reproduction. FE colleges are depicted as a 'safer' pathway for young people from working-class background who view higher education as too risky (Archer and Hutchings 2010). Research has demonstrated a social pattern in the educational direction of young people from higher socio-economic status to higher education and lower socio-economic status to VET (Polesel 2010). However the social stigma of VET as low-level education for low-level jobs, alongside the variable quality of some programmes has meant that young people from lower social classes have faced exclusion from traditional academic routes and the career opportunities that these afford.

2.7.3 Alternative education

AE is a growing industry, with greater pressure on schools to achieve academic standards, there comes greater pressure to exclude the most difficult students (McNulty and Roseboro 2009, Becker 2010). Work-based learning or vocational courses are frequently positioned as the remedy to young people's educational problems (Evans, Meyer et al. 2009). The quality of education for dis-engaged young people is held in less regard and programmes become like "baby-sitting regimes" (Simmons 2008). The alternative education offer is narrower with more diluted qualifications, questionable quality and often designed for young people typecast as 'being good with their hands, not with their heads' (Daniels, Cole et al. 2003, Daniels and Cole 2010, Thomson 2014). AE settings have a key practice of setting practical or 'soft skills' based curriculums. Previous research argues that exclusion from mainstream schooling has reproductive consequences in future life (Holdsworth 2004, Lumby 2012) because of this different offer.

Similar to VET, the practices of AE programmes construct young people as unsuited to the normal curriculum (Simmons 2009), focusing instead on students who have or who are the problems (Becker 2010), many of whom are put a vocational track which is assumed more manageable (Foley and Pang 2006). Young people who are deemed to not fit designated behavioural norms often face extra measurements through rules and attainment by 'taking responsibility' for their behaviour (Thomson and Pennacchia 2015). This leads to further exclusion through loss of classroom instruction time, which has implications for academic achievement and the removal of young people not only from school, but also from social networks. Demonstrating progress in learning and behaviour is a key practice of these learning environments and as a result much of the learning is heavily monitored with calculation-oriented learning as a shift away from 'softer' forms of talking therapies (Thomson and Pennacchia 2015). In order to demonstrate progress easily measurable activities and 'dumbed down' exercises are used.

However there is much to celebrate about AE and its best practice, including flexibility in timescale and focus, stimulating individual interests and creativities, control over learning direction, personal progress, and lack of fear of judgement. An expanded, challenging and flexible curriculum related to learners' interests and capabilities also offers a range of accreditation opportunities (Gutherson, Davies et al. 2011). A 'tailor-made' curriculum (McGregor and Mills 2012) and the use of learning through vocational options has been a means of re-engaging young people who have been marginalised from education (Polidano, Tabasso et al. 2015). Within best practice in AE, the arts have been proven to work by encouraging the holistic development of young people (McGregor, Mills et al. 2015). Particular pedagogies such as praise culture (Kinder 2004), journeys of

self-discovery and 'small-step' learning (Daniels and Cole 2010) often associated with learning in the arts, have been drawn on. Artistic Production encourages these inclusive practices and arts-based pedagogies, which have been proven to be successful with learners who are considered 'dis-engaged' from the mainstream (O'Toole 2006, Lingard and Mills 2007, Hickey-Moody, Savage et al. 2010, Thomson, Hall et al. 2012).

2.7.4 Youth work and informal education

IE is being considered in this literature review because of the educational approach to the Arts Award taken by the two youth work projects in this study. IE represents the learning that comes as part of being involved in youth and community organisation (Jeffs and Smith 1999). The core purpose of youth work is the personal and social development of young people through IE (Batsleer, 2009). The commonalities in this approach includes developing trusting relationships, opening up new opportunities for personal learning and expressing democratic voice by which young people learn about themselves and the world around them (Davies, 2011). Informal educators tend to emphasize certain values: work for the well-being for all, respect, dialogue, equality and justice, democracy and the active involvement of people in the issues that affect their lives, which are aligned to the youth work values explored in the ethics section of this thesis. IE through youth work can help to support emotional and personal development – a young person's rights and needs, as a kind of "double purpose education" (Kemmis 2012). Its characteristic practices include the importance of dialogue and relationships, learning through the everyday, learning by doing (experiential learning) and social and relational learning, i.e. from working with, observing and learning from others. As a 'bottom-up' initiative, IE refers to how the learning is organized - for example participation in structured but non-compulsory kinds of education (Sefton-Green 2006). It has been argued that out-of-school educational experiences can lead to socially and economically productive outcomes (Sefton-Green 2006) and IE is often aligned with building cultural, social and symbolic capitals (Machin 2006).

Arts programmes such as Arts Award share these IE practices and position the arts as a vehicle for young people's identity development. Previous research has argued for the value of youth workers as informal educators' skills in terms of improvisation skills for youth work (IDYW, 2014). The arts are often used as a tool to approach sensitive subjects with young people (Davies, 2011) and as part of their own personal 'tool box' to create activities for their settings (Kiilakoski & Kivijarvi, 2015). Seen as vehicles for engaging young people in positive activities, the arts can take them on personal and emotional journeys, but they also achieve an end product – often a performance, that a young person can take pride in

(Davies, 2011). One of the key practices of youth work is identity building through interactions with the everyday, where youth clubs provide a culture of participation and a common language, which generates a sense of belonging with other young people in the area (Nolas, 2014). With Arts Award, young people can draw on their Artistic Production in order to negotiate their identities and to become part of proto-communities (Willis 1990), which are viewed in a positive light.

However, as a 'measurable' accredited outcome for young people, engagement in these youth arts programmes is frequently used to justify their funding. This instrumentalised approach to arts education, is given priority by policy makers within the context of the scaling back of youth services, particularly within the local authority. This has resulted in targeted interventions and accredited programmes, as opposed to values of 'open access', which have been highly criticised (Fahmy 2008, Van de Walle, Coussée et al. 2010, Davies 2013, Nolas 2013). This instrumental shift in youth policy, has positioned young people as 'problems' to be solved or 'victims' to be saved through targeted approaches (Jeffs and Smith 2002, Davies 2010, Wylie 2015). This has resulted in the 'labelling' of groups of young people under deficit positionings such as 'At-Risk', 'NEET' and 'Hard-to-Reach', which has been critiqued in the youth studies literature (MacDonald 1997, Riele 2006, Batsleer 2009, Kelly and Price 2009, Haw 2010, Simmons and Thompson 2011, Turnbull and Spence 2011). These have contributed to further marginalisation reflecting a contemporary 'institutionalized mistrust of youth' (Kelly 2003).

Youth policy often focuses on young people as producers, agents and entrepreneurs rather than acknowledging the reproductive nature of long-standing inequalities in young people's lives. There has been a paradigm shift from a concern with equality to a focus on social inclusion and equality of opportunity (Lister 1998). A young person must be seen to be taking up opportunities, showing productivity, independence and career mindedness (Rose, Daiches et al. 2012). Young people are called upon to 'make the right choices' (Skattebol 2011). When in reality their choices are limited. The focus on individualisation is a political rhetoric that projects responsibility for problems in society back onto those who experience them (Raffe 2003, Furlong, Cartmel et al. 2006).

Youth policy has also assumed that by enabling access to participation through IE initiatives, these will build cultural capital and assist with social mobility. But due to uneven starting points, many working-class young people can only display a 'lack' of possession of culturally valued resources. Due to the exclusion or misrecognition of everyday forms of cultural activity, official measures and provision of culture both excludes and relegates those to a status associated with

lower positions in the social structure (O'Brien 2010). The objectification of youth within IE frequently overlooks the 'webs' of power and control that apply to the educators themselves. Because of its emphasis on real-life experiential learning, IE has all too readily been co-opted as a theory of education for the 'less able', the 'lower bands' and most easily directed to vocational streams and alternative 'vocationally-based' work-experience programmes (Batsleer 2013).

In summary, notions of cultural value from recent and ongoing research (AHRC Cultural Value Project, Understanding Everyday Participation and Arts Connect – Young People's Cultural Journeys) are of value to this study in terms of privileging young people's experience of culture and how they engage with the arts today. Research into Arts Award and the value of informal arts education can add further insights to these studies and in drawing on cultural democracy and cultural citizenship in particular, can be used to re-focus arts education. In exploring the 'arts' and its economic lens, propagated by the CCIs, a skills-based version of creativity can be critiqued. This literature review has demonstrated that where young people access education has a significant impact on their accrual of capitals and their future life chances. In highlighting the tension between assumed 'academic' and 'vocational' programmes, the two approaches of arts education can be juxtaposed: the arts as pedagogical tool and the arts for economic development. Previous research on VET has identified implications of its offer and take up for equity and social justice, which can be highlighted through a consideration of 'vocational', 'alternative' and 'informal education' strands which are associated with low-level qualifications.

This thesis explores Arts Award as a field in itself with its own hierarchies and capitals on offer. Therefore the framework of common cultures is a valuable perspective for this study in relation to how young people engage with the arts today and the informal settings of the Arts Award programmes. The analysis will pay particular attention to symbolic and social capitals, as well as dispositions, developed by the participants. Arts Award's own doxic assumptions and narratives, which lead to misrecognition, will also be explored. The concept of Artistic Production and (re)production, based on a synthesis of the work of Paul Willis and Pierre Bourdieu, will be drawn on throughout the thesis as a way of investigating the accrual of cultural capital within continuous social hierarchization.

The theoretical framework has been designed in order to consolidate both the possibilities and constraints of Arts Award for dis-engaged young people. The research methods face a similar design dilemma: how to see, measure and capture the arts 'experience'. The following chapter will present the selected research methods and their suitability for this study.

Chapter 3 – The Research Study

It is important for there to be robust methods to research arts education because its value, and the value of the arts itself, is often contested. There are continuous calls for a stronger evidence-base for the acquisition and impact on learning of these 'soft skills' (Moga, Burger et al. 2000, Deasy 2002, Ruiz 2004). Reaching a consensus on what is considered a 'good' arts education will be challenging. Within research, the arts have been used as both methods for engagement and as datasets in themselves. The arts within youth programmes have been used with varying degrees of instrumentality as 'vehicles' for carrying young people on personal and journeys and as an 'end' product, required to demonstrate 'impact'. How to measure the arts experience represents a challenge and requires methods that foreground embodied encounters and the participants perspective.

This chapter presents the methodology and methods used for researching the different offers of the Arts Award programmes. It selects ethnography as the appropriate methodology. There was a decision to adopt a multi-sited approach, spending a year in these settings. By capturing and generating a wide range of data, including lyrics, images and films, this enabled an investigation of what young people chose to take up from the different programmes. Utilising visual and digital artefacts as research data was in line with how young people experience the arts today.

Particular research processes were designed so that young people's first-hand experience of the programmes could be highlighted. These included making work and experiencing the arts together, film making as interactional analysis and event ethnography, which will be detailed in the following chapter. The use of creative methods was important for exploring the experience of others, but also to enable alternative methods of representation. This study engaged with the arts as a strategy for research as well as a concern for 'voice', alongside approaches such as 'talk around art' in order to be responsive to the young people. This enabled an exploration of the key affordances of Arts Award programmes for 'dis-engaged' young people in terms of Artistic Production and (re)production.

This chapter follows in six parts:

3.1 Ethnography is described as the appropriate methodology for this research, drawing on two key ethnographic traditions – researching creative learning and research with 'marginalised' young people-at a variety of sites.

3.2 The epistemological stance is set out based upon my previous work experience as a Youth Arts Worker and what that brought to the research.

3.3 Ethical concerns of consent, anonymity and duty of care are discussed alongside a concern for 'voice' and the approach of arts-based methods.

3.4 The five selected Arts Award projects are described, in terms of their contexts, participants and artforms. The research design is discussed including the decisions made to include particular sites and young people in the research. The pilot project is reported on, alongside its methodological conclusions.

3.5 The arts as 'vehicles' and 'ends' are discussed through an exploration of the suitability of these methods against the aims for the research. Three particular arts-based research processes – talking around artefacts, making work and experiencing the arts together and lyrics, images and films as data - are explored.

3.6 A data audit and process for analysis are presented. Three specific data analysis methods are discussed – the juxtaposition of visual data, film making as interactional analysis and 'event ethnography'.

3.1 An ethnographic methodology

Ethnography is a key methodology for gaining experience of other people's lives and cultures, seeing the world as they do (Charmaz and Belgrave 2012, Charmaz 2014) through experiential and evocative elements (Pink 2013, Pink 2015). An ethnographic approach in youth settings necessitated spending time with young people and joining in activities (Curtis, Roberts et al. 2004), utilising informal learning experiences found in the everyday (Batsleer 2009), developing human relationships with participants and a reflexive and participatory approach (Atkins 2013). An emphasis on active participation and engagement was important, sharing activities and practices and engaging in collaborations, such as filmmaking, song writing and dance. Here the approach to ethnography, as influenced by my background as a Youth Worker, involved sustained 'hanging around' in various youth settings, building rapport with young people and adapting to different environments as they did (Russell 2013).

The two key ethnographic traditions drawn on for this research are ethnographic enquiries into creative learning and arts education and ethnographic research undertaken with young people, and in particular marginalised groups such as NEETs.

3.1.1 Ethnography and Arts Education

Ethnography foregrounds artistry, creativity and responsiveness, enabling both the researcher and the participants to be artistic, creative and responsive. It is an embodied practice that uses all our senses and emotional sensibilities (Mills and Morton 2013). Educational ethnography is a commitment to critical pedagogy, which acknowledges difference, celebrates multiple ways of knowing and interpreting data (Denzin and Lincoln 1994). Ethnography could easily be compared to undertaking an Arts Award as they share important elements of recording, reflecting and questioning. One uses the study of the arts for learning and the other uses the study of human behaviour to record experience and develop analysis.

Ethnography was the most appropriate methodology for this study due to its focus on experience, meaning-making and suitability for the study of creative learning. There is a strong research tradition of utilising ethnography to research arts learning, which focuses on feelings, emotions and the meaningfulness of arts experiences (Heath and Roach 1999, Jeffrey 2006, Thomson and Sefton-Green 2010, Hickey-Moody 2013). The particular value of this tradition for this research was that it provided two lenses through which to view participants experiences: the 'agency lens' which explores how a young person is an agent of

their own practices of creativity and the 'subjectivity lens' which examines how arts experiences are shaped by others (Troman, Jeffrey et al. 2005). These are two key positions, which influenced the development of the conceptual framework for this study around Artistic Production and (re)production.

An ethnographic methodology enables creativity in research design, practice with participants and analysis, utilising arts-based methods as both vehicles and ends. 'Ethnoarts' is an emerging concept, a hybrid space between ethnography and art practice that is politicised and activist. A current international scholarly community came together at the recent Ethnoarts conference (University of Porto, June 2017) to celebrate and share practice on ethnographic explorations of the arts and education. This included research into theatre, urban art, dance, music, museum education and community engagement and blended methods such as ethnography and learning, visual ethnography and ethnography using mobile technologies. An element of this research was shared at this conference and a resulting paper was published on an ethnographic exploration of filmmaking (Coles and Howard 2018).

Ethnography was also a critical approach in helping to acknowledge and record the visual, enabling a focus on the senses within young people's arts experiences. It can account for objects, visual images, the immaterial and the sensory nature of human experience as key methods used to generate data (Pink 2013). This variety of data is seen as one of the challenges of ethnography, risking sensory overload with too much to record. This thesis responds to this challenge through multimodal presentation of analysis. Visual methodologies should not merely be seen as visual forms of representation and data collection, but as ways of drawing out meaning and creating findings from an investigation. The researcher is seen as taking an active role, encouraging participation, doing their 'practice' much like an artist (Finley and Knowles 1995, Finley, Denzin et al. 2011). Visual ethnography utilises a multi-sensory approach, to reflect different kinds of knowledge and help create a rich picture of participant's behaviour. My immersion within the youth settings and young people's performance events, utilised 'sensory ethnography' (Pink 2013) as a research practice that encompasses the multisensory of experience, perception, and knowing.

The notion of ethnography as a participatory practice is framed with ideas of learning as embodied, emplaced, sensorial and empathetic, rather than occurring simply through a mix of participation and observation. An embodied experience is a useful perspective on the arts experience of the young people in this study. A degree of reflexivity was required to demonstrate engagement with the experience and understanding of participant's own experiences. In order to do this, it was necessary to understand what was culturally specific to the young people, their cultural values. This highlights a key issue with ethnography, being

the assumption that as researchers we will be able to know and recognise the experience of others. In response, as part of data analysis, examining the value of performing for young people at live music events, a framework of "event ethnography" was created. This uses Willis' grounded aesthetics (1990) as a way of recognising specific value for participants, rather than pre-held assumptions. This is explored in further detail later in this chapter.

An ethnographic imagination (Willis 2013) in research represents the juxtaposition of ethnography (recording everyday reality) and imagination. This is an approach that foregrounds the experiences and practices of social agents, through observable, often non-verbal modes of being and expression. This ethnographic practice was particularly useful for the study as it brought together aesthetic and social categories and demonstrated how artistic practices can make sense of participants cultural and social conditions, as well as what symbolic resources are used and their relationship to the main structural conditions. Importantly, this perspective also positions the arts as part of everyday lives and cultures.

3.1.2 Ethnography and young people

There is a tradition of using ethnography in research with young people (Curtis, Roberts et al. 2004, Finlay, Sheridan et al. 2010, Russell, Simmons et al. 2011, Atkins 2013, Finlay, Sheridan et al. 2013, Russell 2013). Ethnography as a methodology for undertaking research with young people enabled a responsive and adaptive approach young people's arts interests by working alongside them. 'Rapid response' ethnography (Finlay, Sheridan et al. 2013) has been shown to draw out and question aspects of young people's experience through visual and audio materials created, which represented emotional experiences in ways that were authentic to them. The multi-sited perspectives incorporated not only the sites of study but also spending time with young people across various educational contexts, their informal arts networks, gatherings and gigs etc. This gave a strong sense of how different contemporary educational practices shaped their different worlds (Russell 2013). Ethnography was utilised in a critical and advocacy intention (Smyth and McInerney 2013), reflecting the young people's educational experiences and stories, positioning them as active agents in their own lives.

One of the strengths of ethnography is its focus on direct involvement and long-term engagement with young people, strong rapport with participants and familiarity with the research environment affording rich written descriptions, which can be called upon for robust analysis. Long-term engagement in the field, relationship building and extensive descriptive writing were luxuries of this

fieldwork and enabled engagement in continuous spirals of data collection, hypothesis building and theory testing rather than simply recording one-off events. Grounded theory ethnography (Charmaz and Belgrave 2012, Charmaz 2014) allowed a responsive research process which enabled the continual development of categories and theoretical interpretations and the collection of further data on emerging categories and frameworks. This allowed new categories to emerge and existing ones to be enriched.

Within ethnographic research, there is often a tension between participation and observation, knowing how much to get involved and when to sit back. A background in youth work guided some decisions about when to take part in creative activities and when to become less visible, in particular during difficult situations. Informal conversation was a key instrument in these situations and being able to sit down and talk to young people, either individually or part of a group. It was necessary to be responsive to different situations, for example with the dance project, take part too and risk losing important details to be written down at the time, whereas simply observing from the background risks being viewed as another 'adult in the corner'. The below excerpt of reflective fieldnotes demonstrates one such situation:

> *Tonight was a difficult and frustrating session for me. I felt like I didn't get the time with the young people tonight that I wanted. I wanted to talk to Tyler[5] about his silver folder. I wanted to talk to him for weeks. I wanted to talk to Benji about his Bronze and his latest track, the story behind it that I heard him talk about the other week. And I wanted to speak to Grace about her performance, watch the video with her. But I didn't get to achieve any of that tonight. The young people were reluctant for various reasons: being upset, focusing on booth time, socialising. I knew this was the right time to leave these things and sit back a bit in the session. But I feel frustrated as I worry that these stories or moments with the young people will be lost. But that is the nature of working with young people, you have to be prepared to throw everything out the window …*
>
> (Fieldnotes 24th March 2015)

Ethnography was a critical methodology as it incorporates narrative research, and can focus on young people's stories and experiences. Telling stories allows the negotiation of identities and narratives that are strongly associated with moves to restore individual agency, to focus on the ways in which individuals may choose to shape their own lives (Bathmaker and Harnett 2010). This was an important stance for the research, as often these narratives were collaborative

[5] The names of the young people have been changed.

constructions – the young person telling the story and the researcher understanding within the context of particular social structures, of which the young person may be unaware. A weakness of ethnography here is the failure to recognize what 'gaze' is being offered, which can be overcome by being situational and reflexive in research practice (Denzin 1997). It is important to remember that when people tell their stories, they make decisions about what to say or not, and when we listen, engage and then write about these stories, we make similar decisions. When writing up descriptive narratives, there was the risk of 'othering' or misinterpreting the young people, which is another danger of ethnography (Fabian 1990). This was navigated by sharing fieldnotes and stories, engaging the young people in the research process.

Our challenge as ethnographers is to use writing and other methods of communication to evoke 'think description' (Geertz 1973) and paint a rich picture of those we are studying. From these descriptions analytical patterns and insights can be discerned which reflect the struggles of individuals and groups against the institutional structures of education which get built around them (Mills and Morton 2013). Postmodern research represents a 'bricolage of complexity' (Denzin and Lincoln 1994), where personal histories and journeys, views and understandings, interpretations, experiences and interactions, shape our social reality. The postmodern task of ethnography is to depict and analyse the practices through which hidden structures of power find articulation (De Certeau and Mayol 1998).

Critical research represents the empowerment of individuals and an attempt to address issues of social injustice. Research should lead to positive change and for me this study was an opportunity to engage with a range of young people who were considered 'dis-engaged' and were not able to get their voices heard. Ethnography was used to try to live their experiences, to build relationships and to engage with the everyday as a means of taking social action to change the world (Griffiths 1998). Social justice through research represents a questioning of the power and resources available to groups and individuals, which are shaped by structural inequalities, such as education and access to the arts. Learning is therefore a social and cultural process, bound up in social and political contexts, from which hidden agendas and discourses of everyday experiences must be unpicked.

As a critical cultural ethnographer, acknowledging the multiple ways of knowing and interpreting data, the research draws on postmodern texts such as John Berger's 'ways of seeing' (Berger 2008), supporting the assertion that we always look in relation to ourselves (Rose 2016). Richard Wilson's site-specific installation *20:50* embodies this view of knowledge as specific and situational, mirroring different contexts. This installation enables multiple ways of seeing

and understanding the world as 'an expansive and indefinable virtual space that clinically absorbs and mirrors' (Saatchi Gallery Online). This artwork represents the practice of undertaking research, as encountering hidden meanings and needing to take a second look at things that may have been taken-for-granted. The base where we stand to view the work is prominent, whatever way we look, reminding us of our affective position as a researcher.



Figure 3: Richards Wilson's 20:50, Saatchi Gallery (1987)
Illustrating knowledge as specific, situational and contextual

3.1.3 Spending time together – a multi-sited approach

Sampling the different educational settings of Arts Award programmes was an important element of the research. Spending time with young people in the informal environments where they took part in their arts practice such as youth centres, local venues and nightclubs was also critical. This was done through two perspectives:

1. experiencing the arts in education in informal or vocational settings.
2. experiencing the arts in their everyday lives by attending arts events and performances with the young people.

This provided data for the comparison of these situations and to gain insights relating to the settings, understanding the networks that shape the social (Mills and Morton 2013). It meant that as a researcher, adapting to these differing environments as the young people did was another way of building rapport and

trust to be able to be invited to these spaces. An example of data generated from an unexpected location was an audio recording of a tour of school allotments given to me by one young person. This was a place that he had described previously as special to him, but where he was no longer permitted to go due to his exclusion from that school.

It was useful to gather data which explored the differences in young people's experiences between mainstream and alternative education, but also formal and informal arts experiences and networks, to glean insights into what was accessible to them and what they valued about these experiences. As explored in chapter 2, an everyday approach to cultural value is being taken in order to explore the informal arena of arts engagement as intended by Willis (1990). From this approach a full picture of participants educational experiences across a range of settings could be depicted alongside where they engaged with the arts informally in other areas of their lives. This multi-site method also engaged the young people in thinking about the differences between their contexts as they generated describing the comparisons. The below dialogue demonstrates the reflections that young people made:

> *Jamie: Erm, I think its better than school because I'm actually … I've learnt a skill … And I could use that in later life. And get a job in it and stuff. And I prefer doing more practical work than being at school in a classroom. Like that kind of stuff … At school, like more of the time you're just sat in a classroom writing. Maths and English and stuff. And here you get to … I've been out filming round the town. You just get to do more practical work.*
>
> *Billy: You think this days gonna be long and this days gonna drag and all that, yeah. But then you look around and its nearly three o'clock … It's wicked here. At school, yeah, those days would drag. You'd be bored with nothing to do, where as here you do practical stuff … And then if I finish all my work here, the school said I could go home and stay at home. But I said 'no'. I'm gonna just keep coming here.*
>
> (Interview transcripts)

3.1.4 Ethnographic methods in this research

The ethnographic methods for this study consisted of participant observation, participation in arts activities, one-to-one interviews, alongside arts-based research methods such as photography, collage, lyric writing and filmmaking. These activities were embedded with the young people's Arts Award

programmes from the outset and were supported by the staff and arts professionals working on these projects. The artistic methods produced a range of creative data, which were frequently used as a springboard for conversation and as a data set in itself, alongside other arts-based artefacts such as the young people's Arts Award portfolios. The arts as 'artefacts' were utilised in three different ways: observation of 'taking part' in the arts activities, interviews with young people that use artwork, photographs and videos as aides and analysing young people's Arts Award portfolios. Artistic work created by the young people such as music, lyrics, films and visual artwork was also analysed, as well as attending performance events, informal arts networks and some young people's formal educational provision. Using this assortment of methods captured additional dimensions, in order to generate a greater depth of data and allowed for an exploration of the particulars of young people's experience, against a framing of the artistic, the cultural and the social, which forms the framework for the analysis within this thesis.

The following section discusses the epistemological stance, which was based upon previous work experience within artswork with young people and what that brought to the research.

3.2 Reflexivity and Epistemology

Being an insider to the Arts Award system signified a strong prior knowledge of how it worked, a shared frame of reference with which to collect data and a familiarity with the settings in which it was programmed. Projects running the award were easy to access and to select a sample, which was representative of the various artforms covered by different young people. However the disadvantage of this knowledge was an over-familiarity with the structure of the award and assumptions based on my experience in working with it. This involved taking a more objective view, as someone who is there as a participant observer and no longer a programme organiser. At first, this change of role was a difficult change of pace. Therefore there was a challenge in terms of 'unlearning the familiar' (Mercer 2007) and embracing the realities of being a 'liquid researcher' (Thomson and Gunter 2011) with multiple and changing roles. Another dilemma involved a strong personal investment in the field, working as a freelancer for the Arts Award and past experience of delivering successful programmes. It was necessary to be prepared to be critical and explore where Arts Award was not successful.

Despite knowing the award and the rich and complex knowledge that brought, my position was as an outsider to the unfamiliar projects. For example, in working with young people who were considered 'dis-engaged' from education, my position was a doctoral researcher within the education system. However being an insider to youth work meant drawing on skills to build rapport with young people, a familiarity with the culture of the youth work projects, and an interest in the participant's perspectives and life stories, whilst remaining enough of an outsider to be respectful of their shared language and collective identity.

The reality of the fieldwork meant that on several occasions dealing with a collision of identities –being seen as someone who works for Arts Award and as a researcher. My positioning with the Advisers working on the projects represented the first challenge, as in the beginning few weeks they would refer to me as 'someone who knew Arts Award' and would ask my advice how to run award, even asking young people to come talk to me and seek my opinion. It took about a month of fieldwork on each project for the project leaders to stop referring to me in this capacity. There was also a collision of identities in the eyes of the young people. They had understood my role as participant observer, to spend time with them and to experience what they did undertaking the award. However over time this role slipped to that of youth worker, with young people often sharing stories and problems from their lives and seeking advice. However, previous youth work training was invaluable in dealing with this and it was possible to make judgements in the field about what young people were disclosing, whether this posed a threat to them and to discuss with the youth workers whether information was already known. The majority of the time discussions would be in a group context, with youth workers present, apart from one-to-one interview situations where talking was anchored around the award.

3.2.1 Youth Work Values and Ethics

As previously described, my background as a Youth Arts Worker influenced the approach to the research and stance on young people. Situating myself with contemporary sociological accounts of 'youth' as a relational concept (Wyn and White 1996) positions young people as fully able to speak for themselves about their own experiences as experts in their own lives. The dual role within this research of educational researcher as artist working within (Slattery 2001), positioned me as both participant and observer, utilising the arts as both process and product. Previous research has highlighted the sharing of skills between young people and researchers as an important mechanism for empowerment and a sense of reciprocation (Finlay, Sheridan et al. 2013). Therefore, it is important

that both researcher and participants should have the opportunity to engage creatively in the research process.

As well as bringing interests and practical skills as an arts practitioner, to the research, I brought particular dispositions from previous experience as a youth worker. This includes an understanding of young people's lives, an emphasis on the importance of building relationships and trust with young people as well as the use of informal conversation to facilitate learning. Familiarity with youth work processes and settings, developed my cultural competence, which enabled quick understanding of the research context as a sound starting point. Youth work practice can easily be aligned with participatory research, in which youth workers are in a 'position of strength' (Gormally and Coburn 2014) to undertake this due to the following shared values:

- An assets (rather than deficit) view of young people
- Informal education and engaging in conversation
- Collaboration and co-creation of knowledge
- Participation as more than just 'taking part' but as active decision making
- Empowerment and enabling young people's voices to be heard
- The importance of building social networks and adapting to alternative environments
- A concern for social justice

The approach to the research and the view of the participants was influenced by an axiology of youth work values and previous work experience with the Arts Award and young people. This involved spending time with the young people and taking a real interest in what they were doing, making them feel cared for by supporting them, attending their performance events and following up on topics of discussion that they had initiated. Listening was a key skill and knowing when to ask questions, as well as being a consistent presence, whilst not being seen as an 'adult in-charge'. Taking part in the same activities as the young people gave a shared frame of reference for discussions and gained respect through mutual creativity. Joining in practical sessions, such as dance, demonstrated my lack of skills compared to many of the young people, but this helped to develop a sense of trust and understanding and balance (as much as possible) the power relations. This enabled an 'ethics of care' approach (Noddings 2013), which holds the development of relationships as central in alignment with youth work ethics. It also emphasises the importance of being responsive to young people's needs, which is a key strand of relational ethics. As an ethical stance it enables the critique of a one-size-fits all approach to working with and researching with young people, which is particularly relevant to this study and how it sought celebrate difference.

Relational ethics were important part of this responsivity in order to build strong interpersonal relationships and feel connected with the young people. This manifested in taking a genuine interest in the work that they were producing for their Arts Award and often undertaking new arts learning experiences alongside them. Through these activities a connectedness and responsibility of care was felt for the young people (Bathmaker and Harnett, 2010). They appreciated me showing an interest in their lives, listening to them and in particular attending performance events to support them. Situational ethics (Bengtsson and Mølholt 2016) were used to deal with things on the spot and the reality of changing relationships with research participants over time.

Drawing on my knowledge of youth work ethics, enabled awareness of clear boundaries with young people in terms of personal contact and disclosures, and what to do if a situation arose where a young person may be at harm. A background and training as a Youth Worker have enabled me to gain experience in working with a range of young people, often from challenging circumstances and maintaining professional boundaries. This 'youth work approach' to ethics (Curtis, Roberts et al. 2004) included spending time with young people, joining in, building rapport and informal methods. The experience of giving guidance and counselling to young people sometimes led to conflicts in the way that young people were willing to talk about their lives, but being clear that my role was not as their youth or social worker.

3.3 Ethics, 'voice' and arts-based methods

Ethics are important where research is undertaken 'on' one set of people but 'for' another (Griffiths, Todd et al. 2014). This research study, as well as taking into consideration the standard ethical concerns in the planning stages of informed consent, avoidance of harm, confidentiality and anonymity, had extra considerations due to the age of participants (14 to 18 years old) and some of them considered vulnerable. Ethical approval was sought and granted from the School of Education Ethics Committee, University of Nottingham, prior to commencing fieldwork, which covered the former concerns. In the field, the most effective way of gaining informed consent was to speak to the young people about the research, as a group at first and then individually about how they may want to be involved. It was optional for them to engage with the research and for some of the ones that did, they were able to take some ownership and suggest ideas. At the research design stage it was intended to use the gatekeepers to the various programmes to guide the levels of consent required for the young people.

Letters were issued in advance to each of the projects, which were addressed to parents and then followed up with those young people who expressed an interest in taking part with individual consent forms. However each project wanted a different approach to consent. Some wanted parental consent, some wanted the young people to give consent as a way of giving them responsibility and some wanted both. Therefore in reality informed consent was sought on a situated and reflexive basis, which ensured each situation was comfortable with the nature of participation. In the writing up of this research the names of the participants and programmes have been changed to protect anonymity.

As previously explored, my position as both an 'insider' and an 'outsider' represented differing identities, which has ethical implications, such as issues of power and control. In response, a reflective and participative approach to ethics was taken, engaging marginalized learners in the research process, as well as designing research so that young people's voices might be heard. Joining in activities, developing human relationships with participants and paying close attention to different ways of communicating are key elements in conducting research with young people (Atkins 2013). In response, this study was designed with a concern for 'voice' and engaging with the arts as an ethical strategies.

'Voice' should be recognised as something that is individual and personal but also something collective, social and political. This was part of the approach taken in gaining informed consent. Participatory arts-based methods were undertaken as a strategy in order to acknowledge many voices, multiple interpretations and the diverse nature of young people (Leitch and Mitchell 2007, Thomson 2009). The two ethical research traditions drawn upon in this approach to ethics, include research into student 'voice' (Bragg 2001, Mitra 2005, Fielding 2012) and visual / creative research (Barone and Eisner 1997, Eisner 2002, Leitch and Mitchell 2007, Thomson and Sefton-Green 2010). 'Voice' can be viewed as an extension of informed consent, stressing the importance of asking young people involved in the research about what they want to do, giving them choices and a sense of power over the process. Previous research around student voice raises awareness to issues of speaking 'with' rather than 'for' young people (Fielding 2001, Kellett 2005, Thomson and Gunter 2006, Aldridge 2014). In response this research intentionally focused on the young people's experience so that that adult perspectives were not foregrounded. During a whole year of ethnographic fieldwork only three interviews were conducted with adults.

Arts-based methods present an ethics-of-care approach and were also a strategy for enabling 'voice' through alternative means of expression and symbolised knowing. Previous research has argued for the strength of aesthetic qualities in revealing educational experience (Liamputtong and Rumbold 2008). Arts-based educational research is founded on the belief that the arts have the ability to

contribute particular insights into, and enhance understandings in terms of the research. Whilst image-based research contributes awareness and sensitivity, collaborative and participatory approaches to our research, we cannot assume that images are truthful, veracity is sometimes discarded for artistic pleasure (Rose 2016) and there are risks of misrepresentation. The arts as an approach to educational research requires us to think deeply about how we understand, articulate and engage in research, how we represent participants, how we analyse data and how we share our learning (O'Donoghue 2009).

Many research studies have involved image-based work as a way of exploring issues that affect young people today, having the potential for helping them to narrate aspects of their consciously lived experiences as well as uncovering the unrecognized, unacknowledged or 'unsayable' stories that they hold (Kaplan and Howes 2004, Finlay, Sheridan et al. 2013, Vicars and Senior 2013). Within image-based research, the value of images are recognised as presenting things that words cannot and can therefore be used as evidence to develop and support, or to supplement research findings (Rose 2013). They enabled multi-layered data, make data look attractive – the visual as aesthetic (Thomson, 2008) and enable new ways of understanding (Pink, 2013). However, presentation of visual data needs to be considered deeply so that artefacts are not taken out-of-context (Leitch and Mitchell 2007). Images are not neutral – they are literally and socially constructed through selection, processing and editing. An image can be read multiple ways (Thomson, 2008). This often presents a challenge at the analysis stage, despite visual methods improving the quality and trustworthiness of data. In response to these challenges, this thesis embraces a multimodal form.

3.3.1 An ethical dilemma

The following fieldnotes describe an ethical dilemma faced during fieldwork. A young person is in crisis and is lashing out. Taking a back seat in the room during this incident, it was necessary to make decisions about how to capture and depict this situation sensitively. The decision was made to write-up a narrative so that the structural barriers that that young person faced gaining an education whilst 'in-care' could be forefronted:

> *Whilst we are finishing our chat a commotion kicks off outside. We hear Tamara shouting and screaming and come outside to see what's going on. Tamara is in care and has received a phone call from her carer basically telling her to pack her bag. She is being moved to Hull. She has been told that no one wants her in Nottingham. She's been moved already from Leeds. She is angry and is lashing out at staff. She is very upset.*

> *She has been in Nottingham for three months and was just starting to settle here and although her behaviour has been challenging and she 'went missing' for a week, she has settled into the project and is starting to make relationships with staff. She is not attending school either, so this project is her only education at the moment and now she has to leave it all and go somewhere else. She is a totally different person now to when she came in happily this morning with a new track she had made. She has started to put down roots, pull down barriers and make her own way. It feels like she's back at square one again now.*
>
> (Fieldnotes, 18th March 2015)

My response was as follows:

> *I get to talk to one of the Project Workers about happened with Tamara last week. He tells me that she was moved on the very next day because the police and social care team had decided that they could not keep her safe. She had been making progress on the project despite sporadic attendance and he felt sad that they had not had enough time with her to be able to have a long-term impact. He felt that despite the holistic support she was receiving on the project, it was too little too late. In his final conversation with her, he promised to stay in touch and send her Arts Award work on, in case she were able to take that up elsewhere. He has discussed resilience with her and a belief in herself as being a stronger person now. She has understood that she needed to be the version of herself 'three months down the line on this project', but from the start in her new home.*
>
> (Fieldnotes, 25th March 2015)

This vignette demonstrates the response to the situation in a respectful and responsible manner. Creating narratives such as these makes it possible to communicate a nuanced view of reality and raise awareness to the context of particular social structures that some young people face. This incident was also used to show how the positive impact that engaging with the arts had on the participant despite these difficult conditions. Therefore, a balance was sought between celebrating the agency of this young person and the wider structural context of inequalities on her life, of which she had no control.

The above sections have detailed ethical considerations of particular 'voice', arts-based methods and youth work values. The following section will give details on how these were incorporated into the research design.

3.4 The Research Design

This ethnographic study followed five Arts Award projects for up to a year, observing the projects and their arts activities, recording the experience of the young people on their programmes. These projects were selected to encompass a variety of artforms – dance, music, visual arts, and digital media and a range of levels – Bronze, Silver and Gold. They were chosen due to the nature of the participants regarded as 'dis-engaged' young people and the delivery methods of the award, which were informal. The projects fell into three settings: further education, alternative education and youth projects. A conscious decision was made to avoid the formal education sector and schools who run the award, often for gifted and talented students as well as avoiding arts organisation who run the award for young people, often with strong arts backgrounds. The sample for this study was made up of in particular non-formal and non-arts background young people. There is also a mixture of optional and compulsory programmes. Projects were selected within close geographical proximity – all in the East Midlands, so that they could be attended on a regular basis. The below diagram (figure 4), where the project names have been changed, describes their characteristics: site, accessing the programme, duration, artform, Arts Award level, funder etc.

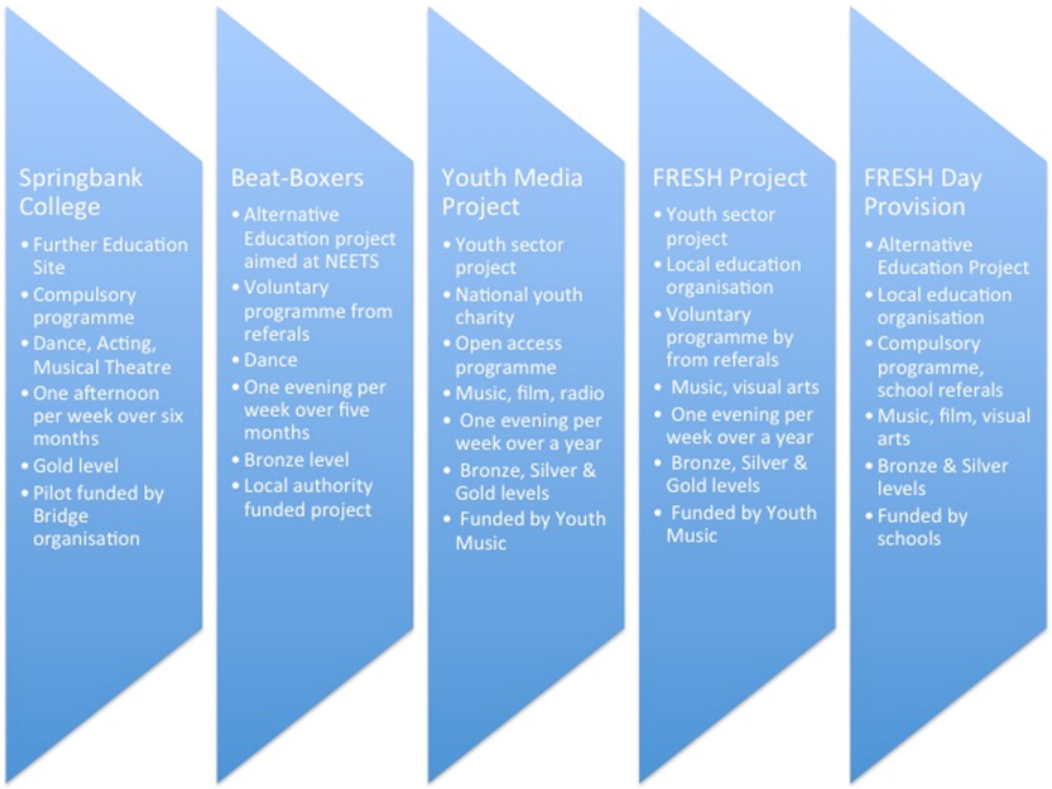


Figure 4: Characteristics of the five different projects.
An illustrative diagram where the names of the projects have been changed

This design was influenced by Rimmer's (2012) research into the community music practices of Youth Music projects, where the delivery methods and experiences of young people across three different sites were compared and contrasted. The selection of these projects reflected a variety while also offering up enough similarity between to enable the comparison of key project variables, which will be taken up by this study. The duration of fieldwork was up to a year in order to develop good relationships with research participants, become a 'regular' within the research settings and attend performance events with participants. Projects were selected which had longer-term programmes, where the organisations had a history of working with the Arts Award previously. However, these were not necessarily the most established projects, as one was a pilot and several were funded on a one-off basis. As the five projects often took place on a weekly sessional basis, in the evenings or out of school time my time had to be co-ordinated between them to be able to attend sessions regularly.

Some projects were selected from organisations running Arts Award already familiar from my work as an Arts Award Moderator. The advantage being already knowing the groups of young people they work with, but with the disadvantage of recognizing my shift in role as researcher, as previously discussed. Others however were sought from a call out through Arts Award, where Advisers who considered their participants 'dis-engaged' were encouraged to respond. Within this call out there were several sites that the decision was taken not to select for particular reasons. For example a local arts organisation whose participants came from an arts rich background and were undertaking arts subjects as part of their formal schooling; and a secure children's home that held a potentially challenging environment to undertake research as a secure facility. The below table demonstrates the number, age-range and 'categorisation' of young people across the projects:

Project	Context	Description of young people	By Whom	Total project participants	Research participants	Age Range	Arts Award level
Springbank College	Further Education	Dis-engaged	College	20	20	16-19	Gold
Beat-Boxers	Alternative Education	NEET	Funder	20	7	13-17	Bronze
Youth Media Project	Youth Setting	Dis-engaged	Youth Services	15	5	14-21	Bronze, Silver & Gold
FRESH Project	Youth Setting	Young people in 'challenging circumstances'	Funder	8	5	12-18	Bronze, Silver, Gold
FRESH Day Provision	Alternative Education	Excluded	School	5	4	14-16	Bronze
Pilot Project	Alternative Education / Youth Setting	NEET / At-risk of exclusion	School	12	5	12-16	Silver & Gold

5: Table showing the breakdown of participants across the projects, age range and Arts Award level

The engagement with the programmes and the young people, was based on three phases (see figure 7), designed to build rapport, gather data and follow up certain themes within the data using visual and creative methods. The intention was that the same approach could be taken with each project and build up robust data over a period of time. My intention was to spend a full year with each project, although in reality most ran term-time only and some were shorter term as demonstrated on the following Gantt chart:

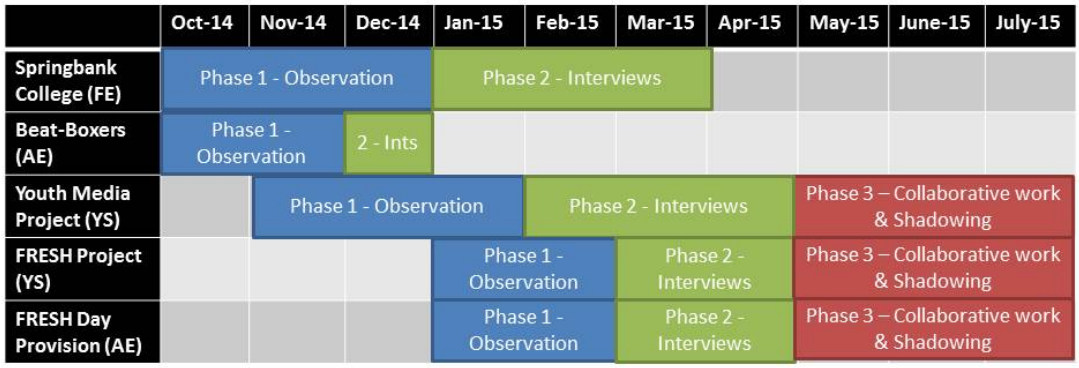


Figure 6: Timeline of fieldwork
Gantt chart illustrating the distribution of time across the five projects and the three phases

This timeline for the fieldwork shows the time spent with each project across the three phases. Springbank College's programme was a short six-month programme and therefore data generation did not extend to phase 3, as there was limited opportunity to work collaboratively with young people or to shadow them in other educational contexts. The short duration spent with the Beat-Boxers project was due to the high dropout rate of young people and in particular those regarded as NEET, for whom the project was conceived. The implications of this are discussed further in the thesis. More sustained periods of time were spent with the Youth Settings projects – Youth Media Project and FRESH Project. For these, as part of the third phase young people were accompanied to performance events. This was due to sessions being twice weekly in the evenings. FRESH Day provision ran three days a week and in the third phase of this project participants were shadowed in their alternative education settings.

Figure 7 demonstrates the different phases of data generation. Within these phases the participants selected for the sample differed – in phase 1, all the participants were included as it was the projects and their arts activities that was the focus of data collection through observation. As more one-to-one work developed as part of phase 2, young people were invited to come forward to participate in interviews, where often video, audio and images were created.

These participants then progressed onto phase 3 and engaged with the collaborative arts-based activities as a way of understanding what the young people were doing and why. Young people were well informed about what they were undertaking as part of the research and why, and often contributed their own data generation ideas as part of phase 3.

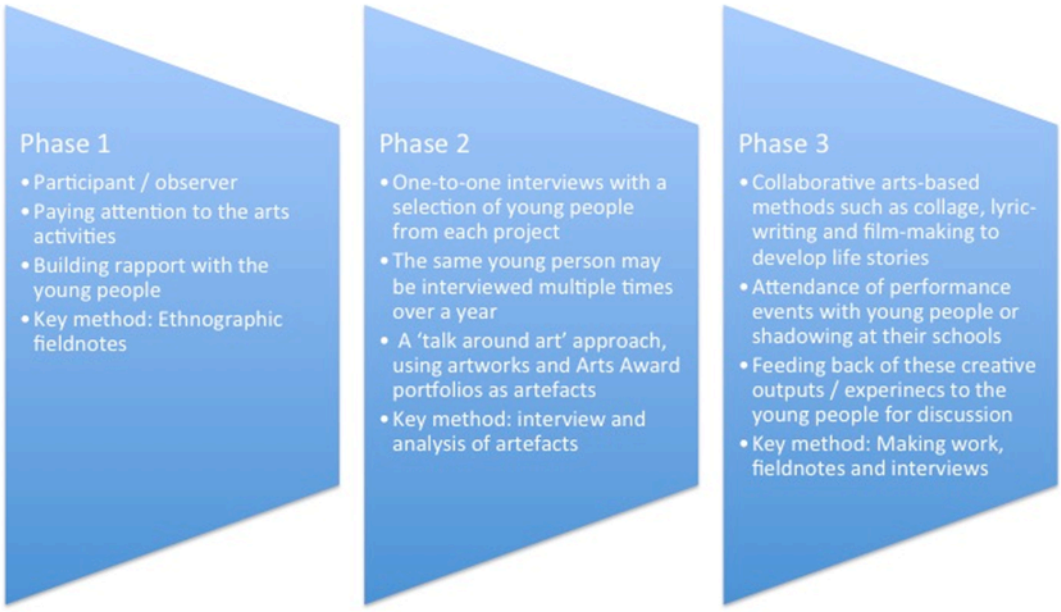


Figure 7: Phasing of the data generation
An illustrative diagram of the three phases of data generation

The kinds of data generated through this research project included:

- Ethnographic fieldnotes of the project sessions
- Interview transcripts
- Photographs of objects and collaborative artworks
- Photographs of pages from Arts Award portfolios
- Visual artwork, music tracks, lyrics and films made by young people
- Video and audio recordings of young people taking part in arts activities and discussion of these activities
- Fieldnotes and audio recordings from performance events and shadowing opportunities
- Social media screenshots – Facebook and Soundcloud
- (A full tabulation of data collected from each of the projects is recorded in appendix A).

3.4.1 The Pilot Project

Between May and July 2015, a pilot project was undertaken, which was designed to test out the approach and tools that would be used in the main study. This pilot was undertaken with one of the Arts Award projects that I was running at the time in particular for dis-engaged young people. The volunteers that came forward from this project to be part of the research were five girls, aged between 13 and 17. They were undertaking various levels of the award and in a variety of artforms. Familiarity with these participants meant easy access for participant and parental consent. A good rapport and level of trust had been built up previously as several had been with the project for years. Their educational backgrounds were known and that they could commit to being part of a research project.

As well as testing out research methods, for refinement for the main research study, the pilot project generated data, used for exploring various modes of analysis and data presentation. These included interview transcripts and photo documentation of personal artistic work discussed, ethnographic fieldnotes and collaborative artworks. This data was presented in a case study, which included visual narratives, vignettes, and graphical representations such as word-clouds. Further themes to be unpacked in the main research project, such as identity, everyday creativity and arts practice, were developed and some initial findings were set out. These included:

1. Participants choose to take up the Arts Award for a variety of different reasons, which fall into five categories: Arts participation / skills, other skills, social aspect, education / qualification and intrinsic elements.
2. Their experience of undertaking the Arts Award within this programme is different to their experience of school and significantly more positive.
3. Participants developed in diverse ways through undertaking the Arts Award, which fall into five categories: Arts knowledge / skills, other skills, social / wellbeing, economic benefits, personal / academic.
4. Undertaking the Arts Award enabled young people to explore and experiment with their sense of identity.
5. The Arts Award demonstrates inclusive pedagogies such as experiential learning, a wider conception of the arts (everyday creativity), 'quick-wins' and praise culture, and reflective experience.

The findings and reflections were presented at two Doctoral Education Research Conferences – the University of Birmingham and the University of Nottingham and an International Conference on Education in Dublin, as a way of disseminating the results of the pilot study. As more data was gathered around these initial themes, the key themes for the analysis of this study: policy, practice,

pedagogy and pathways began to emerge. This will be explored in further detail in the data analysis section of this chapter.

A key piece of learning from the pilot study was the challenge of running the sessions, including managing the young people's behaviour and being the person in charge, whilst trying to record observations, comments and taking notes. Due to my organisational and facilitation role on this pilot project, the majority of the observational note-taking had to be done straight after the session or the following day. This meant that they lacked in detail and failed to capture possible significant moments. However in comparison, during the shadowing days organised in the young people's schools where my role was simply that of observer, the note-taking and recording was more in depth. Therefore for the main research project it was important to emphasise my role as simply a participant / observer rather than organiser. The implication of this would be sufficient time and the freedom to record observations in the moment.

In planning the pilot project, the intention was to draw on several research methods: participant observation, individual and group interviews, analysis of Arts Award portfolios as artefacts, shadowing days and the creation of visual artwork such as photography, posters and photomontage, with all of the young people. However in practice, not all of them engaged the participants and some were unwilling to take part in certain activities. For example not every participant wanted to take part in a shadowing day, and several of them were reluctant to do the creative activity of poster making or the photo diary day. However, it was concluded that it was not necessary for participants to undertake all methods of data generation and instead, they should be viewed as tools to be used as and when appropriate for the young person.

A lesson learnt about this individualised approach to data collection involving young people came with April's interview. She was the last participant to do an interview during the pilot and up until that point the participants had responded well to the questions set. However, April gave limited responses and was unable to describe her experiences. This interview was frustrating as observation of April had provided rich data on her learning and development through the Arts Award sessions. However she was unable to articulate this and as the below excerpt shows, in my efforts to prompt her, she simply responded with answering yes or no, to questions that became increasingly loaded:

> *Frances: So what doing Arts Award, and doing all these different kinds of art has helped you to learn?*
> ***April: Well it has***
> *Frances: Like what kind of things? What would you say that you are better at now, before you started doing Arts Award?*

April: Erm, trying to think. I don't know
Frances: Looking back on all these pictures of you in your folder. What do you think you've got better at?
April: I don't know what to say … Work
Frances: You mean artwork?
April: Yeah, me artwork
Frances: And do you think that your artwork has got better because you've got better at having ideas or…
April: I've got better at having ideas and that as well
Frances: Have you got better at doing things with your hands?
April: Yeah, that as well
Frances: Have you got more knowledge in your head about different kinds of art?
April: Yeah
Frances: What's been the most important thing about doing Arts Award? The bit you liked the most. The thing that was best for you?
April: Erm, I dunno. Everything
Frances: Everything! You like everything? Ok, lets think of it another way. Is there anything you didn't like about Arts Award?
April: No

(Interview transcript)

In response to this, a talk around art approach was utilised where young people were invited to bring objects and artwork to talk about in interview. The analysis of Arts Award portfolios also took place during the interviews, which was a helpful aide to memory for the young people and provided an extra layer of visual interpretation. Sitting alongside participants focusing on the objects and the artwork rather than potentially awkward eye-to-eye contact, created a relaxed atmosphere. However group interviews were not particularly successful as participants often interrupted and distracted each other.

The creative activities and making of collaborative artwork had mixed success. Activities worked well in order to produce stimulus i.e. photographs and drawings, which were followed up in interview. Some young people found the title of 'creative activities' a barrier to taking part as they did not consider themselves creative and did not like the idea of having to create something on the spot. Arts-based activities worked best when they were programmed into the session, rather than an add-on at the end or given for the young people to do at home, so that young people felt ownership of them.

Within this pilot, participants were asked to create a piece of work, which followed their learning journey on a typical day. They were given three questions to respond to: record things that are important to them, places/things they learn during an average day and examples of them being creative. Participants chose to use photography, collage and drawing and the artwork or photo books produced in response gave strong insights into the young people's geographies and identities. The pictured photo book was viewed by its creator as an artwork in itself. Some young people did this in their own time and brought the work back to the project, however others needed one-to-one support to collect material and photographs and then a follow up session to create the collaged work.



Figure 8: Photo book artwork
Created by Haley, July 2015, during the Pilot Project

Undertaking shadowing days as part of a multi-sited approach, was beneficial for gleaning insights across the young people's various educational contexts. Being able to focus on being an observer and recording my experience for a whole day was a luxury and good practice for ethnographic note-taking. Therefore, from this experience the method was retained as part of the main research project and expanded upon as it enabled me to gain insights into a variety of educational contexts, how the young people's experiences varied in the contexts and the structural inequalities that they may be facing. These were issues of which I was unaware, despite knowing Arts Award and the young people well prior to this research.

This pilot project produced the following recommendations for particular research methods and their incorporation into the main research study:

- Make clear my role as observer / participant, to have no responsibilities in organising projects or managing behaviour and freedom to participate in activities and record observation notes at the time.
- Consider a range of data collection methods as tools which can be drawn upon as appropriate for the individual participant.
- Invite participants to bring objects and artwork to the interviews as stimulus for conversation, including Arts Award portfolios.

- Young people should have the opportunity to shape the creative activities and collaborative artwork as part of data generation and where possible these should be incorporated into the project sessions.

The following section will give further details on the particular methods carried forward from this study for the main research. These include using a 'talk around art' approach, making work and experiencing the arts together and engaging with lyrics, artwork and films as data to be used for analysis of young people's experience of arts practice.

3.5 Research Methods - The arts as 'vehicles' and 'ends'

It is important to not only engage the creative abilities of participants in research but also of the researcher, so that they may conduct research creatively. This study generated a range of different creative data so that it may be used for analysis, in a variety of ways – images, film, voice and words, in order to represent the young people's experience. Using these methods engendered a sharing of skills between myself and the participants as we engaged in dance, music production and film making activities together. The arts activities were excellent bonding and bridging activities to take part in, to talk about and to learn alongside the young people in order to try to understand their worlds. Arts-based methods were utilised in the following ways:

- Observation of young people undertaking arts activities
- Undertaking arts activities with young people, using the experience as a springboard for informal conversation
- Devising activities / opportunities for young people to use various artforms to communicate message about their lives
- Utilising artistic work made by young people as springboards for discussion, asking how these represented stories in their lives
- Recording of the experiencing of the arts to use as stimulus for discussion – event ethnography
- Analysis of images and films by collage / editing to present arguments within the thesis
- Utilisation of images, films, lyrics as part of the final thesis

Within research, the arts have been used as both vehicles for engagement and as ends as datasets in themselves. The arts within youth programmes have been used with varying degrees of instrumentality as vehicles for carrying young people on testing personal and emotional journeys and as an 'end' value to demonstrate 'impact'. The focus on measurable impact has arguably devalued the

quality of the young persons journey and their arts experience. However arts activities are often selected for their method of engagement, rather than producing an accredited or recognised 'product' outcome. As argued, arts-based methods were an ethical strategy for undertaking research with young people so that they could be engaged in the research process. This study made use of objects, artwork and lyrics in eliciting stories from young people about their lives and argues for the value of arts-based methods in engaging young people within the research process and generating more 'creative' forms of data. Young people's artwork functioned as a creative stimulus or starting point to explore an issue, as a springboard for conversation, maximising opportunities for the research process to be responsive to young people's cultural forms of communication. This research draws on these traditions, whilst giving specific examples of data generation activities.

This approach was influenced by two key studies: one which utilised drawing as both a tool for engaging participants and eliciting alternative responses, and a dataset in itself (Vicars and Senior 2013); And another whose methods used the creative arts to engage in new arts skills such as film making to convey messages about their lives, as well as giving them a sense of empowerment (Finlay et al. 2013). It was against this research background that my ideas about Arts Award's offer for young people to participate in arts activities that were meaningful to them, to take control of the direction of their learning, and to express their voice, were put to the test.

3.5.1 Artefacts in interview

There is value in talking around objects to draw out information about participants' experiences and how young people chose to represent themselves. Objects connect us to the world as companions to our emotional lives or as provocations to thought (Turkle 2007). A 'talk around art' approach was utilised in order to engage young people in thinking about the stories that wanted to tell through objects. This was done in two ways:

- Objects used in interviews
- Arts Award portfolios used as artefacts

Participants were asked to bring along and discuss an object or objects of their choice that told a story about their life. These were frequently 'transitional' objects, which represent the participants growing up and their experience of this through either education or identity. Also participants were interviewed alongside their Arts Award portfolios, which they used as an aide memoire to their experience and images and writings were used from within these portfolios

as prompts on particular things they'd done and how they'd felt about those experience.



Figure 9: Mini skateboard and horror movies. Photograph of objects brought to interview

These objects (figure 9) were chosen by a young person to represent her and give great insights into her identity and how she wanted to position herself with skateboarding culture and the horror movie genre. But also as a rule-breaker, as someone who was not old enough to watch these DVDs.

This image is a photograph taken from a participants Arts Award portfolio. This young person had chosen to represent her experience of the visiting and exhibition by doing her own drawing from a photograph of Carl Froch. She tells me about her use of drawing as a way to express herself as she uses visual art as a non-verbal reflection on her experience for much of her Arts Award portfolio. This signifies the value for young people of alternative means of communication and the flexibility of the award in this respect.

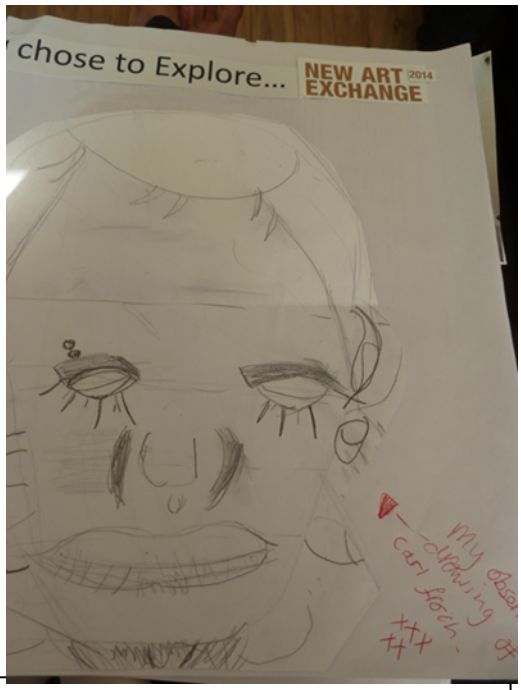


Figure 10: An alternative means of representation. Observational drawing of Carl Froch from April's Arts Award portfolio

3.5.2 Making and experiencing the arts together

Making work is a key tool in research that engages young people's creativity and creates visual metaphors to understanding their lives. The process of making

objects or artwork with research participants in order to explore this world, enables them to spend time being playful or creative in making something that is symbolic (Gauntlett 2007). This was done in three different ways in my research:

- Setting participants the task of making something that was representation about their experience.
- Experiencing the arts together by participating and collaborating on the creation of work.
- Attending arts events together and discussing these.

Within the pilot project, young people were set the task of creating a photographic collage of their day and recording in particular things that were special to them, places they liked to go and places where they learnt. Haley created a large photo book, which recorded her day in a home education trip to Matlock with her sister and mother. This was beautifully illustrated with lots of information about her, what she liked, where she'd been on her train journey and demonstrated her skills in visual art. She demonstrated that she was inspired by journeys and the idea of passing through places. We can see that she is interested in a wide range of artforms from photography to acting and that she sees herself as a creative person, as an artist in her own right.

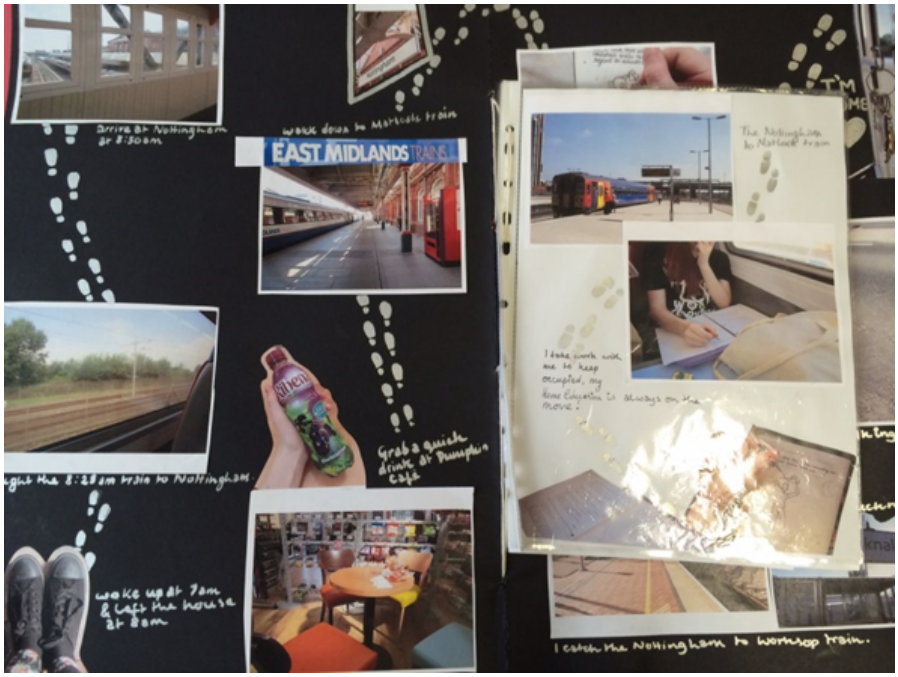


Figure 11: Recording a young person's journey – an artwork in itself.
Inside the photo book created by Haley

Taking part in arts activities alongside the young people was a key method of the research, as a way of embodying the learning experience. This brought us to a shared understanding as the young people were often much better at activities

and gave me scope to talk to them whilst they were doing these activities. In collaborating with young people, work was co-produced, such as doing a back-to-back DJ set (figure 12) and producing a radio show. This helped to build rapport and gave us a shared frame of reference and understanding, which could be drawn on later in interview. Often, the most valuable data gathered was the observation of the process and the discussions that followed.



Figure 12: Collaboration and co-production – learning and making work together
Screenshot from film clip of young person showing me how to use digital mixing equipment

As well as experiencing arts practice together, there was the opportunity to attend performance events with the young people, as a key part of their Arts Award experience. These included street art exhibition, a contemporary theatre performance and several music performances by the young people. My experience of being there, the 'embodied' experience was vital but also provided a springboard from which to talk to the participants. They had understood, acknowledged and often appreciated me being there in the audience in a supporter capacity. The most fruitful part of this experience came from the reflective discussions after the events, which were often filmed for evidence for the award. These enabled the young people to critically examine their experience and to observe their representation of that experience.

3.5.3 Lyrics, images and films as data

The research project produced a wealth of data in creative form – lyrics, artwork and films made by the young people undertaking their Arts Award. Generating these data was a strategy for learning about the young people's lives and their experiences on the programme. Utilising these artforms as data added 'local validity' (Moss, Deppeler et al. 2007) to the research and helped to build a rich picture of individual conditions and individual messages, which could then be linked to wider themes as part of the analysis. Messages were drawn out from these artforms through dialogue with the young people, sharing the work together, discussing and unpacking the meaning. Many research studies have involved arts-based methods as a way of helping young people to narrate aspects of their consciously lived experiences as well as uncovering the unrecognized, unacknowledged or 'unsayable' stories that they hold (Leitch and Mitchell 2007, Finlay, Sheridan et al. 2013, Vicars and Senior 2013).

Previous research has argued for song writing as a cooperative learning experience, where young people are empowered to take ownership of both the process and product (McGillen and McMillan 2003). For researchers utilising lyrics as data, these can give important insights into young people's subcultures, through the varieties of language used. Lyrics written by young people were collected, with their permission, in order that they could be analysed. Image-making is a key affordance of arts programmes that enables young people to explore and express their identities. Within this research, for example, several young people created album artwork for the covers of the EPs. These images were representational of young people's lives and experiences and added to the richness of data by recording young people's thoughts and responses to the image-making as a process and product. Many young people also worked to produce films. These ranged from documentaries about being a young person and the educational setting they were working in, to more experimental short comedy films. The value of these films was in their utility as springboards for discussion with young people and also for content analysis.

3.5.4 Choice of methods against research aims

As this chapter has argued, how to see, measure and capture the experience of arts programmes is challenging and requires methods that foreground embodied experience and the participants perspective. The below table summarises the suitability of methods used in this study against the specific objectives of the research, which enabled an exploration of the key affordances of Arts Award programmes for 'dis-engaged' young people in terms of Artistic Production.

Research objective	Suitability of the method
1. To explore the differing offer of these programmes across the chosen settings	• Ethnography: long time in the field, multi-sited to compare the contexts • Arts-based methods to engage young people and enable alternative methods of representation
2. To describe the first-hand individual experiences of this particular group of young people undertaking the award	• Making work together and experiencing the arts together, film making as interactional analysis and event ethnography • The arts as a strategy for research and a concern for 'voice' • Approaches such as talk around art as a way of being responsive to the young people
3. To investigate what young people chose to take up from the different programmes	• Capturing and generating a wider range of data, including lyrics, images and films • Utilising arts-based and digital data generation methods were in-line with how young people on the programmes were experiencing the arts

13: Table detailing the suitability of the methods against the research objectives

The following section gives details on the scale and varieties of data generated and how it was analysed.

3.6 Data Audit and Analysis

This doctoral research study followed five Arts Award projects for up to a year, observing the projects and documenting the young people's arts activities. These projects were selected to encompass a variety of artforms – dance, music, visual arts, and digital media and a range of levels – Bronze, Silver and Gold. They were chosen due to the nature of the participants as 'dis-engaged' and the informal delivery methods of the award. The projects spanned three educational contexts: further education, alternative education and youth settings.

There were 46 total participants for the research, who took part in varying degrees from one-off interviews to frequent interviews, shadowing days and the creation of collaborative work. The ages of the participants ranged from 14 to 23

and were considered 'dis-engaged' as identified by the programmes and their Arts Award Advisers. Only three adult workers were interviews for this research, who were youth workers. 50 different interviews were undertaken, but some participants had up to five interviews as part projects lasting up to a year. 432 hours were spent undertaking fieldwork in these programmes. Participants were also shadowed at local arts and performance events as well as in their different alternative education providers, which were external to the projects.

The following data was generated:

- Fieldnotes (3 notebooks)
- Interview transcripts (50)
- Photos of objects selected by participants
- Collaborative artwork: photos, drawings, photobooks, music tracks and radio production
- Photos from portfolios and of artwork created
- Photos from schools visits
- Correspondence with young people i.e. an email from participant explaining they are not returning to the project
- 1 photograph of poster from classroom wall
- 20 completed questionnaires (FE project)
- Album Cover Artwork and photographic images
- Lyrics (5) with recordings (2)
- Footage from performances (4)
- Social Media pages i.e. Soundcloud, Facebook or YouTube (4)
- Films with interviews (3)
- Film script
- Arts Leadership video clips (6)
- Audio / Videos from group discussions (3)
- Photos of environment: posters, work in progress, room set up
- Photos of artefacts: rule sheets, worksheets
- Photos of activities and artistic work in progress
- Photos of street art exhibition visited
- Audio recording from allotment tour

(Please see full audit and data list in appendix A)

The following table illustrates what data was generated by which young people across the projects:

Project	Questionnaires	Interviews	Artwork & Films	Lyrics & tracks	Performances	Film clips	Social Media	Audio / Video
Springbank College (FE)	20	5						
Beat-Boxers (AE)								
Youth Media Project (YS)		15 (5 yps x 3)	1	3	2	2	3	
FRESH Project (YS)		17 (6 yps x 2/3)		2	2	2	1	
FRESH Day Provision (AE)		6 (3 yps x 2)	3			2		4
Pilot Project (AE / YS)		5	3					
Total	**20**	**47**	**6**	**5**	**4**	**6**	**4**	**4**

14: Table illustrating range of data generated by young people across the projects
Names of the projects have been changed.

3.6.1 Data Analysis

The analytical approach of this study was to start with the small, in-depth personal experiences of a small group of participants and then to work outwards to consider the wider impacts and implications of the inclusion agenda and its often unintended exclusionary outcomes. This decision was influenced by the AHRC Cultural Value Project (2016) which prioritised first-hand individual experiences as 'a more engaged approach to experience', taking these individual experiences as a starting point for working outwards and re-framing for wider significance. This is particularly significant in relation to the analytical framework of Artistic Production and (re)production.

Due to the pilot project, length of time spent in the field and with participants a grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2014) was utilised to collect data. Themes were identified from the observation of projects and interviews and activities were designed in order generate further data, hypothesis building and theory testing as the study progressed. Following the pilot, initial themes for data collection were identified as vocational education, youth work, alternative education, arts leadership, identity, performance, and digital practices. This data was then coded and categorised under the four components of the Arts Award which make up the analysis chapters of this study: policy, practice, pedagogy and pathways. The 'policy' category was analysed through text-work, through a document analysis, which is set out below. Arts practice involved the analysis of the work young people created as artefacts, pedagogy included interactional analysis of film clips taken and pathways explores the particular narratives of young people on the programmes.

The analysis under these categories was done in a rigorous and systematic manner through the following steps:

1. Mapping of categories and codes
2. Creation of coded data sheets
3. Written summaries of literature and categories / codes
4. Thematic diagram of category
5. Summary of diagram with key points
6. Written summary as applicable to theoretical framework

3.6.2 Text-work

A document analysis was also undertaken of the Arts Award literature, which looked at three different levels:

1. Arts Award policy and research – The Henley Review (2012), Arts Council Great Art for All strategy (2012), London Southbank University's Arts

Award impact study (2016), alongside publications that focus specifically on working with dis-engaged groups from the National Youth Agency, Unitas – Youth Justice organisation and Cape UK – Arts Council bridge organisation.

2. Arts Award resources for Advisers – The Arts Award toolkit (2014) which forms the basis, the set of instructions from which they can deliver the award.
3. Arts Award resources for young people – Promotional Film (2016), young people's booklets and bronze log book.

This analysis was undertaken on these levels of texts as a way of exploring narrative themes in texts by looking at the particular languages used. Texts are socially made with cultural available resources, realising the interest of their makers (Fairclough 2000, Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes et al. 2005, Rogers 2011). Rhetorical strategies (Maclure 1994, MacLure 2003) are revealed through taking texts apart in order to critique public policy and the 'outward' power of the languages. In turn this highlights devices that are used to claim authority and to deliver doxic narratives as explored in chapter 4.

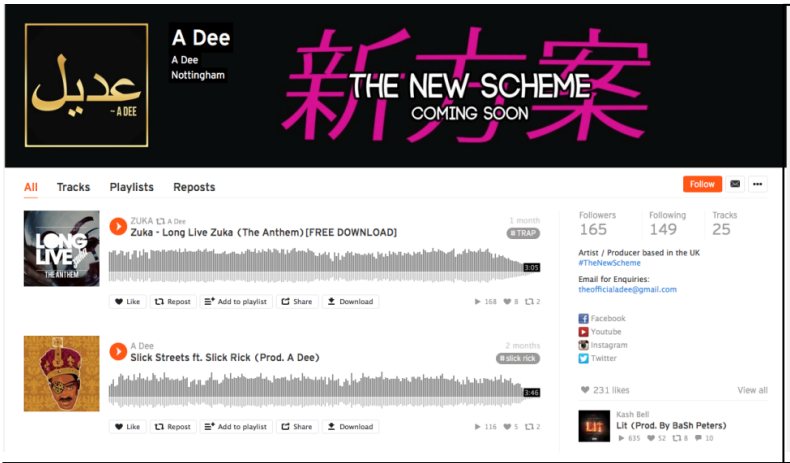
As this study generated a varied data set, multimodal analysis was utilised in order to draw attention to the material resources beyond speech and writing (Wohlwend 2011). Using the arts as artefacts and as experience, multimodality enabled a focus on social semiotics, mediated discourse and practice theory (Bourdieu 1996). Film was used to analyse communication and interaction. Images were used for content analysis and representation in particular as a way of engaging with user-generated ways of picturing and doing social identities (Rose 2014, Rose 2016). Textual analysis drew on 'keywords' (Baker 2004) and 'word counts' (Fairclough 2003) as ways of recognising patterns of naturally occurring language, word frequency and to highlight discourse within language. Identifying these words did not reveal the discourses, but instead highlighted the existence of clusters of particular words linked to discourses. In particular, 'co-locations' indicating causality and 'over-wording' demonstrating over-emphasis (Fairclough 2000) were noted.

In addition, three extra methods of analysis were utilised in working with the data, which were particularly relevant to the nature of the data and developed 'outputs' as part of the final thesis. These will now be discussed.

3.6.3 Visual narratives – the juxtaposition of different data

Analysing visual images as data presents a challenge to all researchers, which was acknowledged at the research design stage. In order to bring key messages

from within the visual data (images, film and lyrics) to life, it was important as part of the analysis stage to juxtapose them with young people's voices from interview excerpts and sections from my fieldnotes to try to represent their experience. An influential paper on how imagery 'speaks to us' argues for the value of image-based work in complementing more traditional modes of data collection (Leitch and Mitchell, 2007). A significant feature of data analysis in this paper was the use of transcribed text from follow-up interviews to accompany the images. Also the crafting of words and visual data into narratives that may be read as 'visual texts', was inspired by a research project by Vicars & Senior (2013), so that multiple voices and contexts could be acknowledged. In response data is presented to the reader in this thesis by visual vignettes, as a bricolage (Denzin and Lincoln 1994) of different data forms in order to representing the ethnographic experience of this research. The below figure (15) is an example of one of the visual narratives that appear throughout the thesis which include visual artwork, photographic images, social media and film screen-grabs, event flyers, interview transcripts and fieldnotes.



JB: That's why I've been streamlining my social media. So Twitter, Facebook, Soundcloud, Instagram, MySpace. Back in the day there was like a team of people, there still is, but independent artists have to do that all by themselves. And it's stressful because I've got things like college …

JB: Well it's been hectic since January, well December. It's just been popping off. Everything's been popping off. I've got erm … the radio thing was really out the blue because it just felt right at the time. It was about 2am on Thursday and I emailed the BBC my track. Something just told me, like a voice in the back of my head said 'send them the email'. And it usually takes about six months to even get a response and they messaged me the next day saying we want you on BBC radio now …
Frances: What BBC Radio …
JB: Nottingham. And they said they might pass it on to One Xtra.
Frances: Ok, what track was it?
JB: It's called 'Must Move On' featuring Shaan Caur.

Figure 15: An example of a visual vignette.
Including Soundcloud page screenshot and two interview excerpts

3.6.4 Film Making as interactional analysis

This research study has utilised films made by young people as direct data, but has also used raw (unedited) video data as part of data analysis. This was done because there was a wealth of video data taken from the projects, as cameras are often used to record young people's participation in arts activities and their reflection on experiences such as arts event visits. Video is an effective medium for recording the interactions between people, artefacts and their environment which offer insights into learning (Plowman and Stephen, 2008), represent the 'complexity of experience' (White 2009) and prioritise everyday actions and activities (Heath, Hindmarsh et al. 2010). In response, as the video camera was often the key mode of evidencing young people's arts leadership, the decision was taken to collate a range of these clips so they could be critically analysed. They capture a much wider and in depth picture than simply ethnographic notes, which have been used to accompany the transcript by way of describing the scene. Therefore, drawing on the tradition of classroom videography, this research utilises video as 'extraction' (Haw 2010) in order to record and study the interactions and learning of young people and their educators.

Talk from the interviews was transcribed into the films and screenshots of particular interactions were created and coded. Throughout the thesis, film screenshots will direct the reader to a particular film through a web-link when double-clicked. An example of how these films appear and can be activated through thumbnails has been discussed in the introduction (p. 19). These are designed as an extra layer of interpretation, as an aide to what is written and have been crafted using varieties of data in order convey messages around young people's experience of the award. These assist the reader in seeing, hearing and thinking as the ethnographer. An example follows of a film made representing a particular research method.

3.6.5 Event Ethnography

Many researchers during their fieldwork face a problem, an ethnographic challenge, of how to see, measure and capture the experience of other people. My challenge was to use ethnography to capture young people's activities and experiences of performing. In response, I devised 'event ethnography' as a way to make sense of this experience and to explore what the young people got out of performing - seeking to question why young people take part in these events, what the culture of performing is and what young people value about these experiences.

This method was used at three performance events that were attended as part of the research study. Taking place in three different settings: a dis-used bar, a theatre venue and an over 18s nightclub, the culture of performing at each of these events was different. Around ten hours were spent at the events, however the event ethnography spanned around 40 additional hours as either preparation or follow-up. These events were recorded through reflective fieldnotes, short notes taken on a mobile phone, audio and video recordings. These were shared with participants following the events as aide memoires, which enabled them to talk about their experience.

Event ethnography has been previously referenced within the spheres of event and festival management and large-scale international meetings in order to bring a deeper understanding of participants experiences of those events (Holloway, Brown et al. 2010) or to conduct collaborative research (Brosius and Campbell 2010, Davies, Selin et al. 2015). Within educational research event ethnography is a developing method of research, much like network ethnography (Ball 2016), which involves following people, stories, lives and questioning. In a similar fashion, event ethnography has a focus on an event as a happening condensed over a number of hours, the environment, the social actors, their relations and the activity.

As a distinct 'outsider' to the rap music scene through age, appearance and gender, it was useful to be made aware of what happens at these events before attending. Before attending the event, one of the participants shared several clips on YouTube of previous events and talked through them in order to prepare me for what to expect:

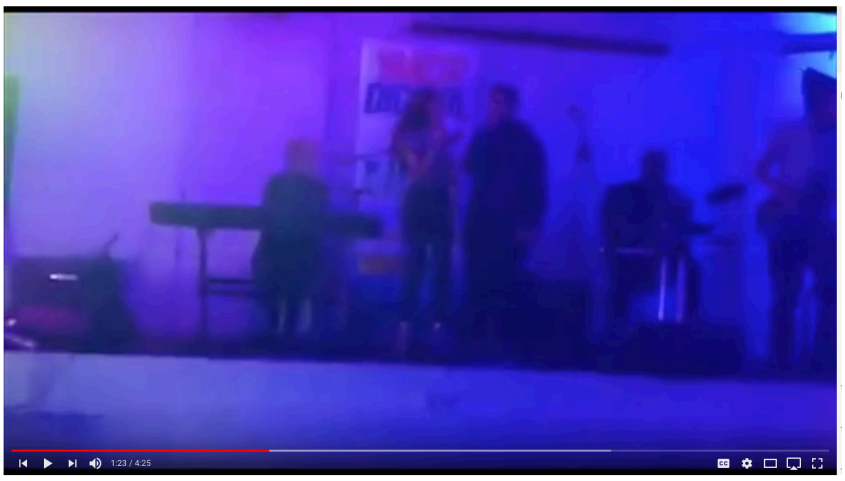
> *"So in grime clashes, when the crowd react, because it's on a beat, you have to keep your flow. So then you have to start again, and that's the only way it can work … I have to keep starting again because of the crowd. They were all going crazy".*
>
> (Interview transcript)

Social media, therefore, had a big role in promoting and organizing the events and participants shared the e-flyers before attending.

During the events personal immersion in the live music and atmosphere, enabled the experience to be explored as 'embodied', with a focus on the sensory (Pink 2015). 'Being there' was a key way of fore fronting the young people's lived experience of performing. Trying to record as much of the experience of being there as possible, through using a variety of different senses, was important to be able to revisit this experience with the young person at a later date in order to deconstruct and de-cypher meaning. Ethnographic note-taking was not possible

during the events due to the focus on participation and experiencing. The introduction of pen and paper to the scene would have caused an unnatural reaction from participants and a distraction. However, the hours directly after the event were vital for sitting down to write, trying to capture that experience. During the event a mobile phone was used to make brief notes, which simply appeared as if sending a text message. Audio recordings with a small device were taken and lots of video footage was taken by participants, other young people and event organizers, which was utilized in the reflective stage following the event and to help provide rich description of the events.

After the event, talking to the young people was vital in capturing their experience and its value for them. In recording as much of this sensory experience of the event as possible through note-taking, audio recordings and video recordings, this data was able to be shared with the young person in the days following the event. These served as aide-memoires to re-situate the young person within that environment. As part of this process we watched footage together, both on YouTube and on mobile phones, listened to tracks from the performance and sometimes even read out fieldnotes so that they young person could respond to the experience. This approach offers participants a variety of media and frames of reference through which to talk about their experience. This worked as clarification, picking up any misunderstandings, where young people could correct me. Using a grounded aesthetics approach (Willis 1998) such as this was key to determining young people's cultural values in respect of performing at these events. This was a key element of this post-event reflective process, aided by the audio-visual material that was gathered. Short films, such as the one below, were made as a way of compiling many different sources and varieties of data – audio, film footage, transcribed words, as a way of representing the young person's experience:



Film clip 1: Event Ethnography *(4min 25 sec).*
Click thumbnail to play the film.

Event ethnography was not only a strategy for data collection, but also for analysis, as a way of seeing, capturing and measuring young people's experiences of performing. This study has utilised event ethnography to explore what the young people got out of performing, their motivations for taking part in these events and what young people value about these experiences. The preparatory fieldwork before attending the event and the reflective dialogues following the event enabled exploration of the participant's feelings and motivations

This section has explored arts-based methods of engaging with artefacts in interview using a 'talk around art' approach, making and experiencing the arts together and lyrics, artwork and films as data. It has also addressed multimodal approaches in the analysis of visual vignettes, film editing as interactional analysis and event ethnography. The following chapters present the analysis of this data and the synthesis of these approaches in order to explore Artistic Production and (re)production within Arts Award programmes.

4. Introduction to the analysis chapters

This research sought to analyse the different experiences of the Arts Award programme for young people accessing the programme in conjunction with low-level qualifications or no qualifications at all. Analysis of the data demonstrated that there were both productive and reproductive logics of practice at work within the fieldwork sites, which reinforced the doxa of meritocracy. The concept of Artistic Production and (re)production was used analytically throughout as a way of exploring the practices, capitals and dispositions on offer. The following analysis chapters are structured around the different elements that impact upon the young people educational experiences: policy, practice, pedagogy and pathways. These elements are analysed and described using both text-work and fieldwork data derived from the research study. They also correspond to the different components of the award: arts practice, arts research and arts leadership, as well as from different perspectives: the young person, the Arts Award Adviser and the fieldwork sites.

As a field within the field of education, Arts Award has its own doxic narratives. In chapter 4 a textual and multimodal analysis of policy documents, research and Arts Award resources was undertaken in order to highlight these narratives. Through the analysis of word counts and key words the themes of access and inclusion, performativity, employability and citizenship were identified. Following this, chapter 5 examines the arts practices on offer to young people through the award by mapping the practices of the low-status 'vocational' strands. This explored the capitals and dispositions on offer.

In chapter 6 the varying pedagogical practices of the Arts Award Advisers are examined. A particular focus is given to the arts leadership component of the award in order to investigate the different logics, practices and pedagogies of the fieldwork sites. Following this, chapter 7 focuses on the arts pathways element of the award as a way of exploring the different position-takings of young people. As the final analysis chapter, it explores the future arts pathways of the participants by drawing on transitional metaphors and categorising three future directions identified by this cohort. In exploring doxic narratives, the distribution of capitals and dispositions, pedagogical practices and future pathways, the different offer of the Arts Award for young people accessing the programme through the lower levels of education can be highlighted.

Chapter 4 – Arts Policy and Document Analysis

In their interview *Doxa and Common Life* (1992) Pierre Bourdieu and Terry Eagleton discuss the everyday practices through which agents amass cultural capital, including education and the arts. Bourdieu's concept of doxa is used in this chapter as a way of exploring the practices of the Arts Award programme, which it is argued has its own doxic narratives. The dominant doxa of education is meritocracy and this chapter explores logics of practice of the award, which support this doxa. It presents a policy and document analysis of the Arts Award, its research and resources. As a highly visible arts education programme, much information on the award is already in the public domain – quarterly participation reports, annual guides and a recently published Impact Study (2016). This section explores the award's resources, such as the Adviser toolkit and booklets for young people, in order to discuss what is already known about the award and how it positions young people. This chapter engages with textual and multi-media analysis, as a way of highlighting Arts Award's doxic narratives and exploring its misrecognitions.

The chapter is as follows:

4.1 The doxa of meritocracy is introduced as a way of highlighting Arts Award's own doxic narratives. Key themes of access and inclusion, performativity, employability and citizenship are emphasised through word counts and significant language used.

4.2 An analysis of government policy documents, including the Henley Review (2012) and various policy documents from Arts Council England, alongside previous research on Arts Award from London South Bank University (2016), is presented. In addition publications that focus specifically on working with dis-engaged groups from the National Youth Agency, Unitas – Youth Justice organisation and Cape UK – Arts Council bridge organisation, are analysed.

4.3 Arts Award's doxic narratives are explored through an examination of Arts Award resources: the toolkit for Advisers (Arts Award 2014), booklets for young people (Arts Award 2014) and a promo-film. Textual and multimodal analysis are used with a particular focus on the assessment criteria and the definitions of creativity.

4.4 The chapter concludes with a discussion of the design of the Arts Award as an educational tool which positions young people as an audience for

the arts, workers for the economy and model citizens for society and the misrecognitions associated with this.

4.1 The Doxa of Meritocracy

Meritocracy is the predominant doxa within the field of education, as explored in chapter 2. In an education based meritocracy formal qualifications are heavily patterned by class (Goldthorpe 2003), and education and employment are socially filtered. Education mediates this process of selecting and sorting in offering less opportunities for those with less social status (Mills 2008). In a meritocracy young people who 'work hard' can 'better themselves' and improve their situations, with formal qualifications providing opportunities for progression. This doxa is supported by narratives of 'choice' and 'opportunity' within educational policy, which research has demonstrated to be a misnomer (Ball 1993, Ball, Davies et al. 2002, Thomson, Bell et al. 2002, Furlong, Cartmel et al. 2006).

Bourdieu argues that the main purpose of education is to reproduce the legitimate culture of the dominant classes. The notion that some young people are more gifted or talented than others is a mechanism intended to obscure measurements of academic ability, which stem from the cultural habits of particular classes. The doxa of meritocracy produces a misrecognition that privileges certain forms of capital in young people (Goldthorpe 2003, Souto-Otero 2010, Thomson 2010). Policy has assumed that by providing opportunities for young people to accrue capital, that this will aid their social mobility. However this is a misrecognition of the different rates of accumulation and conversion of capitals. Due to different starting points and backgrounds, many working-class young people are not able to progress 'vertically' up the axis as per social mobility. Different forms of cultural activity accrue different forms of capital, which can both exclude and relegate those to a status associated with lower positions in the social structure (O'Brien 2010).

Previous research into music participation has argued that talent is misrecognized by musicians who labelled families as 'musical' rather than as 'middle class' (Bull and Scharff 2017). In relation to this study the meritocratic notion of 'talent' is prevalent within the arts field. Talent is a key buzzword of Arts Award with references to "growing your talent" or "nurturing your talent". Arts Award's narratives work to support the doxa of meritocracy, of which talent is a key misrecognition. The narratives of access and inclusion, performativity, employability and citizenship will now be highlighted through 'keywords' and 'word counts' (Fairclough 2003, Baker 2004, Scott and Tribble 2006) as an introduction to the document analysis that follows.

4.1.1 Arts Award's doxic narratives

Notions of 'access' and 'inclusion' are doxic narratives, based around the assumption that enabling young people more access to participation, that the arts are being more inclusive. The concept of access is derived from the widening participation agenda within the arts, which is also prevalent in HE (Burke 2005). The CCIs are often tasked with widening access to the arts as more people engage with film, digital arts and mass media (Garnham 2006). Those deemed to be lacking access to the arts were labelled as 'culturally excluded'(Hill 2004, Levitas 2004, Roberts 2004, Belfiore 2010). Whilst exclusion sought to describe the conditions produced by inequality, policies of inclusion were tasked with addressing them. Research has questioned the arts claims of inclusion in terms of museums (Sandell 1998), urban regeneration (Lees and Melhuish 2015) and arts education (Kinder 2004, Sanderson 2008).

The words "accessible" and "inclusive" appear frequently in the documents analysed for this chapter – Appendix B has a full table of word counts. Terminology such as "participation" (27 counts), "engagement" (13 counts) and "universal" (8 counts), convey messages about the programme being accessible for all. However, based on previous research, it is highly unlikely that an arts education qualification *could* include all young people. In claiming that education is for everyone, that it is universal, the barriers that may prevent all young people accessing goes unnoticed (Chopra 2003, Blackmore 2010).

Performativity and measurement are doxic narratives, based on the requirements that a qualification must be measured, recorded and evidenced. Measurements as part of the 'impact agenda' which are required to demonstrate progress and justify funding, have led to instrumental cultural values and claims about social and economic impacts of the 'arts', as explored in chapter 2. Performativity within both education and the arts puts pressure on educators and practitioners to work with young people in increasingly efficient ways (Burnard and White 2008). This has resulted in increased accountability through which education has become standardised through benchmarks, assessments, and markers of quality. Performativity therefore is in tension with art for arts sake and the value of the arts experience. Within Arts Award, there is an assumption that young people need to demonstrate "success" and "achievement". As an "accreditation" (29 counts) the award is "assessed" and "moderated" (49 counts). "Progression" (40 counts) is a logic of practice where the language used to describe the award frequently reflects "pathways", "routes", "transitions" and "journeys" (29 counts). Key to marking these milestones are actions around "evidencing" (37 counts) and "measurable outcomes" (26 counts).

Career development is the ultimate goal of this performativity agenda and therefore the language of employability is drawn on heavily within Arts Award. A culture of 'vocationalism' (Banaji and Burn 2007) which assumes young people's low academic ability has offered in response a practical or a life skills curriculum, which is assumed to meet the need of employers. In terms of employability, Arts Award is heralded as "valuable", "respected" and "recognised" (19 counts) by employers. This is often in relation to jobs within the CCIs and as a result creativity is packaged as "creative problem-solving" (31 counts), which is a disposition sought by employers. The coupling of "skill-sets" and references to "skill" occur 165 times throughout the documents. The language of "soft skills" referring to dispositions such as confidence and communication as opposed to "hard outcomes" such as qualifications and employment is frequently used. This assumption that soft skills are as valuable as hard outcomes obscures the different offers of knowledge from academic / vocational strands of practice, reflecting the tenuous and persistent binaries between practical and knowledge-based curriculums (Kelly 2001, Jubas and Butterwick 2008, Grugulis and Vincent 2009).

Within meritocracy, qualifications are directly linked to employment outcomes, irrespective of the backgrounds of the young people. As well as ideal employment trajectories, meritocracy dictates neoliberal definitions of citizenship (Miller 2007, Edwards 2009). These refer to young people "taking responsibility", taking up "opportunities" and "being professional" (13 counts). The award is frequently referred to as a "positive activity" or one that can have a "positive impact" (16 counts) upon young people. Whilst being encouraged to develop their talents, young people are also positioned as having "particular needs", "facing challenging circumstances", from "disadvantaged backgrounds" and are "socially excluded" (8 counts). Social welfare rhetoric positions them as victims in need of intervention, with deficit labelling of "at-risk", "NEET" and "dis-engaged" (76 counts). This identification of difference and language of young people as dangerous is justification for this narrative of citizenship. However this is inconsistent with an ethos for arts education, which seeks to focus on young people's capabilities and possibilities for cultural citizenship (Kuttner 2015).

Having identified Arts Award's doxic themes of access and inclusion, performativity, employability and citizenship and their symbiosis with the doxa of meritocracy, the following section will explore the award's policy documents, research and resources in further detail in order to explore its misrecognitions.

4.2 Arts Award policy and research

Arts Award was one of the recommendations of *The Henley Review* (Henley 2012), which makes a case for cultural education by communicating direct educational benefits. The award is described as a "valuable qualification" (p.58), making a meritocratic assumption that the qualification will lead to employment or serve as a "pathway" to work within the arts. Furthermore, the review argues for Arts Award's economic contribution by aligning it to long-term growth within the CCIs. Education in the UK currently equates gaining accreditations to economic growth, which can be directly linked to employability and the arts are similarly positioned. A key reason for taking up cultural education as set out in this policy is the development of employability skills. The *Henley Review* (2012) also cites wider benefits to society of undertaking the Arts Award, such as developing an understanding of a common cultural heritage and acquiring knowledge, skills and understanding. These can be seen to echo ideas around cultural citizenship as an objective for arts education. As argued previously, cultural citizenship positions arts education as a key tool for developing young people's dispositions towards the arts as a form of Artistic Production.

As an Arts Council England initiated scheme, the award is aligned with the ten year strategic framework *Great Art and Culture for Everyone* (Arts Council England 2013). Goal 5 requires that "every child and young person have the opportunity to experience the richness of the arts, museums and libraries" (p.39). Arts Award's role in "developing audiences", assumes a causal link between the accreditation and audience augmentation. In re-iterating the doxic narrative of the 'arts for all', these policy documents conflate access with inclusion. Paradoxically, initiatives that seek to include everyone are not offered to everyone and as this thesis argues, what is offered to those who are considered as 'culturally excluded' holds different capitals.

Arts Award is listed as one of the initiatives designed to "connect" young people, schools and communities with the arts and culture. The use of "connect" as a metaphor signifies a misrecognition that there is a significant section of young people who are disconnected, in particular those groups of young people who are deemed to be lacking access to the arts. As discussed in chapter 2, the arts are often held up as good for marginalised groups in society (Matarasso 1997, Jermyn 2001). Against these expectations, Arts Award is expected to have an "impact" both socially and economically. This social welfare narrative has implications for the measurement of arts project based on their perceived success within economic and social arenas (Belfiore and Bennett 2008).

Both policy documents make strong correlations between culture and education, with an emphasis on "improving the delivery" of arts opportunities and "raising

the standard" of art being produced for, with and by young people. These terms present standard aspects of government rhetoric, which imbue arts participation with doctrines performativity. This also raises questions about who can make art and who can administer it. Arts Award's approach to measurement could be viewed as potentially problematic due to the lack of benchmarking in its assessment criteria, its lack of judgement of quality in artforms and the 'personalised' approach to measuring progression. The apparent "flexibility" that these assessment criteria can be construed as a misrecognition that all art is good art.

Having identified Arts Award's misrecognitions in policy these doxic narratives can be further explored through recent research.

4.2.1 Arts Award Impact Study (2012-16)

The Impact Study, led by London South Bank University (Hollingworth 2016), was a longitudinal study of Arts Award's impact, which tracked 68 young people over three years. These young people were put forward for the study through the network of Arts Award Advisers as they were considered to be important cases. There were either arts high achievers, who went on to higher education or arts careers or those young people with particularly notable personal journeys to which arguably the award contributed. As an active Arts Award Adviser at the time of the research, I put forward three young people for the study. Only one of these who had progressed to a performing arts course in higher education was contacted. The other two: a young mother and a homeless young male – who had each achieved the same Gold level of the award, were not followed up.

The study found that Arts Award is a driver of young people's educational and professional success: "Arts Award is having a positive impact in young people's education and career trajectories" (p.3). It is stated that *all* young people in the study had benefitted in some way from doing Arts Award and half experienced specific positive impacts on their education or job chances. This finding supports the doxa of meritocracy and the narrative of employability enabling entry to further education or creative employment. However it is questionable how attributable these outcomes are directly to the award due to its combination with existing capitals and other qualifications. There is no class break down and it could be that the 50% were already on this educational trajectory.

Language of "hard" and "soft" outcomes, as equating to hard and soft skills is utilised in this research. This implies a hierarchy of capitals with hard outcomes including engagement or re-engagement with school, educational progression, participation in the arts and paid work and soft outcomes being intrinsic

qualities such as confidence and enjoyment. The notion of "soft skills" which re-occurs frequently in the policy literatures denotes a hierarchy within particular kinds of arts experiences, and demonstrates the different opportunities for young people to convert cultural capital to economic gain. The suggestion of different 'offers' here denotes some young people achieving hard outcomes whilst others will develop soft skills.

Messages around the inclusivity of Arts Award as "a universal qualification" being taken up by young people of different genders, ethnicities and socio-economic status, project a particular version of inclusion. The Impact Study argues that Arts Award appeals to a wide range of young people, including artistic high-fliers and the most disadvantaged, and that there is some evidence that Arts Award can have a more marked impact on those with less cultural capital to start with. The analysis within my study further explores these claims. The executive summary argues that "Arts Award maketh the artist" by fostering young people as active producers of art, rather than passive consumers, encouraging creativity which young people actively apply in other aspects of their education and life and enjoyment in learning. It argues that young people enjoy the Arts Award for what it is, rather than only focusing on what it can bring them, which this research calls into question.

The researchers identified five key benefits of doing Arts Award, which will now be analysed in relation to the award's misrecognition:

1. Life skills	These are defined as leadership, communication and people skills, organisational skills, which are from the language of hard vs. soft outcomes. Leadership is a key component of Arts Award and the importance of young people as "arts leaders" which promotes dispositions for the self-managing and responsible young person.
2. Arts choices	It is argued that Arts Award influenced more young people to take up artistic subjects within education through the direct accrual of cultural capital. However it could be argued that the young people in that study were the most likely to make those choices in the first place. The study fails to explore the combinations of qualifications that Arts Award sits with.
3. Accreditation	This is stated as "respected" and "universal", although it is questionable by whom it is recognised and the equation of the notion of universality to equal access. Arts Award's doxic narrative of the qualification leading to employment is echoed.

4. "Creative Pathways"	A "pathway" is a meritocratic notion. As a metaphor it suggests that there is a linearity of transition into employment. With reference to the Bourdieusian axis of cultural and economic capital, there is an assumption that the award will support young people in moving vertically as well as horizontally through the field of education.
5. Entrepreneurial skills	This refers to young people developing particular dispositions for employment, often as a freelancer or arts entrepreneur within the creative and cultural industries.

16: Table analysing the five key benefits of doing Arts Award.
As set out in the impact study (Arts Award 2016)

The study found that Arts Award has an impact on subject and career choices with young people feeling more engaged and motivated to progress in their education, with 3 out of 5 saying they would opt for a career or further study in the arts. This is contradicted by the reported decline in the take up of arts subjects (The Guardian , Arts Professional 2018) and raised questions about the particular dispositions of the cohort of this study, as young people may have already been the best positioned in order to progress their arts education. The study also found that Arts Award is especially successful in highlighting the wide variety of jobs in the arts and cultural sector. Higher levels of Arts Award in particular were found to help young people build networks and contacts, which represent the succession of social and symbolic capital over cultural. However recent research has argued only particular social classes are *able* to take up jobs in the creative sector (Friedman, O'Brien et al. 2016, Oakley and O'Brien 2016, O'Brien and Taylor 2017) and that qualifications as a pathway to the creative industries are preparation for precarious self-employment and the development of particular dispositions required for this (Thomson and Coles 2018). In exploring the Arts Award experience of different groups of young people, this study is best positioned to raise questions around the take-up of different capitals through the award.

The Impact Study (Hollingworth 2016) also argued for Arts Award as an "exemplary pedagogy" which supports young people in reflecting on and shaping their own learning, leading their own arts activities and collaboration with other young people and artists. Strengths within this pedagogy include portfolio assessment, which reduces the reliance on testing and exam conditions in education and learning outside of the classroom, which enables different people to learn in different ways. As argued above, positioning young people as arts leaders is a key practice of the award, which affords leadership skills great importance in developing young people as independent learners, being self-

managing and responsible. However, this interpretation of pedagogy is imbued with policy jargon such as "personalisation", and denotes a particular kind of learner. In terms of pedagogical practice, the inclusion of non-arts skills such as communication and leadership is questionable in terms of diluting arts skills and developing vocational rather than academic knowledge. The inclusion of arts leadership as an accredited outcome rather than a pedagogical process highlighted a difference in offer of pedagogy and what that enabled access to. This will be explored further in chapter 6 through a consideration of the pedagogy of poverty (Anyon 1980, Haberman 1991).

A further recommendation was that Arts Council England invest in projects to level some of the geographical inequalities inherent in the creative sector – so that young people in more remote locations have the same opportunities as those in urban areas. However, this denotes an assumption that in facilitating more access to culture for those geographical areas that are deemed to be lacking, this would represent some kind of 're-balancing'. The executive summary makes recommendations for further investigation into the "unconventional" i.e. non-school based, educational trajectories facilitated by Arts Award, given the potential openings for disadvantaged young people. This knowledge gap is addressed by this research which builds on the findings of the Arts Award Impact Study by contributing not only with analysis of possibilities for Artistic Production, but also constraints of (re)production, which casts a new light on the award. It presents a space to be critical about what has come before, contributing to arguments around the arts as inclusion programmes, celebrating young people as Artists and investigating in particular those undertaking the award in low-level vocational strands.

The final area of policy document analysis includes three smaller studies, which focus specifically on working with dis-engaged groups. This section has already highlighted the prevalence of deficit labelling for young people in these documents. The following studies have been selected as they report on Arts Award's application to young people in these deficit groups.

4.2.2 Three case studies: Arts Award and deficit groups

- *Artswork with socially excluded young people* (National Youth Agency 2009)

This publication features case studies from five organisations, which use the arts to engage young people who are considered 'NEET', including *Gallery 37 Plus*, a project on which I was employed in 2008. All of the projects utilize Arts Award as the accreditation and framework for the projects where the majority used "arts

and culture approaches" as a tool for engagement. An arts and culture approach may not be working with a particular artform or arts practice per se but utilizing the associated pedagogies in engaging with young people. These are generally aligned to the doxic narrative of the citizenship and the rhetoric of the arts for social good. Although the focus of outcomes is mainly economic: young people re-engaging with education or training, work experience, apprenticeships and employment etc., there are some specific arts learning outcomes, which are described as "soft skills". This reiterates the hierarchy of soft and hard outcomes as equating to different capitals, reflecting arguments made earlier about soft skills being viewed with lesser importance and being more applicable to particular groups of young people.

The studies were positive about the use of taster sessions, which gave young people quick rewards, holding their attention as well as allowing for self-expression and creativity. A hands-on approach was championed and the arts were promoted as a "positive activity" giving new experiences in new environments. It was argued that the arts are "accessible" and enable young people to "engage quickly" as well as focusing on areas in which they are interested and common languages such as music. Within these kinds of projects, the arts were often used as a reward, as an enjoyable part of a project that has been designed around the control and monitoring of young people. Here we see assumptions being made about the kinds of young people that enter these projects under the label of "at-risk", in terms of their abilities and dispositions. As the following section will argue, there is often a misrecognition of young people with challenging behavior as being 'un-academic' and more suited to a practical curriculum. Young people labeled as high-risk, as in this document, are required to fill their time with activities that are seen as "positive", which are often shorter-term and lower-level cognitive tasks, reflecting the pedagogy of poverty.

- *UNITAS Summer Arts Colleges* evaluation report (Tarling and Adams 2011)

The UNITAS Summer Arts Colleges, run in partnership with the Youth Justice Board and Arts Council England, consisted of intensive arts programmes, held during the summer holidays for "high-risk" young people. The key outcomes for this initiative were increased literacy and numeracy, achievement of the Arts Award (86% for Bronze and 7% for Silver), "progression" into education, training or employment and reduction of offending. Very little is detailed in the report about the young people's arts learning experience apart from stating the use of an arts-based curriculum to "re-engage" in learning. The particular case study on Wessex Arts raises the issue that being out of education can mean that young people miss out on creative arts experience. Therefore the award can hold value within alternative provision as it can be an opportunity for those who are

missing out on arts education. For dis-engaged groups this offers an alternative route to gaining a qualification, however this positioning as a qualification can afford low-level engagement with low-level knowledge.

The corresponding factsheet that Arts Award produced, on how to work with hard to reach young people, refers to the "accessibility" of the award, propagating the doxa of inclusion that all can "achieve". Barriers to learning and engagement are reduced due to the "flexible format" of "evidencing" in portfolios, which allows participants to explore ways of communicating ideas, not just through writing. Evidencing equates to measuring the personal progress of young people as an alternative to testing. The role of the Adviser is to support young people's needs through mechanisms such as "flexibility" of timescale, the focus on "personal progression" rather than specific skill and linking with arts organisations to experience "high quality professional" work. Here the emphasis is on accessibility as part of opportunity rather than entitlement and demonstrates a logic of practice of alternative education that it is the young person, not the education system that requires change.

- *Bringing it Together* (Cape UK 2010)

The Cape UK publication *Bringing It Together* is a set eight of case studies that depict the personal journeys of young people undertaking the award. There are many examples of how the Arts Award ethos and pedagogy works well with young people who are "dis-engaged", for example the use of the arts to explore their own lives, backgrounds and issues. These studies demonstrate how Arts Award can give young people their "first live experience of culture" and work with "arts professionals". However this a specific definition of culture and arts professionals, as those that are recognised through public funding. This has hierarchical implications for those not accessing culture through these channels, which is deemed of lower value in terms of cultural capital.

This publication champions the award's inclusive pedagogies, which involve letting ideas evolve, making mistakes, sharing and reflecting, with peer-to-peer learning, which fit well with informal education pedagogies. Being involved in Arts Award may also be the only way for a young person to carry on with their artform after school has finished if they were unsuccessful in getting into college, it is argued. It can also give young people an outlet to explore their interests in particular artforms if they are not being covered in the school curriculum. This highlights significant gaps in provision that Arts Award can fulfil in relation to Artistic Production.

Together these previous studies demonstrate Arts Award's doxic narratives, which have led to particular misrecognitions. In relation to the narrative of access and inclusion, Arts Award views some young people as 'lacking access' to the arts and therefore is positioned to 'include' everyone. The assumption here is that in creating more opportunities for young people to engage with the arts, through widening access, the arts becomes more inclusive. The narrative of performativity assumes that objective testing will "raise standards" and that "progress" must be "measured" to be recognised through the Arts Award framework. In turn this produces "measurable outcomes" and a focus on "accreditations", which featured strongly in the youth justice scheme. In terms of employability, there is a key misrecognition that gaining the award will lead directly to employment irrespective of what other advantages young people may start with. It is assumed that each young person can take up the position of "arts producer" or "arts leader" as opposed to passive consumer. With citizenship there are ideal dispositions sought in young people, which focus on particular behaviours such as responsibility and self-management.

In highlighting these misrecognitions, the different offer of the Arts Award can begin to emerge. The following section continues this analysis through the Arts Award resources, from two perspectives: the programming by adult Advisers and the positioning of young people.

4.3 – Arts Award resources

As detailed in the methods chapter, this section uses textual and multimodal analysis (Fairclough 2003, MacLure 2003, Rogers 2011, Rose 2016) on a variety of Arts Award resources that are readily available. Firstly a film clip from the website aimed at young people is explored, followed by the Adviser toolkit (2014) (the set of instructions from which the award is delivered) and finally the booklets for young people (the guide to through the various levels). Using these techniques of analysis enables an exploration of Arts Award's doxic narratives in relation to the doxa of meritocracy.

4.3.1 Promotional Film

The below video clip is a fast paced promo-film that shows young people taking part in "fun and exciting" arts activities. There are key messages around accessibility and inclusion: "whatever you're into, you can do one" and "involving everyone". Reference is made to Arts Award as an outcome, where young people gain a recognised qualification. Example activities include putting on an event,

school drama productions, making teddies, drumming and hair weaving holiday club and making a zombie movie. These are art practices of the award, which are significant because they reflect the everyday nature of arts engagement, the responsivity to young people's interests and a focus on school-based activities.



Film clip 2 – Arts Award promotional video *(2 min, 20 secs).*
Click thumbnail to play the film.

In terms of the young people in this film, there is an equal representation of both male and female and a range of different ethnicities, including the two presenters who are of black minority ethnic origin. However, the predominance of middle-class young people is striking. They talk about developing "life skills", aspirations for "arts careers", doing new things and a sense of accomplishment, which relate to the soft and hard skills binary. "Non-certificated" outcomes are listed as confidence, being inspired by artists and leadership and communication skills. Different arts practices are depicted as a way of striving to be inclusive. However the hierarchy of artforms between elite and everyday cultures is evident as white-middle classes talk about theatre productions at school and black working-class young people talk about a drumming and hair-weaving club in the school holidays. One young male from an alternative education project says that doing art "helps to express yourself and be free" and another believes that this is a "one-time" experience. These relate to the development dispositions, with an emphasis on young people being talented at particular things. Therefore Arts Award is positioned as a vehicle for meritocracy, through which young people can "grow their talent", gain an "accredited qualification" and demonstrate "progress".

This film focuses solely on Artistic Production by presenting the award as an "opportunity" and with plenty of choices for young people. However, these messages of opportunity come at the detriment of the notion of entitlement to the arts within education. In positioning Arts Award as an 'extra' can in fact be seen as a reduction to equitable opportunities. As argued in chapter 2, cultural

democracy is predicated on free individual choice, markets and consumption, as a way of acknowledging meaning-making from below. This positioning of cultural engagement as an 'opportunity' assumes that everyone can be a producer irrespective of background, geographical location and access to resources. A key misrecognition here is that in seeking to be democratic, in trying to include everyone, Arts Award contributes to continual social hierarchization.

4.3.2 Adviser Toolkit

The toolkit is given to all Arts Award advisers after they have completed their training. It contains Arts Award's mission and principles, alongside their definition of the arts and advice on recruiting young people and achieving funding, which are analysed in this chapter. There is information on Arts Award's structure and advice on running the award, which reflects a narrative of monitoring and control from the outset. The key sections of the toolkit are broken down into the three levels: bronze, silver and gold, and each section has a page, which corresponds to each of the parts of the award. The structure of the award in levels such as this implies a linearity of learning and a hierarchy of young people, with the lowest achievers only being offered the bronze level. At the end of each section there is a case study for each part of the award and examples of what would be considered a pass and 'not achieving' a pass. There is also a fold-out section of assessment criteria, which is used to assess the portfolios before moderation.

Booklets and log books are produced by Arts Award for young people as a guide to each of the levels. Each booklet contains pages about building a portfolio, gives details on each of the sections, a "what happens next" page, some guides with prompt questions and a checklist at the back. The bronze log book is different as this is designed as a pre-formatted workbook, into which the young people are expected to respond to questions in pre-defined areas. This too has prompt questions and checklists. The booklets are optional and are not required to achieve the award, but many Advisers who are new to delivering the Arts Award purchase them. They clearly reflect the doxic narrative of performativity and the measurement of progression as those tasked with running the award are given step-by-step instructions on how to do so, so that their young people might achieve "success". The booklets break down each section of the award with bullet-pointed lists of evidence to be included and prompt questions to answer as part of reflection. This exemplifies the pedagogy of poverty, which is the theme of chapter 6.

The Adviser toolkit stresses the inclusivity of the award and there is a section on "young people with particular needs", which mentions learning disabilities and

young people in "challenging circumstances". The doxic narrative of access positions these young people as a social project, whom the arts can "include" by enabling access to publically funded forms of culture. The acknowledgement at the end of the portfolio reaffirms the award as a tool of government policy as it states that "Arts Award is a great example of grassroots activity meeting government strategy"(p.14). Here we see the rhetoric of welfare reform as a political tactic to legitimate the award.

Keywords in Arts Award's mission and principles such as "enjoy", "take part" and "develop" tell us that the arts are good for us. They are fun. However research has shown that there is a tension between enjoyment and learning and the pedagogical role of fun (Bisson and Luckner 1996, Simpson and Du 2004, Rieber and Noah 2008). The toolkit champions links with the arts community, which suggests engagement with arts activities at grassroots rather than elite level, working in partnership and sharing experience. Particular dispositions such as independent learning, taking responsibility and being a leader are being promoted in young people, which link to neoliberal ideal of citizenship. The projection of an 'ideal' citizen has been emphasised as a way of controlling the behaviour of young people in society (Buckingham 2002, Lawy and Biesta 2006, Hart 2009). However this analysis engages with the notion of cultural citizenship (Stevenson 2010, Kuttner 2015) where young people engage in Artistic Production as a way of learning about and being part of their communities.

The message is clear that Arts Award is for *all* young people. However its specific references allude to either the academic high-achievers, or the underachievers. The section on "which young people should do the award" re-iterates this elitist / social welfare binary. Significantly, the use of the words "not achieving" as opposed to "fail" suggests that the award is tasked with remedying and repairing those young people who are on the margins of education. Research tells us that arts schools have a particular link to young people who take up a higher education pathway and that lower levels of education are positioned for young people on the lower social ladder (Milbourne 2002, Reay 2004, Munn and Lloyd 2005, Machin 2006, Avis 2008, Smyth, McInerney et al. 2013). Young people who are positioned as such are unable to attain employment in high arts institutions or higher education arts courses. The rhetoric of vocationalism dictates that those young people who are deemed as 'un-academic' are sidelined to a more practical curriculum. As argued in chapter 2, this practical or vocational pathway is often made up on low cognitive tasks and a reduction in academic learning time. The misrecognition here is that these young people are "good with their hands not their heads" (Thomson and Pennacchia 2015), when in actuality, they are not offered the same opportunities to 'use their heads' which reproduces their position.

The language of the toolkits is active, with words such as “achieving”, “attending”, “reviewing”, “researching”, and “delivering”, which refer to traditional arts activities such as performances and workshops. There is also the introduction of language from the arts world such as “portfolio”, “arts professional”, “artform” and “arts activity”, which is aimed at both building arts audiences and induction young people into this world. Within Arts Award’s ‘mission statement’, there are certain words and phrases that are used to align Arts Award towards more informal learning and vocational programmes, such as “individual development”, arguing that it has young people at its heart. The use of the term “personalised learning programme” positions the young person as an active consumer with the ability to shape kind of provision they need, becoming a co-producer of their own pedagogy. Personalisation implies a bespoke offer as a way of dealing with difference and diversity. However, research has shown that the personalization agenda as a hallmark of labour education policy is a consumerist slogan, part of the marketization of education, that simply masks the reproduction of existing hierarchies with contemporary consumer culture (Johnson 2004, Hartley 2008). Only particular groups of young people i.e. the middle-classes are in a position to take advantage of this choice (Reay 2004).

Messages of being inclusive by being open to all are important to Arts Award, and hence an emphasis on not being school is driven by the role set out for the Adviser as “supporting” and “connecting” (keywords from Arts Award’s mission statement) with the young people. This terminology is used to position the Adviser as a cultural broker rather than a pedagogue as the word “teaching” is not mentioned at all, emphasising the awards openness across different levels of education. The toolkit advises regular contact with the young people using words that signify building a relationship and two-way dialogue instead of traditional teaching from the front: “discussing”, “explaining”, “checking”, “signposting”, “sharing ideas and advice”, “peer review”, “feedback and exchange” are keywords from the Adviser toolkit. This approach to pedagogy through self-directed learning rather than direct instruction will be explored further in chapter 6.

Following on from this examination of the documents intended for the adult Adviser, the next section will focus on the Arts Award resources available to young people.

4.3.3 Booklets and log books for young people

The images used in the young people’s booklets demonstrate who is targeted by the Arts Award. They show young people as keen, focused and enjoying. The images in the bronze booklet (below), in particular, do not conform to any stereotypical ideas that young people may have about various artforms but also

race, gender and class. They show young people engaging with Shakespeare, visiting museums, doing graffiti art, radio, playing guitar.



Figure 17: The Arts for All?
Images from Bronze booklet for young people (2014)

However, in comparison, the images taken from the high level booklets - silver and gold (below), show less of a variety of young people undertaking the award, principally white middle class. This demonstrates the take up of the higher levels of the award principally by those who are considered the high-fliers, from cultural capital rich backgrounds. They also demonstrate a hierarchy of art forms, with everyday cultures taking up lower value. Artists and arts professionals are given an elevated status, to which young people are encouraged to aspire to reach. However there is no recognition of the barriers some groups of young people may face in terms of becoming an artist, which requires particular dispositions, cultural knowledges and qualifications. The gold booklet, in particular, is clearly aimed at young people who are already engaged in the arts or have arts backgrounds, as there is a heavy emphasis on deepening knowledge and experience of the arts through drawing on elite cultural resources. With gold, there is a focus on preparing young people for the university routes, with the preparation of a portfolio being a key resource for future university or job

interviews. The doxic narrative of employability here is questionable in terms of which young people are able to utilise Arts Award as a qualification to gain access to higher education.



Figure 18: Arts for the middle-classes?
Images from Silver and Gold booklet for young people (2014)

The language of monitoring is strong in the booklets for young people and in particular in the log books (Arts Award 2015). Words such as "assessment" and "moderation", remind the reader that the qualification is standardised in an attempt to align itself to mainstream education. Standardising an arts education programme, arguably makes it universally applicable to all young people regardless of their artistic talent (Zakaras and Lowell 2008). However this threatens cultural pluralism and produces cultural reproduction that turns arts education into a market-model, teaching young people to be passive consumers rather than actives producers of the arts (Finley, Denzin et al. 2011). Alongside, there is guidance on age and key stage alignment, on guided learning hours and "independent learning hours" which makes assumptions about the kind of

learners undertaking the award. As argued this propagates dispositions towards self-managing young people and favours those who can organise their own independent learning as part of a 'homework' culture.

The arts leadership section urges the young person to "take responsibility for planning and delivering an arts project" (p.12), giving a list of roles and responsibilities to be a successful arts leader. These include the identification of a distinct leadership role, establishing the projects aims and desired outcomes and organising participants and/or others involved. These criteria are heavily weighted towards the arts administration tasks and demonstrate the dispositions on offer from Arts Award. The booklets give a format in order to plan and review the leadership project, giving prescriptive messages about what young people need to do to achieve this section, such as defining leadership skills, project planning, organising and delivering a public showing and reporting in the project. These elements reflect a language of managerialism and require a high level of reflexivity on the part of the young person. In theory all young people need to do is to follow the instructions, without any particular individual variation, to gain the award. There are frequent calls or reminders to be organised:

> *"You can help by making sure that you have everything ready, and labelled or indexed – it's easier if you do this as you go along rather than right at the end!"(p.6).*

There are also mini-checklists for each part and a final checklist at the end as part of a box-ticking exercise, which are for developing dispositions towards self-discipline according to neoliberal education policies championing independent learning.

Developing adaptable young people with skills required by employers is a key message from these resources. There are whole sections (part C bronze, unit 1D silver and unit 1B gold), which focus on researching the career paths of artists and practitioners, work experience or "getting involved in the arts world". The prompt questions at the back of the booklets link Arts Award to future careers and employment by asking the young people to reflect on their experience and how this helped them in response to:

- What they have learnt about how to develop a career
- How this has impacted upon their own career development
- How their research has influenced their own work
- How what they have learnt can be applied in practice

However, these questions demonstrate one of the award's misrecognitions that the qualification can be directly linked to employment. There are also

assumptions about what an arts career is and how a young person might be able to obtain one with the criteria around researching into arts pathways suggesting that networking and industry insider knowledge are more important than education level – the succession of social over cultural capital.

The language of "opportunity" is strongly present in these booklets, which are filled with calls to action and to "get involved". The gold unit 1D - form and communicate a view, is an example of how young people are being encouraged to be active citizens, be engaged in politics and local life. They are required to form their own viewpoints on contentious arts issues, but also to consider the views of others. This is designed to develop civic-minded dispositions within the young person. Neoliberal notions of citizenship depict young people as responsible, obedient and those who can progress through meritocracy (Osler and Starkey 2005, Lawy and Biesta 2006, Hart 2009) as opposed to cultural citizenship which is an opportunity for young people to demonstrate activism, agency and engagement with cultural life as members of their cultural communities (Kuttner 2015).

The bronze Arts Award log book is a clear example of the prescriptively narrow and expected nature of the arts experience for young people. This kind of work book is symptomatic of the pedagogy of poverty (Haberman 1991, Anyon 1997) which manifests in over-regulated and over-restricted ways of working with young people, who are assumed to have educational deficits because of their social positioning or location in 'deprived' areas. The log book is intended to record the arts experience and the structured nature of the book has limited spaces to put 'ideal' responses in accompanied by sets of instructions. A pre-formatted book appears counter-intuitive to an award that seeks to measure creativity, as this book seems to have already done the work for the young person, leaving spaces for standardised responses. Its key design consideration is the easy structure and measurement of the young person's arts experience, where young people's creativity and critical thinking is limited to choices from a menu of ideas. This implies that a certain response to these experiences is anticipated which is based on middle-class experiences of publically funded arts and culture.

Therefore it can be argued that the resources have been designed with two kinds of learners in mind:

- The booklets, which are full of checklists, tips, writing and instructions could be understood as designed for middle class school attenders who can follow instructions, display self-regulating dispositions and be considered 'academic'.
- The log books, as described above, could be seen as designed for the 'dis-engaged' learner, a spoon-feeding mechanism, which does not allow for

creativity and developing a wider understanding outside of what is required by the assessment criteria. These are symptomatic of the logics of practice of monitoring and behaviour management, most aligned to lower levels of education, such as the sites in this study.

Having explored specific examples of Arts Award resources through the Adviser toolkits and the booklets for young people as representative of the award's doxic narratives, the following section continues with an analysis of the assessment criteria. There is a particular focus on the assessment criteria of creativity in order to highlight the tension between Artistic Production and (re)production.

4.3.4 Assessment criteria

The award has four assessment criteria, which are analysed below:

	Arts Award definition	Doxic narratives
Artform knowledge and understanding	understanding of arts practice and knowledge of arts provision in the community	Denotes cultural hierarchy with everyday cultures of low value in terms of cultural capital
Creativity	artistic imagination and demonstrating a creative response	Sets out a binary between the artistic genius and the problem-solving employee
Planning and review	ability to analyse situations and design appropriate plans of action as well as the ability to review outcomes	Doxa of employability with achievement of the award as a "pathway" to employment
Communication	a practical understanding of effective communication in a range of situations, ability to convey information and to justify their approach	The language of soft skills and a vocationalism of "practical" skills

19: Table exploring the doxic narratives of the assessment criteria

As explored earlier in this chapter, the language of administration and surveillance overpowers opportunities for creativity in the Arts Award resources. Messages of artistic freedom become lost within administrative tasks such as organising resources, finding funding and evaluating skills. The creativity of the Adviser to inspire as artists or practitioners in their own right is neglected and the toolkit

gives little advice on how to develop a creative programme such as working with arts practitioners, engaging with high quality work and introducing new and challenging artforms. The below image demonstrates this shift in the conception of creativity, exemplified by the presence of couplings such as "problem-solving", "take responsibility", "explain decisions", "solve complex problems", "comparing options", "understanding risk factors", "draw conclusions" and "consider alternatives". It is clear that as the criteria for creativity are expanded as the levels progress, the emphasis on the artistic qualities is reduced.

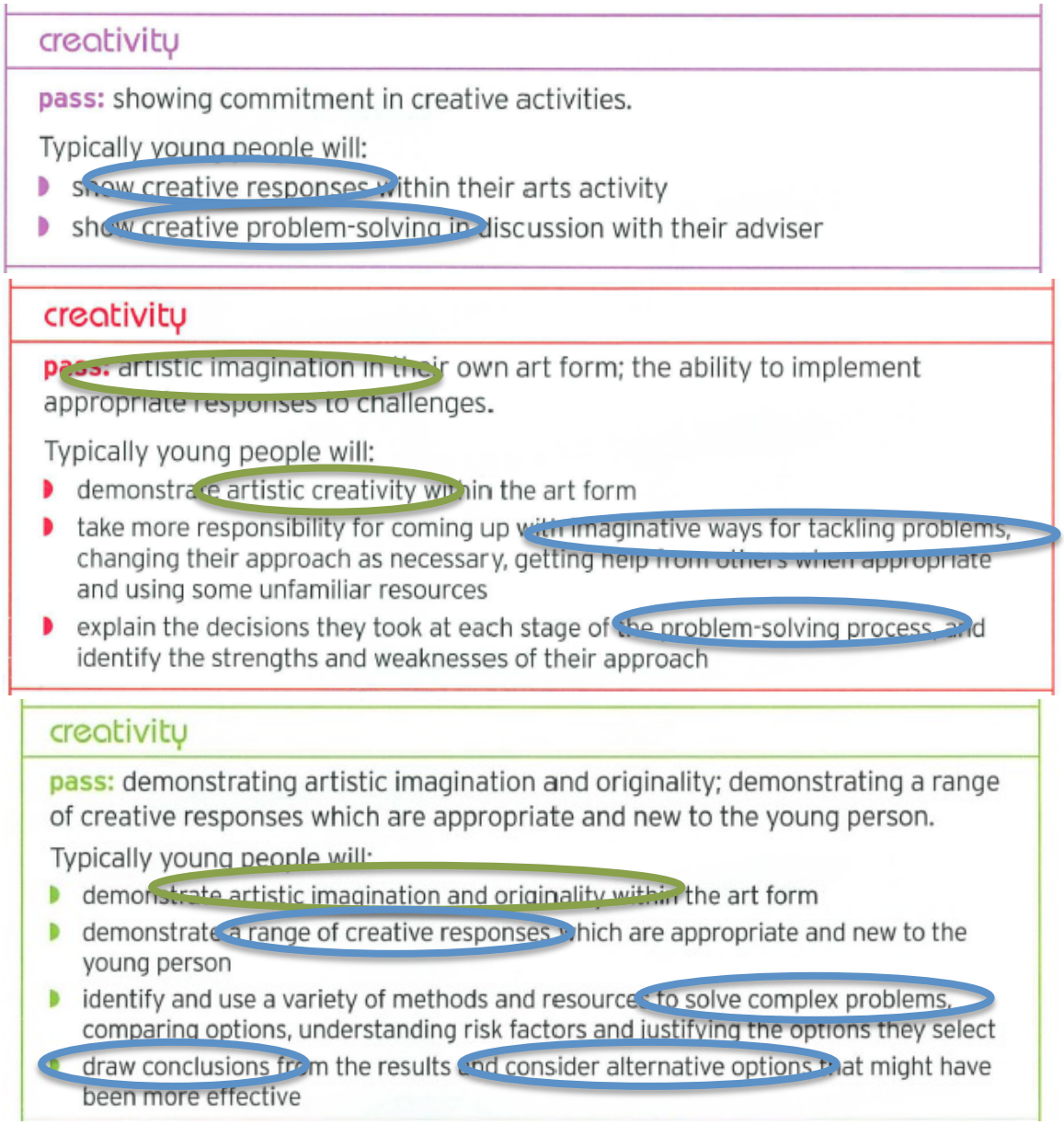


Figure 20: Comparative snapshots of assessment criteria for creativity. From each of the three levels: Bronze, Silver and Gold, taken from pp. 27, 45 and 63 in the Adviser toolkit.

In exploring the different definitions of creativity, set out above, it can be argued that the one category – artistic imagination (ringed in green), is more aligned to the notion of the artistic genius, which requires training in order to acquire skills, knowledge and dispositions (Ivcevic 2007). However, as the assessment criteria does not dictate a benchmark for the creative imagination, which is dependent on the individual, this leaves possibilities for manifestations of everyday creativity. The second variety of creativity – demonstrating a creative response (ringed in blue), is correlated with a particular objective in the Arts Award toolkit of "creative problem-solving". This kind of interpretation can be seen to make creativity a generic outcome rather than a personal quality or artistic disposition, with an emphasis on product rather than process. This generic kind of creativity can be regarded as part of the new (21st century) vocationalism (Bates 1984, Dale 1985, Grubb 1996) as in schooling for particular vocations or roles. Its increasing disassociation with the arts and alignment with the CCIs has manifested in a new critically reflexive form of creativity, of which Arts Award is an example. These are differing practices of creativity which are encouraged within different social settings such as schooling and the economy (Banaji, Burn et al. 2010).

Through comparing the assessment criteria for creativity across the levels, the reduction of creativity to a particular set of skills is emphasised. These align with the doxic narrative of employability and as argued previously the notion of "skill-set" as a distraction from the accumulation of knowledge. Administrative rather than artistic dispositions are encouraged as creativity is positioned as a key characteristic of the workforce, directing young people to enter into an enterprise culture that puts emphasis on initiative, competition, individual responsibility and self-improvement (McRobbie 2016). However, these kinds of dispositions often exclude some working class groups (Skeggs and Loveday 2012) as they require high levels of cultural capital as a starting point.

In summary, the analysis of Arts Award resources in relation to the doxic narratives of the award has highlighted the following misrecognitions:

- An assumption that in creating more opportunities for young people to engage with the arts, through widening access, the arts becomes more inclusive.
- Monitoring, measurement and moderation will equate to quantifiable "progress" and will "raise the standard" of young people's arts education.
- The qualification holds sufficient symbolic capital to be able to convert to the cultural capital of a mainstream qualification, and that this will be converted easily to economic gain through employment.
- Dispositions of being a leader, being self-managing and responsible, and being adaptable are valued for developing young people as citizens.

These misrecognitions raise questions about whether all young people can be 'included' irrespective of background, geographical location and access to resources. Can every young person can "achieve" and "progress" irrespective of starting point? Are all capitals and dispositions valued equally within the field? This thesis argues that Arts Award offers different practices and pedagogies, capitals and dispositions, which are dependent on the social background of the young person.

By way of conclusion, the following section revisits these doxic narratives in order to argue that Arts Award has been positioned to develop young people as audiences for the arts, workers for the creative economy and ideal citizens for society.

4.4 Discussion: Young people as audiences, workers and citizens

The language of the policy, research and practitioner resources analysed in this chapter has focused on developing audiences for the arts through active participation and live experiences of culture through "attending" events. There is an assumption that audiences can be easily measured and the artforms, which draw these audiences, can be legitimated. Government policy tasks the Arts Award with the mission of widening access to the arts and making greater efforts to involve more young people. Its doxic narratives of access and inclusion highlight a tension between universal access and targeted development within building audiences for the arts. Outreach programmes and "audience development" seek to be universal by "connecting" the arts and culture to the masses through notions of access and accessibility. Arts Award's emphasis on "engagement" and "participation" enables Artistic Production. Despite the award's intentions to be inclusive and flexible as a mechanism for building audiences for the arts, instead what is projected is a binary between the high-achievers and the under-achievers. There is continual accrual of cultural capital which re-affirms social hierarchization, which this study is describing as (re)production.

Championed as a "valuable qualification" at policy level, Arts Award focuses on economic outcomes of developing skills for employability. A particular version of creativity as problem solving, which demands resourceful, entrepreneurial and flexible dispositions, is aligned to the CCIs. Previous research has highlighted an intensification of social mobility despite ongoing economic insecurity and increasing inequality. Here the notion of austere meritocracy (Mendick, Ahmad et al. 2018) is useful in highlighting meritocracy's assertion of the power of the individual naturalizes inequalities, recasting structural constraints as personal

failures and collective responsibilities as private struggles. Ideal education-to-work transitions are the hallmark of the doxa of meritocracy, with Arts Award being heralded as a key route to creative careers. However, social capital and entrepreneurial dispositions have great significance for working-class employment pathways.

Arts Award is positioned by government policy to develop young people as citizens who take up opportunities and conform to ideal trajectories. A social binary is constructed between the high-fliers and the underachievers. The language of danger and surveillance surrounds the latter with many young people accessing the award under deficit labels. These in turn justify strategies of performativity as ways of monitoring and controlling young people, with a focus on 'character' and 'resilience'. The ideal citizen, in neoliberal terms (Miller 2007, Edwards 2009), is one that takes responsibility for themselves, gets involved, can learn independently and is successful by progression through various recognised levels of achievement, such as Arts Award. This version of citizenship comes at the expense of cultural citizenship which has the potential to create justice-orientated cultural citizens rather than informed cultural citizens (Kuttner 2015).

This chapter has explored Arts Award's narratives that support the doxa of meritocracy. These doxic narratives have resulted in misrecognitions, which have been explored above. But what are the implications of these? This chapter has demonstrated that policy, Arts Award research and resources position young people differently. How does this different position-taking draw on the different offer in terms of capitals and dispositions? This chapter has highlighted dispositions that encourage particular behaviours such as self-management and responsibility. But what value are these to the young people in this study? These questions will be revisited in the conclusion chapter.

Moving on from textual and multimodal analysis of documents, the following chapter presents an analysis of fieldwork under the first component of the Arts Award to be explored: arts practice. This chapter identifies practices of Artistic Production and (re)production within Arts Award.

Chapter 5 – Arts Practice

Arts practice offers both possibilities for Artistic Production but also constraints of (re)production for the young people in this study. Widening the possibilities for participation is a key strategy of Arts Award - however this makes the assumption that all arts practices are equally accessible and inclusive. The types of artforms chosen demonstrated the agents choices made according to particular logics of practice. As argued in chapter 2, there has been an erosion of the categories of high / low arts and with the emergence of new social groups, new forms of capital have emerged (Bennett, Savage et al. 2005, Bennett 2011, Savage, Devine et al. 2013). Emerging and subcultural capital, closely aligned to arts practices from the CCIs, have sought to un-hierarchize arts consumption and production, as the cultural omnivore consumes all types of culture (Warde, Wright et al. 2007). However these emerging forms of arts practice do not build on the capitals that count in the field as they do not equate to the same kinds of capital as those from privileged backgrounds (Friedman, Laurison et al. 2015).

This chapter reports on fieldwork that specifically examined what arts practices were on offer to the young people and what they chose to take up. Through mapping the practices in the field it is demonstrated that Arts Award offered opportunities for Artistic Production, but also (re)production through the stasis of a young person's position within the field. The definition of arts practice is unpacked from theoretical perspectives which depict everyday practices as assertions of power (De Certeau and Mayol 1998, Grenfell 2011). The opportunities for production included the development of arts skills and knowledge, expression and enjoyment, engagement with everyday cultures, including digital and DIY practices and working in collaboration. (Re)productive practices included ritualised arts activities, the experience of attending arts events and habitus– feeling like a 'fish in water' (Clark and Zukas 2013). Finally, this chapter argues that the development of identity and symbolic capital through particular sets of dispositions is both productive artistically and reproductive socially. This is dependent upon where these sit in the hierarchy of cultural values and whether these can be converted to economic gain.

Mapping the logics of practice, capitals and dispositions on offer within arts practice, this chapter now proceeds in five parts:

5.1 A theoretical exploration of the concept of 'practice' is undertaken in relation to Artistic Production and (re)production. The Arts Award literature referring to practice is brought into conversation with

Bourdieu's theory of practice (Grenfell 2011) and De Certeau's (De Certeau and Mayol 1998) practices of everyday life.

5.2 Practices of Artistic Production, such as the value of arts practice as developing art skills and knowledge, expression and enjoyment, engagement with everyday cultures, including digital and DIY practices and working in collaboration, are explored.

5.3 (Re)productive practices including embedded rituals within arts activities, the influence of attending arts events on young people's notions of arts practice and habitus are highlighted.

5.4 An analysis of symbolic capital and dispositions that young people developed through arts practice is given. Through identity work, which were both productive and reproductive, three categories of dispositions were identified: subcultural, proto-community and counter-cultural.

5.5 This chapter concludes with a discussion of Artistic Production and (re)production through arts practice.

5.1 Practices of power

A key component of Arts Award is the focus on arts practice. This equates to young people taking part in arts activities as a means to develop their own practice. Arts practice afforded many possibilities for Artistic Production for young people on the various programmes. However Bourdieu's theory of practice represents a wider perspective in relation to social practice and selection. (re)production through practices is continually modified through the habitus of their agents and the capitals they possess within the field (Stahl, Burnard et al. 2017). This chapter brings these two perspectives into conversation with both the Arts Award literature and De Certeau and Mayol's (1998) theory of practices of everyday life. Everyday arts practices are frequently positioned as inclusive and agentic, however as Bourdieu's notion of practice reminds us, these practices overlap with socially and culturally constructed meanings (Burnard 2016).

The different definitions of practice within the fields of the arts and education represent a tension within Arts Award itself. Traditionally the arts are thought of as something that has elevated status, something that is created and cultivated by the creative genius, something that is untouchable. However within education, notions of practice are democratised and arts practices are often seen as vocational, as practical and as soft options. There is a disconnect between messages of exclusivity, uniqueness and speciality and the notion of everyday creative practices, which take place in informal spheres, and were particularly relevant to this group of young people. Bourdieu's practices relate to practices of learning (Stahl, Burnard et al. 2017) and denote a hierarchy in learning different arts practices, with implications for those young people who engaged with non-traditional or subcultural practices.

Practice can be viewed as a series of practical resistances and symbolizations (De Certeau and Mayol 1998). For Willis, what he viewed as cultural production, through the lads culture in *Learning to Labour* (Willis 1977), also represented resistance in everyday form. As this chapter will argue, young people were able to symbolise resistance as part of proto-communities, in the face of negative positioning through educationally deficit groupings. Analysis showed that Arts Award offered opportunities for Artistic Production drawing on cultural languages and knowledges that were significant to the young people. However, these opportunities were constrained by the particular logics of practice from the low-level sites of education, which were often representative of assumptions made about that young person, their abilities or their social grouping.

Arts Award incorporates an institutionalised version of arts practice, which encompasses traditional cultural activities such as working in museums, libraries and heritage sites as well as with artists and arts organisations. It also

encompasses popular culture as well as high art and "the arts of all countries and peoples" (Adviser toolkit p.4). Young people are positioned as arts producers in various ways, not only as creators of their own work, but also as performers, backstage team members, front-of-house staff, technicians, camera operators, writers, editors, promoters, DJs, costume designers, prop makers etc. This represents the field of practice of Arts Award in alignment with the CCIs. Each level of the award has a section where young people are required to participate in an arts (or several arts) activities[6]. Young people are required to demonstrate an interest, knowledge and skills in a creative arts activity, which can be something new to them or a development in something they are already familiar with. There is an emphasis on personal improvement within arts practice, which reaffirms the notion of skills acquisition equating to progression.

At the Gold level, arts practice is bound up with the development of new arts skills, where young people are required to understand the relationship of their own artform to current arts practice, creating new and original work. This is designed to raise the young person's cultural capital, but also has a focus on 'practical' over academic skills. The tools that Arts Award recommends to assist the young person in developing their arts practice include an audit of their strengths, weaknesses and aspirations, an action plan which sets out specific targets and timescales, methods to record their progress and maintain a personal portfolio of their development and ways of gathering and reflecting on feedback. Here we see arts practice as bound up in administration, monitoring and accountability.

Recent analysis of the Taking Part data (Taylor 2016) demonstrates that only 8.7% of the English population are engaged with state-supported forms of culture, whereas an extra 50% are engaged with everyday culture and leisure activities. Willis argues that culture happens not in official institutions, but in the young person's personal spheres, with their peers and in their leisure-time. As explored in the literature review, this cultural engagement is how young people use leisure, media, style, music, and peer group to situate themselves – in particular through the accrual of subcultural and symbolic capital. These informal cultural practices are significant to young people and the education field calls for more recognition of everyday arts practices and its meaning-making from below (Willis 1990). Using practice, and in particular everyday practice, is a key strategy of Arts Award to increase its audience for the programme through enabling engagement with everyday cultures, widening the possibilities for Artistic Production.

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[6] Bronze – Part A (explore the arts as a participant), Silver – Unit 1 A&B (Arts Challenge) and Gold – Unit 1A (extend own arts practice).

However, these artistic practices can also be considered as varying sites of power, control and (re)production. De Certeau (1984) argues that practices as everyday ways of doing things, such as reading, talking, walking, dwelling, cooking, should no longer accepted unquestioningly. They are defined as internal manipulations of a system of an established order. They are ways of thinking embedded in ways of operating, as the relationship between theory and practice. Bourdieu's theory of practice highlights the social and cultural conditioning which denotes of the way that agents operate in the field. Through the education system, individuals have learned particular practices, which enable them to take up position within the field, arguably that will impact upon their future lives. In relation to Arts Award, the arts practices demonstrated in figure 21 may appear as a simplified categorisation of different artistic practices but they suggest a hierarchical positioning of particular practices in relation to others. Not only do these practices represent a hierarchy of cultural values, but they also represent one of Arts Award's logics of practice in relation to broadening access to publicly funded arts and culture.



Figure 21: An illustration of artforms as arts practice
Screenshot from Bronze Arts Award log book

The pilot project demonstrated that the young people's enjoyment and experience of the programme was heightened by their engagement with non-traditional artforms. Young people drew on symbolic cultural resources, found in their everyday spheres, such as computer gaming, nail art and theatrical make-up. The award was popular with young people as the arts practices were culturally responsive to their everyday lives, frequently engaging with their digital and DIY arts practices. Artistic Production was enabled through the award's cultural responsiveness to this particular group of young people through a high level of sensitivity to their artistic tastes and influences. As individuals, they had their own awareness of what they considered as enriching and uplifting through engaging with grounded aesthetics (Willis 1990). Young people came with a habitus from their own prior cultural experiences, but were also receptive to new experiences and dispositions that were afforded through the award.

Therefore, the strongest offer of programmes for young people were those that engaged their interest in everyday artforms, but offered something new, challenging and inspiring.

The remainder of this chapter will demonstrate that different groups of young people were offered different arts practices.

5.2 Practices of Artistic Production

Arts practice activities represented important and exciting opportunities for many of the participants. Young people developed and improved their arts practice, with opportunities to learn new things, work with artists and utilise industry standard equipment. Working on individual projects often dictated by their own interests afforded participants short-term success in arts-based tasks. Learning new things was a key affordance of the programme alongside improvement in specific artforms, some of them familiar, some of them new. Learning new arts skills and enjoying artistic experiences represented key possibilities for young people's Artistic Production, with the combination of arts skills and knowledge drawing on both 'vocational' and 'academic' practices.

For example, below a young person is talking about developing new skills in music production, which she did not previously have, but also about improving her bass and drumming skills that she already had. This suggests that Arts Award can encourage new arts practices for young people, as well as nurturing existing ones:

> *Amber: Definitely. It definitely improved my nothingness of producer-skills. (laughs) So from nothing to a little bit of something. And Lance (musician) helped me improve my bass skills, well start my bass skills and he also like helped me improve my drumming skills a lot. So we've jammed a couple of times where he's like played the bongos and I'm on the drum kit or where he'd playing guitar and I'm playing drums. It's really improved my confidence in those, so like, yeah …*
>
> (Interview transcript)

Young people were able to develop creativity, originality and expression through their arts practice. They benefitted from the space and time given to create work on the programmes and the freedom to choose, explore and experiment. There was a clear sense of experimentation with some projects, where young people could play at working with new artforms as an experience of pushing the boundaries as process-driven, rather than outcome-focused. Below a young person talks about a series of short improvised comedy sketches that he created

and filmed. He is drawing on popular culture, what has influenced him and demonstrates his own cultural capital through Artistic Production. He also draws on Willis' notions of common culture where he argues that anything can be art and that it is found all around us:

> *Greg: No, there was no real purpose behind them. We just … it was a long time ago that we first thought about the idea… I don't know if you've ever seen The Trip on BBC 2, with Steve Coogan and Rob Brydon. Which I absolutely love, I think it's so good. And we wanted to do something like that. It is basically those two and they go round different restaurants in the country and the back story is that they're reviewing the restaurants, but it is just about the conversation at the table. And so we wanted to do something like that. And we thought, cafes in Nottingham, why not? … I think it can definitely be considered art. When I sit down and watch one of those episodes … when I watch The Trip with Steve Coogan and Rob Brydon, that are absolutely amazing. That is art, it's real art. Some of it is because of the scenery, they go to Italy on some of the episodes and it's absolutely amazing scenery. But most of it is because they're just sitting there talking and obviously these are famous people, they're playing themselves, they're playing celebrities, who know each other from shows or whatever. But it is … And obviously we wanted to do the same thing but it's not being dressed up in a big fancy show, it's not scripted. This is a conversation between two people. And I think that's the best type of art sometimes. Which is why we did it I think.*
>
> (Interview Transcript)

Further more, Arts Award gave young people the opportunity to take part in arts activities for the love of it – art for art's sake. Many young people reported that the programmes gave them the opportunity to do things they enjoyed and my observations recorded uplift in mood, sustained attention and personal determination when young people were undertaking arts practice. Here the young people's cultural values were aligned with their development of well-being and sense of self-belief. The excerpt below describes the transformation in a young person who was dealing with difficult issues outside of the project and her sense of escape and enjoyment when she was undertaking her practice in lyric writing and rapping.

> *Lacey (young person) has been working on her own for over an hour. She came in as usual under a dark cloud, sat down at a computer, head down and did not talk to anybody. She puts her instrumental on the studio computer and spits her new lyrics out loud. Gemma (Adviser) is there to support her. She makes mistakes and tries again, but she is beaming. This is he first time I see her smile. She laughs, she is pleased. Suddenly she has*

opened up and is talking freely to Gemma, discussing the content of the song, the lyrics, the meanings. She has been boosted up by just this small exercise.

(Fieldnotes, 25th February 2015)

This passage demonstrates the emancipatory and fulfilling capacities of arts practice in terms of wellbeing that could be afforded to the young people undertaking Arts Award.

5.2.1 Everyday culture through digital and DIY practices

The majority of young people on the Arts Award programmes were engaged with arts learning not at school but through everyday spheres and informal engagement. Official arts institutions were often not the primary place where cultural interactions were happening, but instead in the young person's personal spheres, at home, and often with peers as part of bedroom culture as defined in chapter 2. Willis (1990) places an emphasis on informal cultural practices and their significance for young people, which focused around their leisure-time, and what he calls 'the hidden continent of the informal' (p. 16). Young people talked about the lyrics they'd written and practiced at home, or the filming and editing they had done and how they'd shared this prior to coming to their Arts Award projects. The below image was taken of a participants mobile phone where they had written their lyrics at home and then brought them to the project to record as an example of drawing on 'bedroom culture' (Willis 1990). Many utilised their personal phones, computers or iPads to undertake these practices in this sphere. Previous research has documented the richness of this domain for arts activities such as lyric writing, music production and gaming (Manchester 2014).

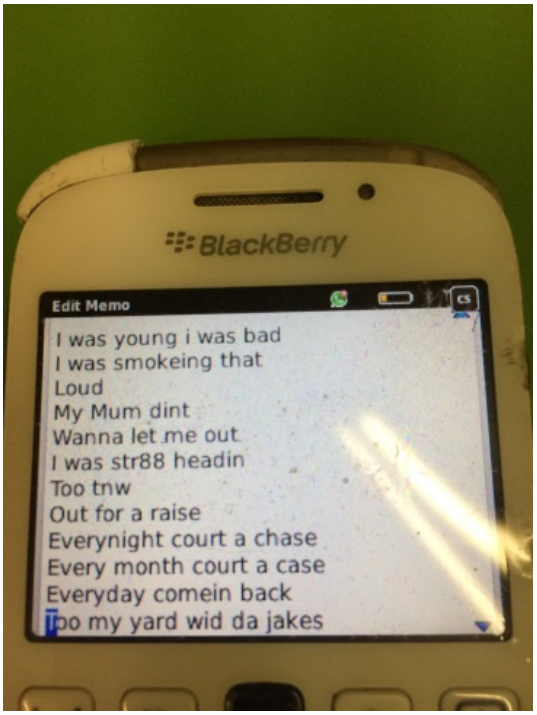


Figure 22: Lyrics created on a mobile phone at home.
Photograph of a young person's phone

These digital and DIY practices were key elements in affording young people's Artistic Production through Arts Award as authentic modes of production (Baker

and Homan 2007). Youth cultures have historically had a large role in cultural production and the arts have represented opportunities for young people to make sense of the world and their place in it. Arts practice was a key area of transformation for young people from cultural consumer to producer, where symbolic capital inclusively increased the possibilities for Artistic Production and led to stronger forms of this production. Arts Award embraces this duality of consumer and apprentice way of learning in the arts. A large proportion of the young people's arts practice was either digital – engaging with technology or DIY – utilising home-grown or self-taught artistic practices. DIY practices engaged with a real-life focus, on the here and how, using innovative and original processes that are easily available. Willis' common cultural model denotes creative meaning-making from below. Cultural experience is through lived experience where the lines between consumption and production are blurred, especially in relation to electronic music, film, TV, video and fashion. The following section explores what practices young people took up in relation to Artistic Production under the subheadings of: professional spaces, technologies, assemblage, scenes and collaboration.

5.2.2 Professional Spaces

Arts Award offered access to engage with 'professional spaces'. Access to these meant access to industry standard equipment, which was a key affordance of the programmes as it enabled a fast turn around and professional production. The sound recording studio, or 'the booth' was a key resource and proto-communities (Willis 1990) built up around this space with the music projects in particular as well as the dance studio for the dance project and computer suites for visual art and video editing. Each young person had some studio time scheduled into each session that was a key attraction for them. Grounded aesthetics (Willis 1990), as the self-developed criteria by which young people make judgments about cultural value, were used in these environments. Proto-communities develop their own conceptions of what they valued and judged as 'good' which included the kinds of instrumentals used, lyrics, presentation, singing and effects of the music made. Spatial resources also afforded the development of social capital through these networks, a key part of Artistic Production. The below excerpt positions the studio space as a stepping stone, an advancement in symbolic and social capital from which the young person is able to advance their position, for example being picked up by a 'label':

> *Benji: It gives you studio time innit. Trying to do all your music and sort all your stuff out. Because before I was in a studio I could mix it but I couldn't bring it out. I didn't have a label or nothing. Now I can move on to a label, get it copied and actually get it out there. Like I've been able to work with*

the right people to get it in shape. Get it airplays and that. Get it out there and promote.

(Interview with young person)

As well as physical spaces, electronic spaces or social media platforms were key to the young people's experiences. YouTube was used as a major research tool and teaching resource. The social phenomenon of YouTubers will be taken up in chapter 7 in relation to young people's career pathways, but in terms of arts practice, young people and Advisers used the platform to share music they liked, explore different styles, and look at the content of music videos. They learnt from each other by sharing music and videos that influenced them. Much research and inspiration came from YouTube across the projects. The young people were proficient in digital media hosting platforms such as YouTube and the programmes were particularly tailored to accommodate these digital literacies.

5.2.3 Technologies

Digital technologies were one of the practices of Arts Award within the field and a key part of bedroom culture (Willis 1990). The use of technology was highly significant for the young people in terms of opportunities to create work, get inspiration and get their work out there. Digital referred to physical things – computers, equipment and technical kit, as processes of creating art. Digital artforms that young people worked with included radio, sound engineering, music production, DJing, filmmaking, working with images, image manipulation, music-videos. Use of symbolic resources from electronic and cultural media are a powerful stimulant for the creativity of young people (Willis 1990). New screen-based technologies have their own practices and new spaces for interaction (Livingstone 2007) as well as being a key site for leisure consumption, where access to technology represented a willingness to try new things (Finney and Burnard 2010). Young people have learnt particular codes for this interaction, learnt to play with them and manipulate them using electronic media as cultural commodities (Willis 1990). Many of these resources came from digital technologies, which were both a source of reference and inspiration (input) as well as affording young people the opportunity to communicate messages that were important to them (output).

But digital also referred to the artificial, the ethereal and the hyperreal – digital networks, ways of communicating and sharing work that was made, disseminating their work through various social media: Soundcloud, Facebook, twitter. These platforms for participants' creative work were closely linked to their symbolic creativity and identity work as well as new kinds of collaborative practice through online environments. Digital practices became intertwined with

the hyperreal (Baudrillard 1994), the saturation of images, quick and easy availability of sounds and film-clips, as ready-mades from the internet that many young people used to create their own work. Embedded within the fields of commerce and consumerism, these cultural resources were readily available to participants. Young people actively engaged with these resources in the production of new work. The figure below demonstrates this duality of physical and hyperreal presence with lyrics which contain digital language references: "hashtag", "screenplay", "beat play" alongside an ethnographic description of the creation of these lyrics using firstly a mobile phone, then a computer and a recording studio:

Wanna chat to me you better hashtag DeeKay
I'm on the screen watch the screenplay
9-5 on a weekday I graft hard for my p gotta get that, anyway
Catch me free on a freeway living life like a birthday
Get it on a Monday and its gone by Friday I spit the truth spitting fire at greenway
I got the beat watch the beat play I got popping like a bottle and I'm onit and it's all layed
Bar4bar I got it and it's all sprayed I ain't got no type but they all grade
I ain't got no plans but they all made
I got creps but they ain't all suede
Beats fresher when I'm onit and if I got it the I gotta get it gone like market

Tyler reads lyrics from the screen on his mobile phone. He has written these lyrics at home since the last session and now he has come to the project to record them – to 'lay them down'. I watch him type these lyrics onto a nearby computer and we talk about what they mean. He then downloads the instrumental he has found on YouTube for his backing track and makes his way to 'the booth' with his phone in hand.

Figure 23: The duality of the physical and the hyperreal in technological arts practices.
Vignette containing lyrics containing digital language and fieldnotes documenting use of technology in the production

Technology most frequently used was mobile phones, video cameras and use of the Internet on both computer and phones. Resources included use of software for music and film production, search engines and YouTube to download instrumentals for songs and clips for films. My fieldnotes contain frequent references to technology. Young people compose lyrics on their phones, create EP[7] covers and artwork using image manipulation, record their voices, take photos, edit videos and use midi systems. Many creative tasks were undertaken

[7] An EP is a music recording which contains more tracks than a single but it does not qualify as a full album

digitally from producing music, to sound recording for a radio show and designing album covers. The mobile phone was an important resource for young people creating work, by writing and reading lyrics on their phones, downloading music, and making recordings. At the fingertips of the young people, these transformative digital practices made symbolic resources quick to access and were key to Artistic Production.

Participants were fluent in digital languages, proficient with the codes of communicating through electronic systems and expert in the ways of being that digital practices enabled. These included taking some social media practices such as vlogging and platforms such as Soundcloud, for granted as part of everyday practices within their lives. Language used in referring to working with their digital artforms, and in particular with music, included: "create beats", "spit bars" and "lay down tracks". Young people who were new to these projects had to become accustomed to these digital languages as a way of being accepted within the group. Often these were defined by musical style, with the most popular two being Grime music and House music, which represented the development of symbolic capital.

Young people were accustomed to disseminating their work through various social media: Soundcloud, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram. They also utilised social media to promote themselves, their work and events. Social media was a free and accessible resource through which they could reach out, forming proto-communities in order to share and work with others. Therefore social media was a key practice of Arts Award. Young people often felt in control of the process of platforming their work, making decisions about where it would go, who they wanted to see it and what this was important to them – choices they are often devoid of in mainstream education. Participants demonstrated a strong awareness of and skill in social media usage and it was an easily accessible digital mechanism for them to publish and reach audiences. Young people shared digital practices, advising each other on their social media presence whilst trying to build identity as an artist, deciding official names, releasing EPs and streamlining these communication methods.

Young people also talked about using online tutorials as a way of teaching themselves film editing or watching certain vloggers. Many young people described their arts experiences as being through on-screen rather than live. For example, when talking to a young person about her favourite singer, whose song she had chosen to emulate in the recording studio that evening, she reported that she had never experienced any singing live but had watched all her videos on YouTube. She viewed this as the norm, in contrast to the Arts Award's recognition of participation in culture, which dictates an actual physical visit to an arts institution. Significantly, Arts Award made a change to its live arts event

criteria in 2014 to incorporate non-live events, such as cinema and screen-based media events. This recognition that young people's experiences of culture may digital rather than being 'live' challenges the traditional notions of the arts experience

5.2.4 Assemblage

Assemblage, the historic process of art making by gathering and collating found objects, was a practice for both music-making and film-making. Digital methods and resources were often ways of creating new work, through re-using or re-hashing of existing material: sound, images, footage found on the Internet. This included sampling, image-manipulation and film-editing. Like the Duchampian ready-made young people were taking things that they regarded as ordinary and freely available and making new work, which they elevated to the status of art. Cutting and pasting from the resources available, often through the media, to create new combinations, experimenting with putting things together in a new way, for the first time. This artistic process engaged with the resources available in a DIY manner. In terms of music-making assemblage represented the deconstruction and reorganisation of commercial music (Finney and Burnard 2010), as young people often downloaded backing tracks, instrumentals or samples from the internet. These were then collated in a new track, as an original piece of music.

In relation to filmmaking, the film clip hyperlink below is an introduction to a film made by a young person called 'Life as a Youth'. This hour long documentary was analysed as part of this study and demonstrates this DIY assemblage-manner of creating digital work. The accompanying interview text, describes the young person's choice to incorporate news coverage of the Nottingham riots in his film. His key intention was to communicate how the media can misconstrue the actions of a minority for the majority and prejudices young people can face. On another level this film represents a form of resistance, where a young person is using their arts practice, and drawing on everyday forms and available resources in order to speak back to deficit discourse on youth. The film can be seen as an inheritance of radical work supporting marginalised groups to gain control over their representation in the arts and media - supporting agency, expression and civil engagement:

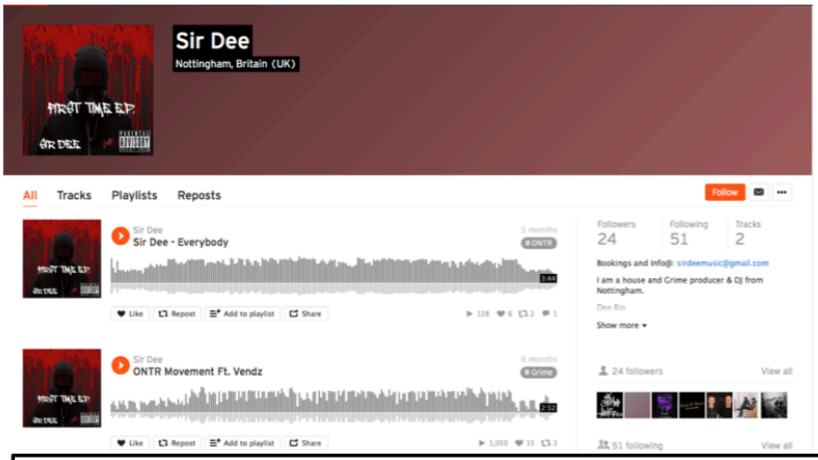


Film clip 3: Introduction to 'Life as a Youth'.
(1min 25 sec). Click thumbnail to play film.
A documentary film created by Amos, alongside interview transcript discussing the use of news footage found on the Internet.

The riots clips were linked to Life as a Youth cause it was talking about … how the media kinda describe youths. How they only show footage of young people throwing stuff and thinking 'oh, yeah, those are bad kids'. I bet to you that there was one youth who spoke up, but they didn't wanna put it in there. So I was thinking to maybe put this is there but to ask the youths what they think as well about the media and how they portray them. (Interview transcript)

5.2.5 Scenes

Creating scenes or being part of a scene, particularly in relation to music, has a longstanding association with DIY culture (Crossley and Bottero 2015). This practice builds subcultural capital as an embodied form of being 'in the know' about the scene, current artists and how to create work to be part of that scene (Hodkinson and Deicke 2007). Young people engage in Artistic Production in order to create their scene and engage with DIY promotion, through sharing music and in the quest 'to get fans'. Self-promotion frequently happens, through the connectivity of digital networks, interacting with others, with a shared interest as part of a proto-community (Willis 1990). This was embedded in the award as those undertaking the silver level were encouraged to research artists and arts organisations and frequently visited digital sites as a way of doing this. There were especially structured sessions around promotion, with Advisers guiding young people on where, how and why to do it. For those young people working with music production, Soundcloud in particular was a well-used resource for sharing work and for communicating with others. One young person whose account is pictured below uploaded his latest track, and the following day it had already got 30 views overnight. A positive comment was left by another young person who was also plugging his own track. The below vignette represents this story, by collating a screen-grab from the Soundcloud page, alongside fieldnotes recording the young people's experience of the lesson in social media from the Adviser and reflection on the response the young person received to uploading their track:



They are getting advice on how to promote themselves … They start by setting up an email, not in their real names, but in their Artist names: Sir Dee productions and Marshall Productions. For music a YouTube channel, Bandcamp, Facebook page, Twitter and Soundcloud. They are talking about all the things artists can do themselves using the internet now in the place of managers and record labels. They look at a site called 'Dat Piff'.
(Fieldnotes, 25th March 2015)

He uploaded a new track to Soundcloud yesterday and it got 30 views already over night. There has been a comment left saying "Great Great Great nice sound". The person leaving his comment is also plugging his own track – this is how the self promotion happens, and sharing of music.
(Fieldnotes, 22nd April 2015)

Figure 24: Social Media platforming as Artistic Production.
Vignette of screenshot from Soundcloud page alongside interview transcripts referring to the practice of social media promotion

This demonstrates the practice of social media as a 'way of doing' through Arts Award and scene-building as the logic of practice, as a 'reason for doing'. Digital methods, supported by screen-based interaction fit the arts engagement pattern of 'alone-together-alone' symptomatic of Willis' bedroom culture. This was demonstrated by the range of previous arts experiences with which young people began their Arts Award programmes. A variety of skills that had been home-grown and existing work that had been self-crafted as DIY practices frequently involved participants teaching themselves or emulating the work of friends. For those who demonstrated these particular DIY or self-managing dispositions, the idea of contributing to a scene was central as these practices can be seen as young people symbolically seeking control of their own Artistic Production, young people as producers not just consumers. Active consumption of cultural media led young people to want to produce their own music, videos and artwork. Utilising the resources available to them through the market and common culture, young people used symbolic creativity in order to develop collective identities such as scenes and proto-communities. Young people are engaging in forms of symbolic creativity through subcultural practices as an attempt to re-invent themselves at both the centres and the margins, through the real and virtual, through both the local and the global.

5.2.6 Collaboration

There were many examples of young people working in collaboration with both arts practitioners and other young people to produce new work, in particular with music. Collaborative practices can be considered part of Artistic Production as they negate the idea of the elevated artistic genius. Collaborative creativity (Burnard and Dragovic 2015) represents a democratic approach to production due to co-influence and co-production in meaning-making. Elaborating the idea of cultural citizenship, co-production is upheld as a normative social ideal, in particular in the realms of the home and leisure time spaces (Boele van Hensbroek 2010). The practice of collaboration frequently manifested in the logic of a shared frame of reference between the young people and Advisers, often based around similar understandings of popular culture. Advisers shared their ideas and engaged young people with their own ideas for the development of their own work: a delicate balance between freedom to explore and guiding the young person in response to their ideas, and heavy-leading or over-direction – an issue that will be taken up later in the following chapter which explores pedagogy. Much of this dialogue happened during the practice of listening to music or watching films together, developing shared repertoires and drawing on grounded aesthetics (Willis 1990). The 'track-share' described in the fieldnotes below, was an opening ritual of one of the projects as a way of sharing practice as part of collaborative Artistic Production:

> *The day usually starts with a 'track-share' – young people and youth workers can choose to put a track on YouTube and they sit and listen together. Discussion follows this. Things they particularly liked, and the meaning for them. The youth worker seems to counter the young person's offering with something that is different but familiar. It seems that everyone's got a video or knows someone in a video. Several of the young people aspire to create their own music videos and go into a detailed description of what their video would be like.*
>
> (Fieldnotes, 11th January 2015)

When Advisers had skills as musicians this was valuable to improvisation and co-production with young people, as they were able to facilitate the 'sounds' that young people desired to create. For example, 'jamming together' was a frequent practice of co-production for the music-based projects, as well as large-scale collaborative graffiti artwork with the visual arts. Many collaborations happened on a spontaneous basis, based on who was present at that session, and with a sense of experimentation; vocalists singing each other's lyrics, layering up their sounds, playing with the arrangements. Co-production enabled a dialogic two-way learning process by sharing knowledge and undertaking activities together. The Arts Award afforded a spirit of collective endeavour through the

contribution of both Advisers' and young people's artistic skills and their aspirations for the production of own work as the below excerpt demonstrates:

> *He (young person) is working with a sound engineer (Adviser) listening to various parts of songs he likes. The engineer makes notes and gives advice so that he can build his track the way he wants. They are sharing knowledge together – the young person on music preference, scope and his experience and the Adviser on technicalities and composition. They are working together, co-producing the track.*
>
> (Fieldnotes, 25th Feb 2015).

Collaboration alongside assemblage and scenes are the key DIY arts practices afforded by Arts Award. Its cultural responsivity encompassed young people's tastes, influences and resources that were available to them, as well as accommodating previous arts experiences and identities. Learning new arts skills and enjoying artistic processes represented key possibilities for young people's Artistic Production. As this section has demonstrated, many of those processes were aided by the use of technology and particular spaces that made professional industry standard equipment accessible. The widening of arts practices through Arts Award, encompassing everyday creative practices and informal spheres of arts participation, was a way of re-defining of the boundaries of arts practice which accounts for how young people are engaging with the arts today. However as the following section will argue, these practices of Artistic Production were also symbiotic with processes of (re)production.

5.3 Practices of (re)production

Previous research has shown that arts practices are frequently the site of cultural and social inequalities (Bourdieu 1984, Friedman, Savage et al. 2015, Brook 2018). Everyday practices or ways of doing things often contain taken-for-granted dynamics of power, which have implications for social positioning (De Certeau and Mayol 1998, Grenfell and Hardy 2007, Grenfell 2011). Within Arts Award, practitioners and Advisers are the gatekeepers to particular practices, which could induct or exclude young people. Habitus (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990) encompasses a range of dispositions that are drawn from practice which can either confirm or counter-act an individuals place within a particular field. This is based upon the hierarchies of value within that field. For example, Bull and Scharff's (2017) paper on classical music demonstrates the relation of particular arts practices to class through the highly ritualised production of practices. They argue that people make classifications according to their own position within social space – their combinations social, symbolic and cultural

capital, in relation to hierarchies of value in production and consumption. For those who sense an unfamiliarity with those practices, principally based on lack of previous experience or cultural knowledge, they are unable to advance their position. Rap music, for example, cannot be measured against the same hierarchy of classical music. As a result the young person is made to feel like a 'fish out of water' (Tranter 2003). Adversely feeling a 'fish in of water' (Clark and Zukas 2013) represents nothing new to the agent, an alignment of their existing capitals and dispositions re-affirming their often subordinate position. This section identifies specific ritualised practices that aligned with young people's habitus making them feel like a fish in and out of water.

5.3.1 Ritualised practices

There was a heavy presence of ritualised practices within the projects. These represented a particular way of doing things that was accepted as the norm by young people. There were two categories of these practices which either resulted in artistic or behavioural dispositions. For example, starting each day with a track share (music project) as described earlier, and repeated warm up vocal exercises (singing) were artistic rituals. Whereas, sitting in a circle for introductions and discussions (dance project) and lists up on the board of that young person's work schedule for the (alternative education project) encouraged school-like behaviour.

To give a further example, the dance project produced the most notable examples of ritualised practices. Each session started with circle time, where all participants sat still on the floor while a register was taken and announcements made. This was done in silence. The logic of this practice, was in reproducing obedient dispositions. However, the practical element of the session, encouraged more artistic dispositions. This took a familiar pattern: a warm up, followed by mirror learning a routine and as part of each routine, there was a section for improvisation where the group is broken down to work in small groups. The leader moved between the groups to give further instruction. This was an accepted practice in the experience of the young people, who repeated these practices with the workshops that they led for the award.

As well as practical routines and physical movements, there were ritualised practices of knowledge sharing. There was a shared frame of reference between the young people and Advisers, often using popular culture as an important hook and point of engagement. In this way Arts Award could be seen as embedding (re)productive practices, as many of the Advisers working on the projects made their livings as artists, musicians, producers, rappers and DJs, which is why they

directed the participants towards these practices. The excerpt below demonstrates the sharing of practice:

> *Tommy is making a music video for his Arts Challenge, taking one of the tracks he has made for his Bronze. He is thinking about planning it, the styles, look and content that he wants. The Adviser shares some videos he likes on YouTube with some simple effects, locations and clever movements, such as looking like you are running backwards or jumping. So much research and inspiration comes from YouTube, as the Advisers draw on their fields of knowledge in the arts education of their participants.*
>
> (Fieldnotes, 17th March 2015)

This example denotes a habitus from a shared class background, where the accrual of social capital is given more weight than cultural capital in the Arts Award field.

5.3.2 Jamie - A fish in (and out of) water

As part of arts practice, young people not only participate in arts activities, but are required to explore the arts as an 'audience member'. This involves observing the practices of others as 'being the audience'. This experience can be in the same or different artform to their participation, but often has an impact on the young person in terms of what they regard as practice and how they position their practice. It can be inspiring, challenging and at times unfamiliar. The young people are required to reflect on their experience, what they enjoyed, the creative elements of the event, the artform involved and then share their views with others. This was frequently done through discussions on the experience. For example, going to experience an arts event first-hand was reported as inspirational, by the young people and often gave them ideas on how to develop their own practice and the new directions to take their work. However there were examples where young people felt alienated by these arts experiences. Feeling like a fish out of water, is the result of a misconnection between particular identities and institutional habitus, be that educational or artistic. When a young person is offered experiences with which they feel familiar, when their habitus encounters as world of which it is a part, the agent feels like a fish in water, as opposed to out of water. A fish in water does not fell the weight of the water and takes the experience for granted as it experiences nothing new or strange (Clark and Zukas 2013). Arts practices afforded young people artistic dispositions through being the audience, which helped them to see if they could

be aligned with the dominant habitus in the field to be either a fish in or out of water.

To give an example of the one participant feeling like both a fish in and out of water, the story of Jamie is presented. He was undertaking the Bronze Arts Award as part of Fresh Day Provision (FDP) - an alternative education project with compulsory attendance for school referrals of excludees. Jamie visited three different arts events: a rap battle night, a street art exhibition and a piece of contemporary theatre. The below vignette comprises visual representations of the three arts events alongside our conversations where he discusses his experience of each and expresses his preference, and feelings of indifference:

Frances: Arts Events. So what did you go and see?
Jamie: Clash Money and Surface Gallery and The Dog in the Night-time.
Frances: Actually in the four or five months you've been to three different arts events. You've been to a theatre thing, a live music thing and you've been to an art thing. So from your kind of first impressions of those, which did you feel most at home in?
Jamie: Erm, I preferred the Clash Money one.
Frances: The Clash Money one, why was that?
Jamie: Well I like that sort of music and it was just a good environment there.
Frances: I didn't feel very at home in that environment. Maybe that's because I'm a woman. And in terms of those events (starts to laugh at photo of Clash Money Event) ... So out of those three events, would you be inclined to go to any of them again?
Jamie: Erm, I'd go to the Surface Gallery and Clash Money again, but probably not The Dog in the Night-time.

(Interview transcript)



Figure 25: A fish in (and out) of water?
Flyers for arts events visited by Jamie: Clash Money Rap Battle, Street Art Festival and The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-time

What is notable from his experience is that being devoid of the choices of the events he visited, assumptions were made by the Adviser about his habitus: that he would feel an affinity with the outsider art exhibition, that he would be comfortable with the culture of the rap battle and that a piece of contemporary theatre would challenge and inspire him. His interview transcript negates this. The Advisers intention was to make him feel like a fish in water, however the symbolic capital accrual from each of these experiences would adversely impact upon his position in the field.

Through seemingly unbiased selection of arts events for participants to visit, class-based inequalities are reproduced by unconscious rules and values that lead to an 'ontological complicity' (Amadasun 2013) - the development of particular dispositions and capitals, for example subcultural capital, within a particular social field. Designing a programme that makes a young person feel like a fish in water does not represent an advancement of their capitals. It simply re-affirms their habitus. Previous research has highlighted the implications for drawing on arts practices which are considered deviant and low on the hierarchy of cultural values (Baker and Homan 2007). Music practices, in particular, aligned to 'at-risk' or marginalised youth often reflect themes of deviance and resistance as a creative vehicle within a broader framing of 'offender to citizen' discourses for the youth involved.

5.3.3 Arts practice as position-taking

The programming of arts practice activities - namely music production, filmmaking and graffiti art, had an adverse effect through dispositions and subcultural capital. These result in (re)production through "positional suffering" (Bourdieu 1999) or non-advancement of the young person. This correlated to a well-formed habitus and the hierarchies of value of different arts practices as highlighted in previous research (Burnard 2016, Bull and Scharff 2017). What is striking here, in relation to these participants who were accessing the programme through the lower level of education, is the lack of drama activities or theatre practices on offer. Previous research has indicated the heavily classed take-up for careers in theatre and acting (O'Brien and Taylor 2017, Brook 2018) and therefore the pathways into these artforms is severely limited for young people, such as those in this study. When contemporary theatre was engaged with, it left young people, like Jamie, feeling like a fish out of water.

Frequently young people demonstrated indifference to the practice they were exposed to, for reasons of being unprepared, feelings of being out of place or resistance to the experience. Previous research (Sim 2017) has demonstrated a disconnection between the diverse fields of youth work and the art gallery. The

below video clip is a montage of dialogue between two young people and two Advisers about a street art exhibition, with visual photographs taken during the visit to the exhibition. This demonstrates their disconnection with the experience, constant probing by the Advisers and a clear dis-engagement with the practice. This film clip demonstrates their feelings of disconnect with the environment of the gallery space, despite the symbolically deviant and subcultural capital of street art on offer:



Film clip 4: "Don't go again … it's boring" *(4min 8sec).*
A montage of audio and images from a visit to a Street Art Exhibition
Click the thumbnail to play film. *This film is password protected.*

A further example of feeling like a fish out of water was the dance project, which was intended for NEET young people. This had a high drop-out rate and the young people who completed the programme were the young people who were most comfortable with and most accepting of these school-like practices as described earlier in this chapter. Their habitus afforded them a sense of 'fitting in'. The group's name – Beat-Boxers, was contrived by the funder to appeal to a certain group of young people who were affiliated with dance styles that were considered 'street' or deviant. The actual style on offer did not fit some young people's frame of reference and did not meet expectations. For example, the only male in the group reported that the feminized dance styles alienated him. The absences spoke loudly on this project, as those who did not fit or those who lacked cultural capital and parental support (i.e. their parents could not give them a lift) did not continue to attend. Those young people labelled as 'NEET' simply dropped out, as many are reported to do from mainstream education, due to similar experiences.

Symbolic capital was developed through the ritualised practices of the dance project and transmitted as ways of being. However, it was only taken up by those

who had a familiarity or comfort with those practices – those who held a position of privilege to be able to be considered cultural omnivores (Peterson and Kern 1996, Warde, Wright et al. 2007). The omnivores consumed all styles of dance: Contemporary, Bollywood and Street. For others this experience of 'dropping out' would have negatively contributed to their cultural capital and position in the field and become a self-fulfilling prophecy of their stereotype label. Here the assumptions made by the project funders re-affirmed social hierarchies through the simple naming of the project. The ritualised practices on offer made working-class participants feel like a fish out of water. The range of dispositions on offer, which included contemporary dance, were alienating for some young people. This encapsulates the tension within Arts Award of hierarchies of practices, participants class background and the diverse accrual of cultural capital.

These examples across a range of artforms: dance, drama, visual art and music demonstrate that through the act of 'programming' different arts practice activities for young people, the unacknowledged rituals that underpin them, can lead to (re)production. Engagement with sub-cultural artforms represented an attempt by Advisers to make young people feel like a fish in water, to align their current habitus with the practices on offer. However, as argued, this logic of practice simply leads to (re)production. Identity development through symbolic capital was a key component of the young people's dispositions as there was a disjuncture between particular identities and institutional habitus. The following part of this chapter will analyse the particular dispositions on offer to young people through arts practices.

5.4 Dispositions from arts practice

Identity is a key element of Artistic Production – the ability to produce and position yourself as an 'artist' of a particular artform. Not only does identity incorporate the past experiences of young people in relation to family history, gender and social class (DiMaggio 1994, Reay 1998, Archer, Hollingworth et al. 2007) it can project the future in a 'trying on' of different identities (Batsleer 2011) through symbolic representation and social relations (Willis 1990, Pakulski 1997). Dispositions are formed as young people 'invest' in fields of life and therefore steer actions, experiences and understandings in order to both produce and reproduce the sense of what is possible (Thomson and Coles 2018). However these identities are constantly shifting and changing, being created and re-created against a backdrop of everyday experiences (Giddens 1991) and are reliant on consumption within capitalist society (Bauman 2013). Identity is produced through social relations and the interpretation of experience, frequently being defined in relation to others (Lawler 2015). Therefore the

dispositions and symbolic capital developed through arts practice offered opportunities for both Artistic Production and (re)production.

Arts practice afforded young people opportunities to experiment, develop and communicate identity. Certain artforms offered through youth programmes such as rap music and filmmaking allowed young people the opportunity to express a particular form of cultural creativity connection with their existing music and artistic interests (Baker and Homan 2007). Previous research has demonstrated the value of out-of-school arts programmes for enabling young people's voices to be heard (Pitts 2011), where marginalised young people used strategies for constructing their identities (Green 2011). 'Voice' has been seen as an enabler of identity through the empowerment of young people to have influence and create change. There are possibilities here for arts programmes to reposition young people developing different dispositions that can re-align them in the field. The young people in this study brought rich and diverse experiences, life stories and inherited influences with them to the projects, which formed their sense of habitus. This was reflected in the objects, which some brought to interviews to represent themselves, but also in the lyrics, films and images that young people produced which told stories about their lives. Many young people demonstrated multiple identities, being part of several groups at the same time: friendship groups, gangs, artform groups, school etc. Family or inherited identities played a key part in young people's previously accrued dispositions.

In relation to arts practice, previous research has highlighted the notion of 'musical identities' (Hargreaves and Marshall 2003) which combines the artistic, personal and socio-cultural. As well as being inclusive, a sense of identity or alignment towards habitus can also be excluding – a feeling of being out of place, as explored earlier in this chapter. In relation to arts practice, this is often due to experiences of schooling, where participants were told they 'can't do art because they can't draw' or they 'aren't musical because they don't play an instrument'. These experiences often led young people to judge themselves as 'not creative' or artistic. Young people construct these identities and these can impact skill, confidence and achievement and deter them from taking up mainstream arts education. This was the experience of the majority of young people in this study. Therefore the symbolic capital developed through arts practices as part of Arts Award were in direct contrast to those derived from formal schooling. This section will demonstrate that there is identity work present in arts practices, which are relevant for the possibilities of position-taking for the young person within the field. Three categories of dispositions are discussed: subcultural dispositions, proto-community and counter-cultural capital.

5.4.1 Subcultural dispositions

Artist habitus is a position within the field of cultural production which comes into play through the production of a work of art (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993). However as this study has demonstrated, many young people feel misalignment with this habitus due to lack of prior cultural knowledge of traditional artforms. This was exacerbated through engagement with non-traditional artforms through the programmes, which developed subcultural dispositions. These dispositions were particularly aligned to the CCIs and included symbolic creativity through digital and DIY practices, scene building and knowing what has 'street cred' (Green 2003, Miles 2007), social media presence and platforming, hip-hop identity (Baker and Homan 2007) and entrepreneurialism – which will be explored further in chapter 7. Within the arts field, practices and capitals, which are regarded as subcultural or avant-garde have symbolic worth due to the logics of practice about 'newness' or 'coolness'. However as Grenfell (2003) argues these will eventually be brought into the mainstream.

Involvement on these programmes enabled young people to develop subcultural artist dispositions, in particular linked to music, through the trying-on of different identities. Becoming an 'artist' represented symbolic capital accrual, which previous research has demonstrated can have a lasting impact upon the individual (McIntyre 2016). Music is often regarded as a badge of identity (North and Hargreaves 1999) with individual identities being linked to music genre, class, race and media imagery. Subcultural dispositions included ways of working like an artist and ways of performing, alongside using artists' languages, professional production equipment and environments.

The spaces where young people created their work also contributed to their symbolic capital. In particular 'the booth' recording space from one project bestowed a particular sense of identity on young people. Demonstrating success in being able to work with and utilise this space, ratified your viability as an artist, in particular in front of others in the group. The below excerpt shows the importance of this space for dispositions of 'becoming professional' and for 'being taken seriously as an artist'. New young people joining the project were often slow to use this space due to lack of confidence and were often mentored by the more experienced members of the group, demonstrating the accrual of social capital:

> *'The booth' is representation of the transition from bedroom artist to professional rapper or singer. Sometimes the booth is a barrier, it makes some lack confidence, but sometimes it is a liberation – a way of realising a dream, of pushing and challenging themselves. Most of these young people have aspirations for careers in music, and the booth is the key portal for*

getting them there. This booth is part of the offer for the young people – the opportunity to create, to record, to perform, to make themselves heard.

(Reflective fieldnotes, 20th Jan 2015)

The Arts Award programme afforded young people the opportunity to use the arts as a marker of identity, which was linked to the kind of artwork young people chose to make. In terms of visual art, the album covers that young people created were carefully considered ways of developing artist dispositions, as they sought to be included in particular youth cultures. The below image has been created to demonstrate the prevailing aesthetic of album covers that participants wanted to situate themselves within. Four out of six of the album covers are from seminal hip hop artists from the 1990s and 2000s and the other two are created by young people. To those who are unfamiliar with the scene, they all look similar. These have intentionally been put together to convey the young people's attempts to align themselves through subcultural dispositions:



Figure 26: Album artwork - Aligning with habitus.
Participant's album covers mixed in with those by 2pac, NaS, Snoop Dogg and Ice Cube

These album artworks are strong assertions of subcultural capital, which deliberately draw on traditions of gangsta-style imagery. Great thought and attention to detail from the young people went into creating these images, including consideration of the use of parental advisory logo, dark often

unrecognisable figures, gang logos, particular hand gestures, use of certain colours and effects, and artefacts such as hoodies & chains. All these elements are significant and were specifically chosen by the young people, as the below vignette demonstrates. This young person is drawing on subcultural capital, however as argued previously, this kind of capital positions him as deviant or counter-cultural. The below vignette shows the EP image that the young person created alongside fieldnotes that describe the design process. He is drawing on symbolic capital to play with these codes whilst symbolising his representation in the definition of his own artist identity:



Tyrone has uploaded his album EP to Soundcloud. It's a high quality professional image and really striking. I can remember when the initial photograph was taken with Tyrone wearing his special hat and black hoodie with the gang name on. These elements stand out as well as the explicit lyrics label. This is a symbol that the content may be offensive, this could be seen as a good thing. The colours are dark and brooding – red paint drips down the background and the darkness of Tyrone's hoodies, hat and skin blends together. The white writing of the title is in graffiti style lettering. You can't see Tyrone's face. I ask him if that is deliberate and it is.
(Fieldnotes, 22nd April 2015)

Figure 27: Sir Dee – First Time E.P.
Vignette of album artwork with accompanying fieldnotes

Branding and consumption are highly significant strategies within this process of developing artist identities and are an essential part of subcultural dispositions. Here the young person has drawn on the symbolic resources that are available to him in order to produce their own artistic work. Symbolic creativity is evident in this kind of image making. This was also evident through performance, as many young people, in particular working in music and dance, felt that performing was a key part of building their artist identities. In particular, shadowing young people at a Rap battle event communicated subcultural dispositions that not all the young people related to or sought out:

> *A lot about this event is to do with brands and identity: the t-shirts, the intros, the gang tags and symbols. There are even dipsy[8] hats for sale in the*

[8] A dipsy hat is a baseball-style hat usually worn by men/boys that is slanted.

corner … Some are cool to it, hanging back, but others are right in the mix bouncing with the rappers crews. I don't think they identify with this culture. It's loud, rude and aggressive.

(Event Fieldnotes, 23rd May 2015)

Many young people took up opportunities to perform, which linked to practices of performing inherited from those Advisers on the programmes. As argued in this chapter, the logic of these practices was around 'scene building'. However being able to perform afforded young people the opportunity to be someone different, which they argued as 'getting their voices heard'. They reported that performing was a way of pushing themselves, a way of improving confidence and reaching a wider audience with their artforms. These were opportunities for young people to try-on different identities and play at being someone else, developing symbolic capital. The following film clip was generating using the event ethnography approach as described in the methods chapter. The clip follows a young person's journey through performing, montaging video, audio and text data on their feelings, before, during and after the performance. It explores how the young person prepared through practices of their artform, grime music in this case, how they felt being on stage and afterwards. All these dispositions combine to position the young person through subcultural capital towards a particular direction– that of DJ / Producer. This subcultural capital, whilst being of lower value to the arts field, results in dispositions that are highly valued by the CCIs:



Film clip 5: 'Playing out' DJ dispositions *(3mins 34).*
Click thumbnail to play film.

5.4.2 Proto-community

The development of a collective disposition for the young people participating in the projects, was due to them 'feeling part of something', a sense of group affiliation and collective creativity (Burnard 2002). This was often seen in a positive light as 'the Arts Award group' in contrast to the deficit groupings of young people many of them had arrived at the projects under. These opportunities to reconfigure identities enabled a re-focusing on young people being seen to do something positive, constructive and creative. This form of collective identity can be considered a proto-community (Willis 1990) where people come together with shared concerns, to carry out informal learning and develop a body of knowledge in which others in the collective have an interest. People in a proto-community share a repertoire of common resources: language, styles and routines by means of which they express their identities. The notion of grounded aesthetics is based on peer-led learning culture where those within the proto-community dictate the kinds of capital valued (Stahl, Burnard et al. 2017).

On arrival to the various Arts Award projects, young people often communicated negative experiences of school or school-based arts education, common knowledge and understanding around artforms such as music, film, visual arts and dance, and then developed collective experiences through the projects. There was a strong bond between young people in the group, and although they were working on individual projects and their own interests, they were working towards common goals, such as performances, productions and collaborations. Below are two excerpts of young people demonstrating this collective learning and sharing of knowledge within that proto-community. The first example shows how work is shared for peer review, using grounded aesthetics by which to form standards and make judgements within particular artforms. The second is an example of a more established member imparting knowledge to a less experienced young person in music making, in an apprenticeship-learning style. These two examples of collective learning represent the development of social and symbolic capital through collective creativity and proto-community:

Everyone comes out the booth to listen back to Grace's song. Everyone sits quietly concentrating and at the end there is applause. Comments are based around a huge improvement in just ten weeks. From the vocal exercises, projection and confidence.

(Fieldnotes, 20th Jan 2015)

Tyler tries to re-assure the young person by playing one of his first tracks to show how his voice has developed over the last two years. He explains that it is a confidence thing, not being confident in your own voice and trying to emulate others.

(Fieldnotes, 16th June 2015)

Returning to the previous example given of the naming of the project Beat-Boxers, this label projected a particular habitus, made up of prior cultural experiences, when in reality its dispositions of Contemporary, Bollywood and Street dance were only accrued by those with omnivorous dispositions. Those targeted by the deficit labelling were left to feel like 'a fish out of water' and were further marginalised by this grouping through 'dropping out'. A previous study (Beswick 2018) which explored young people engaging in a theatre production that played up classed stereotypes, found that labelling worsened their position. It was argued that asking young people to embody stereotypes closely related to their 'real' identities caused significant tensions and exacerbated the label of social exclusion for that group. Therefore these kinds of collective dispositions can also result in (re)production.

5.4.3 Counter-cultural capital

Previous research has demonstrated the strong relationship between learning and identity (Bates 1991, Colley, James et al. 2003, Ball, Macrae et al. 2013). Young people were able to develop positive learner dispositions through taking part in Arts Award projects. These were closely linked to non-school identities and experiencing success within an alternative learning environment. The accrual of counter-cultural capital equated to educational success through alternative means of ascending the field. Young people's sense of themselves changed as many reported shifted perceptions of their future goals. Non-school arts engagement gave young people the feeling of succeeding on their own terms, in turn strengthening their learner identities. Pedagogised identities (Atkinson 2002) refers to the development of particular dispositions in response to the way that the young people are taught – a development of the ritualised practices reported on earlier in this chapter. As argued above, working with arts professionals afforded young people certain opportunities to develop more positive learner dispositions, however, these were often conditioned by the ritualised practices of the Advisers. The following chapter will explore this further, through examining the differing pedagogies that young people experienced on the programmes.

A study of working class males learning to be MCs and DJs (Stahl, Burnard et al. 2017), reports similar findings: young men who were labelled as 'disinterested learners' from formal schooling were able to reverse this identity through new group affiliations and peer-led learning cultures. Like the young people in this study, they were able to operationalize capitals in order to cultivate more positive learner identities. This demonstrates the value of symbolic capital offered by arts practices, which can enable young people to be agentic through Artistic Production. Young people were able to experiment with different

identities as they experimented with different artforms. This was seen as a positive thing, as young people experienced a reduced fear of failure and began to realise that achievement was a personal factor, not judged against that of others. As a result of this, many young people reported changed recognitions of themselves, as exemplified by the excerpt below. The Adviser describes a change in the young person's opinion of themselves. She describes working with some educationally 'damaged' young people and being able to ignite a spark, an interest, the importance of giving praise, making young people feel good about themselves and opening up future possibilities. This can be seen as an example of one of the logics of practice within alternative education settings that focuses on changing the agents rather than the practice:

> *Arts Award Adviser: These young people are being referred to us to help them improve their life situations. And by using an informal education route, again as I said earlier, you're helping them to achieve, even if its really small steps. And you are helping them to realise that they're not all that bad, despite what they are told. And despite their own kind of opinions … We notice that kind of spark ignite in them. And actually when they are getting the positive opportunities and the praise, from us and our team here, that makes them feel good. And they actually think 'ok' and that's opened up the door for us to actually be able to work with them and mentor them with other areas of their lives as well.*
>
> (Interview transcript)

In *Learning to Labour* (1977) Paul Willis brings a new understanding of counter-culture through the experiences of schooling the 'lads'. Their counter-school culture was viewed as an assertion of distinctly working-class meanings and priorities. It was their agenda and their agency. However Willis uses this counter-cultural resistance as an example of 'self-damnation'. In choosing to disrupt their own education they have simply accorded to a working class pattern of educational failure – much like the participants who dropped out of the Beat-Boxers project. In pursuing freedom and resistance in the short-term, the lads have reproduced a class-based cycle of inequality in the longer term. The Arts Award attempts to disrupt the field in a similar way, but because of the logics of practice of the low-level education sites, these efforts were misrecognised and (re)productive.

5.5 Discussion: Artistic Production and (re)production through arts practices

Arts practice offers both possibilities for Artistic Production but also logics of practice that were (re)productive. Arts practice was an opportunity for learning new things, developing new arts skills, working with artists and utilising industry standard equipment. In addition, the programmes were accommodating of individual's interests and practices that enabled Artistic Production. The majority of this practice was through the everyday, as work contained symbolic resources, which were available to the young person in their everyday lives such as pre-existing music or images. This enabled young people to draw on their own life stories and previous experiences of the arts to create work as part of bedroom culture. As this chapter had demonstrated there were some arts practices that produced symbolic and social capital as a way of supporting the accrual of cultural capital, however there were also some practices that reproduced the agent's position in the field.

If we consider practice as a site of assertions of 'everyday' power, there were practices which were (re)productive. This was principally due to the logics of practice of the programmes themselves – a strong example here being the encouragement of obedient dispositions by the alternative education projects. What the Advisers programmed was representative of assumptions made about that young person, their abilities or their social grouping. Access to quality arts practice was restricted for some, which in turn defined how they view their own practice. More challenging and contemporary arts experiences are not introduced or engaged with properly and the choice of arts practice was limited for some. Subcultural dispositions simply re-aligned some young people with deviant arts practices, for those who did not hold sufficient cultural capital to be considered an omnivore.

This chapter demonstrated that capital accrual did not advance the position of *all* agents in the field, which raises questions about the implications of these unequal advancements. Dispositions afforded through arts practice were highlighted as more valuable to the young people that symbolic and social capitals. However in parity with the offer of capitals, different dispositions were developed in different young people. A key question here is what can be done to turn these different capitals and dispositions to advantages within the field? These issues will be taken up in the discussion chapter at the end of the thesis.

Chapter 6 – Arts Pedagogies

Arts Award was praised for its 'exemplary pedagogy' in the recent impact study (Hollingworth 2016). However this research found that there were varieties in pedagogical practice, in particular for young people taking up the programme as part of alternative education or under deficit groupings. This chapter presents Arts Award's pedagogy on a spectrum from the pedagogy of poverty to the pedagogy of possibility. The pedagogy of poverty is a typical form of teaching that has become accepted as basic, a default pedagogy for working class young people (Anyon 1980, Haberman 1991, Hayes, Hattam et al. 2017). The study found that these young people were more likely to receive didactic teaching with low-level work, be assigned a passive learning role with little scope for interaction, whilst learning in a more tightly controlled environment where behaviour is monitored.

However, in contrast, there were examples of the pedagogy of possibility, which encompassed learning through the real-life learning opportunities, and everyday spheres of engagement, open-ended approaches leading to critical thinking and artistic dispositions. This chapter describes the pedagogy of possibility (Freire 2014) as enabling Artistic Production whereby the Advisers can encourage particular dispositions which build capitals that can be used advantageously within the field. This hierarchy of pedagogy manifested in more working class or 'dis-engaged' young people being offered not only different opportunities for arts participation and learning, but also being 'taught' differently, contributing to (re)production.

The structure of the chapter is as follows:

6.1 The chapter begins with an exploration of the arts leadership element of the award and its relation to pedagogy, highlighting pedagogy as a key practice.

6.2 The pedagogy of poverty is explored in relation to Arts Award's 'offer' through examining the different teaching approaches and interactions between Advisers and young people, in order to demonstrate the (re)productive nature of this pedagogy.

6.3 Alternative pedagogies as possibilities for Artistic Production are presented, including examples of inclusive pedagogy, cultural and popular pedagogies and border pedagogy.

6.4 There is a focus on what artists brought to the programme, their 'signature pedagogies' (Thomson, Hall et al. 2012), which explores the different dispositions on offer through Arts Award.

6.5 The chapter concludes by arguing that Arts Award can be viewed on a spectrum of pedagogies, which is hierarchical depending on young people's perceived behaviour and assumptions about ability. It is argued that the potential of Arts Award is not being reached and more efforts are needed to resist the logics of (re)production at work within these sites.

6.1 Arts Leadership as pedagogical strategy

Pedagogy is utilised as a strategy through which Advisers make certain capitals and dispositions available to certain individuals or groups. Just as Bourdieu's (1990) and De Certeau's (1998) theories of practice enable the exploration of seemingly innocent ways of doing, being and thinking, pedagogies dictate which young people have access to particular opportunities. In doing so they reveal hierarchies which position young people in both productive and reproductive ways. The exploration of the pedagogies within Arts Award is focused around the analysis of the Arts Leadership component of the award, which is an integral part at all levels[9].

Film recordings are often the preferred method in which Advisers chose to document young people's arts leadership activities. In response, a large part of the data, which was analysed for this section, was recorded on film and enabled a micro-level investigation into the different interactions that resulted from these pedagogies. Particular interactions that were coded included warm-up exercises, demonstration and repetition tasks, introducing and inspiration, sharing back and performing, explaining and demonstrating, practising and perfecting, prompting and step-by-step instructions, simple activities, problem-posing, exploring, use of artists' terminology, real-life situations and questioning and responding. These were all elements of the different pedagogical approaches that will be addressed in this chapter.

The importance of leadership and 'being a leader' is a key narrative of Arts Award in relation to the doxa of meritocracy. In the Adviser toolkit, arts leadership is defined as a workshop series, a one-off day-long event, a performance, an exhibition, development of a product, a publication or an arts-based website (2014 Adviser Toolkit). Within this study, young people chose to lead short workshops or demonstrations and plan and host performance events. Participatory workshops where they passed on their arts skills to others, included practices such as singing, lyric writing, DJing, spray painting, film editing, radio, dance and guitar. Young people can work individually or as part of a team to plan and deliver an arts project, which has a creative output and involves managing people and resources. The project can be for a group of people or delivered through one-to-one work and at gold level the outcome must be shared with an audience. Young people are required to collect feedback on their leadership skills and evaluate their arts project. Arts Award advises that supervision and support should be provided by the Adviser and other

[9] Bronze – Part D (passing on arts skills to others), Silver – Unit 2 and Gold – Unit 2 (leadership of an arts project)

appropriate adults to ensure that the projects meet the "required legislative standards". But the level of this support may vary depending on the young person's needs and the approach of the Adviser.

There is a lengthy list of criteria that young people must fulfil. At gold level, this encompasses over 30 elements, focusing mainly on organisational objectives that demonstrate administrative dispositions towards management, evaluation and planning, whilst encouraging self-managing and responsible behaviours. The below list reflects some of these requirements for leadership:

- Develop an understanding of effective arts leadership including an identification of a distinct leadership role
- Establish the projects aims and desired outcomes
- Organise participants and/or others involved in the project
- Access suitable equipment, resources and/or venues
- Budget and, where appropriate, access funding
- Conduct a straightforward risk assessment
- Respond to unexpected and/or emergency situations
- Make the necessary arrangements for a public showing / sharing of work
- Advertise or promote the event effectively
- Interpret and evaluate feedback from different interest groups
- Construct a project report
- Design of similar projects might differ in future

These criteria are heavily weighted towards administrative tasks, which often became the focus of the young people's experience of arts leadership activities. Logics of monitoring and dispositions of managerialism often obscured the more artistic and creative aspects. Previously in chapter four, it was argued that Arts Award is a tool to develop young people as citizens who take up opportunities and take responsibility. This was strongly evident in the leadership component where assumptions are made about young people's capacity to undertake independent learning. Through the guidance of their Advisers, young people are encouraged to become a certain kind of learner who demonstrates self-awareness and self-motivation. Entrepreneurial as well as administrative dispositions were also encouraged. These will be taken up in the following chapter.

Micro-analysis of arts leadership as a pedagogy highlights normal activities being taken for granted and Arts Award's doxic narrative of the importance of leadership 'skills' in terms of employability, where leadership is defined as a positive attribute. Analysis of the specific interactions highlighted differing pedagogies, ranging from the pedagogy of poverty, which offered (re)production to more uncommon pedagogies, which enabled young people's agency through

Artistic Production. The following section investigates the particular practices of the pedagogy of poverty within these low-level educational programmes.

6.2 The Pedagogy of Poverty

The pedagogy of poverty has become an accepted pedagogy for working class young people. It is an instructional style that has heavy reliance on teacher-direction, controlling behaviour and student compliance (Haberman 1991). This was the experience of several of the young people in this study. As such, the pedagogy of poverty can be viewed as antithetical to the goals of educational equity and as such represents a hierarchization of pedagogy where those with strong cultural capital are further advantaged and those with less are disadvantaged in the field.

Residing in teaching practices rather than in a lack of resources, the pedagogy of poverty highlights the different types of educational experience and curriculum knowledge that are made available to students from different social classes (Anyon 1980). Particular classroom dispositions linking to different kinds of occupations are rewarded in particular groups of young people - the working classes for docility and obedience, the managerial classes for initiative and personal assertiveness. Knowledge and skills leading to higher social positions and occupations (medical, legal, managerial) are made available to the advantaged social groups but are withheld from the working classes to whom a more 'practical' curriculum is offered (manual skills, clerical knowledge). Assumptions are made about what capitals different groups of young people have and what they need. This fails to acknowledge how arts education is practiced differently in different settings, obscuring its often (re)productive nature.

These default or 'common pedagogies' (Hayes, Hattam et al. 2017) by limiting pedagogical practices, rather than improving conditions for learning, weaken and diminish opportunities for learning. Assumptions are made about working-class learners for whom a traditional curriculum may not be appropriate, who cannot cope with more demanding work and hence more open-ended methods are viewed as unsafe (Boaler 2002). Particularly within arts education, there are certain capitals that young people need to display and assimilate in order to be successful. Cultural capital is accrued so that young people may move to a more advantageous position within the field. However, not every cultural practice counts and only certain types are recognised by dominant institutions such as employers and schools (Beckett and Wrigley 2014). Some cultural practices and achievements may be recognised within particular fields but not others.

Practices of the pedagogy of poverty include didactic, teacher-controlled instruction (Waxman 1995, Thadani 2012, Anyon 1980, Haberman 1991, Hayes 2017), lower expectations of independent learning and interactions with teachers (Waxman 1995, Anyon 1980), and a passive role of students with low engagement in tasks (Waxman 1995, Thadani 2010, Haberman 1991). Teaching and learning has the tendency to be more structured, with more use of worksheets and copying (Thadani 2010, Boaler 2002, Hayes 2017), with lower levels of work (Waxman 1995, Thadani 2010, Haberman 1991). Logics of practice include a focus on controlling the behaviour of the young people or controlling the environment through classroom management (Waxman 1995, Brookhart 1993, Anyon 1980, Hayes 2017). Young people are frequently regarded under deficit discourses where they are viewed as projects to be worked on (Anyon 1980, Haberman 1991, Hayes 2017) and curriculum is infiltrated by strategies of accountability for teachers and measurability through the culture of 'getting work done' for students (Waxman 1995, Brookhart 1993, Beckett 2014, Firth 2014, Hayes 2017). This chapter will highlight these practices and logics within Arts Award programmes for 'dis-engaged' young people.

6.2.1 Instruction, limited interactions and low-level engagement

The manner in which the Adviser prepares the young person for the arts leadership project directly affects their experience. The pedagogy of poverty is a method of teaching and learning in which young people can 'succeed' without becoming either involved or thoughtful (Anyon 1980). This demonstrates a particular logic of practice of low-level education, that it needs to be easy to achieve and measures of success are lower. For some, this resulted in a highly 'spoon-fed' and directive experience as the below dialogue demonstrates. Here a young person is reflecting back on his experience while looking through his Arts Award portfolio. He describes the planning process, which he undertook through 'worksheets', that were already prepared for him and describes a step-by-step approach, simply following orders. This kind of arts leadership is therefore reduced to a box-ticking exercise where the young person believes they have achieved by simply following instructions. This leaves little scope for utilising new skills or ideas learnt within new contexts:

> *Frances: Let me have a look (flicks through folder). So here, in your leadership section…*
> ***Tyler: I just remember planning where I had to share my skill, and do Photoshop with people. That's all I remember doing planning that one.***

Frances: So you've got like … erm … that looks like a set of reminders to yourself. Like a set of rules. And you've got something here about ground rules. So is this like the worksheet that you had here to help you?
Tyler: Yeah I had to write it in steps to make sure that I didn't forget anything and that I was doing the steps properly. And this was just boundaries for the kids on what to do and what not to do.
Frances: And look, you've got some step-by-step instructions here on how to create a CD cover on paint.net. So what did you do before you did this leading? Cos it looks like you've had quite a few things to think about. How did you plan this leading?
Tyler: I sat down with Lisa (Adviser) at first to see if it would be possible to do it and then she gave me a sheet, that sheet, to fill out and I thought of what I was going to do, I decided how many children I needed and what equipment was needed and some stuff like that pretty much.
Frances: That's quite a few things there. So you've got here things to talk about, your potential participants, sign-up sheet. So you've got a series of workshops and times, feedback sheets. Did you design these?
Tyler: No I just had to give them to the kids …

(Interview with young person)

Furthermore, analysis of video data highlighted young people engaging in simple activities of demonstration and repetition, frequently prompted or made to start again by their Adviser for the purposes of the film. Some arts activities had been broken down to step-by-step simple processes or 'dumbed down' for certain groups of participants. Through these kinds of pedagogical practices young people are more likely to be corrected, receive simple explanation and then be instructed to repeat activities in order to encourage dispositions of obedience. The following film clip highlights this experience by editing the same footage through two different perspectives. The first part shows the young person in control of setting up and leading a spray-painting activity, whilst the second part forefronts the directions and reprimands from the Adviser, which are common to the pedagogy of poverty. Each clip shows a different side to the arts leadership activity and the questions at the end draw on the tension between controlling young people and enabling their autonomy:



Film clip 6: "Now everybody shake up the cans" *(6min 58 sec).*
Click thumbnail to play film. *This film is password protected.*

This clip demonstrates the low-level of expectation of this particular individual through the provision of simplified step-by-step art making activities. It also demonstrates a limited mono-directional instructional style of the Adviser. In turn this encourages the young person to take a passive role in learning in which they have low-level engagement in tasks as typical of the pedagogy of poverty.

6.2.2 Over-structured practice, low-level work and measuring progress

The pedagogy of poverty dictates a more structured approach to teaching and learning for the working classes. Young people enjoy less freedom to learn and less freedom to explore with more time on workbooks, worksheets and copying. In particular with the alternative education project, despite dialogic learning through conversations and meeting new people, there was a heavy presence of worksheets and paper-based procedures used to show development. This logic of measurement is constructed to demonstrate young people's progression through an evidenced paper trail. These were frequently referred to in a negative light by the young people as too easy, boring and similar to work given at school, such as doing a multiple-choice computerised test. Within alternative education, Advisers often completed workbooks and scribed for the young people, as the below example shows. This was based on an assumption that any kind of 'academic' work, even writing, would alienate the young person:

Jamie is working from a workbook. The Adviser reads the question to him and Jamie works it out verbally. The Adviser writes the answer in his book. Jamie is dis-engaged from this activity. There are constant distractions from students coming and going outside. The Adviser is kind and patient with Jamie and gives him time and chance. But he is lashing out, he wants to go. He says he's done lots of work today. He had produced six prints, which his Adviser did the majority of and done two sums from a book, which his Adviser has written down for him.

(Fieldnotes 25th June 2015)

However as an evidence-based award there were alternative and more creative methods for gathering the responses of young people. Several projects avoided a written approach from the outset and instead evidence gathered was for through video cameras set up in the corner of the room to capture conversations. Arts Award encouraged these practices as a way of being inclusive through 'creative evidencing' – however, this could be viewed as making work 'easier' as part of the pedagogy of poverty.

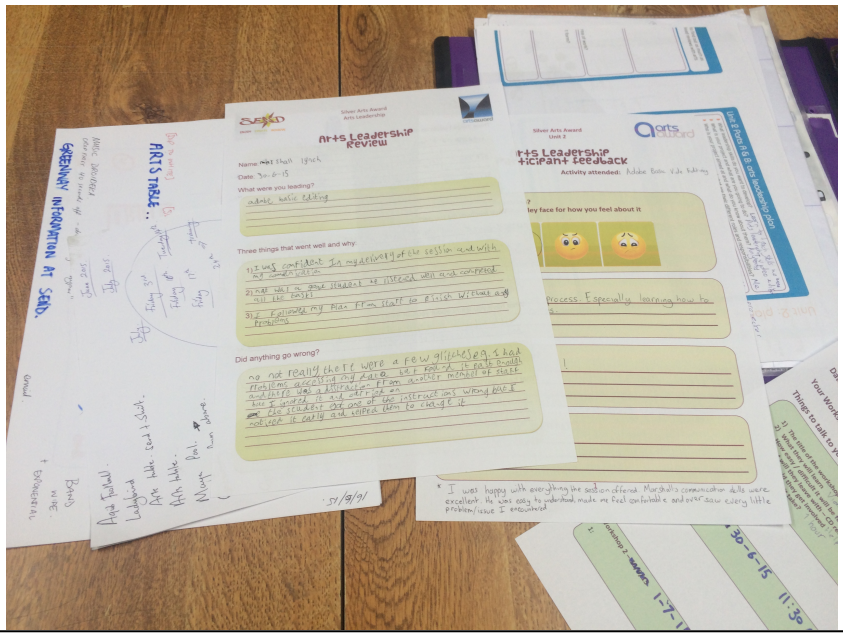


Figure 28: Low-level 'academic' work.
Photograph of various worksheets, completed by the young people on an alternative education programme or scribed by the Adviser

Accompanying this frequent reliance on worksheets, as pictured above, was a general low-level of work. Low cognitive demanding tasks dressed up as a less 'academic' curriculum. For the young people in this study, any writing tasks were associated with negative schooling experiences, with the Arts Award being seen

as a practical alternative. For example, with the compulsory alternative education programme, the young people had agreed to undertake the qualification, without really being sure what it was or what they would be required to do. They had been told that it was a practical qualification and it was pitched to them as something 'easy', something 'hands-on', with 'no-writing'. These stories emphasise a key misrecognition of many young people on the programmes as 'good with their hands not their heads'.

The vignette below contains an excerpt from my fieldnotes and an image showing a young person being guided through the process of completing their large-scale spray-painted board. He displays an expectation to be formally instructed step-by-step how to make his artwork and is left with very little freedom to explore the materials:



Figure 29: 'The tick' – step by step.
Photograph of a young person being instructed how to create a spray-painted artwork

With the letters outlined and the tick behind, Billy now sets about filling in the tick with red. First they have a discussion about which bits are visible outside the letter … Billy is now using black to fill in the background, this is taking time and patience to cover the large area. The Artist tells Billy to listen to his artwork, what is it telling him to do next? Billy smirks, do the lettering he says.

(Fieldnotes, 10th June 2015)

6.2.3 Logics of monitoring and behaviour control

Classroom management and controlling behaviour encourages dispositions of obedience within young people. It is argued that these are aligned to occupational strata and are designed in a socially reproductive manner in order to produce and reproduce the existing social order through using directive teaching in a filtering manner (Anyon 1980). With the Arts Award programmes

those who displayed less-compliant, less school-like behaviours received the most didactic instruction, which most reflected the pedagogy of poverty. Controlling and monitoring behaviour are logics of this pedagogy. In particular with the alternative education programme it was the job of the Adviser to keep young people 'on task' and focused.

Particular methods of 'safe teaching' were employed which had an over-emphasis on the performance of schooled routines and the imposition of rules. As Arts Award was seen as a framework through which to engage (and control) young people who had failed in mainstream education, there were many examples of these rules and expectations of rule-breaking. For example on the FDP programme a 'studio agreement' had been scripted and pinned to the wall which imposed certain rules and restrictions on the young people. Through these pedagogical practices AE is used to construct 'orderly youth' but in different ways (Thomson and Pennacchia 2015). This manifests in not only tight policies of non-toleration of misbehaviour but also reward schemes or 'carrot and stick' regimes. These were evident within the Arts Award programmes, which included a reward chart system up on the wall and a promised trip to Alton Towers at the end of term:

> *The session starts with reviewing young people's progress and behaviour points towards their trip to Alton Towers. A graphic is shown with microphones building up to a graph. Behaviour deteriorated yesterday and the group are chatting it through to make a fresh start for today, to draw a line under it.*
>
> (Fieldnotes 10th June 2015)

The AE approach was to deal with the young person's behaviour first, and their learning second. This is a typical logic of practice of the pedagogy of poverty, which reduces the amount of time young people have for their learning, and replaces this time with low-level behavioural activities which are often packaged as 'soft skills'. With particular reference to the arts leadership task, this was seen as the 'stick' of evidencing progress for the qualification, as opposed to the 'carrot' of making work, which was seen as enjoyable. In response, some young people showed reluctance or annoyance at these activities and viewed them as a distraction from arts-making activities:

> *Frances: And in terms of your leadership, so I watched you teach people lyric writing for your silver. How was it being a leader?*
> ***Benji: It was alright, like being a teacher***
> *Frances: Yeah?*
> ***Benji: Ummm hummmm***

Frances: And were you worried about it at first or was it something that you were quite relaxed about?
Benji: I weren't really bothered. I taught it but I said 'I'm not a teacher'. So just do it like how I do it.

(Interview with young person)

This demonstrates a sense of disconnection with the leadership task and a rejection of dispositions of obedience. Being introduced to the task in an over-controlling way, made their experience like a step-by-step box ticking exercise, rather than an opportunity to explore future possibilities.

6.2.4 Misrecognitions of deficit groupings

Many young people accessed the Arts Award through projects (either voluntarily or compulsory) under deficit groupings. This impacted upon the Advisers attitudes towards them and assumptions made about them. This frequently manifested in low expectations, misrecognition of behaviour and viewing young people as projects to be worked on. Within the FDP project in particular young people were frequently being referred to as 'needing to be moved' or 'not be the right kind of person (for school)'. A 'normal way of being' at school was accepted by staff and not questioned if a young person appeared outside of this norm. The removal of young people from the school system seemed not to be about the best option for the young person, but about managing risk to the schools reputation. This message was even transmitted to the young people as Jamie described a friend who is facing a similar exclusion as having 'nothing wrong with him', inferring that something is usually wrong with young people who get excluded, including himself.

AE programmes in particular were heavy on responsibilising practices. Counselling was offered for young people through signposting to other services. Young people were frequently defined in a deficit view by these programmes and this resulted in demonstration of reluctant behaviour by some young people towards learning and their capacity to learn. Several of the programmes sought to engage the young people in creative tasks not only as a diversion, but also as a way of understanding their own accountability and responsibility – through issue-based work as a way of exploring their previous 'risk-taking practice'. The logic of practice of controlling behaviour manifested in engaging with the arts as a way of alleviating previous offending or anti-social behaviour, where these practices offered the opportunity to 'get things off their chest' (Baker and Homan 2007, Parker, Marturano et al. 2018). Arts Award provided a framework through which AE providers were able to 'report back' to schools on young people progress.

As the Arts Award is recognised on the QCF framework, and hence deemed a valuable qualification by schools, it is used as a tool in AE programmes to offer credentials to the young people, and provide a measurable outcome in return for the funding the school to accommodate its pupils on the programme. Here the doxic narrative of performativity manifested in record-keeping, paper trails and a culture of 'ticking-boxes'. Arts Award was well suited to this kind of AE provision due to the emphasis on collating evidence for the award, and the dual purpose of collating evidence demonstrating the young persons' progress within that provision.

The narrative of performativity has particular implications for arts programmes of this nature, including a focus on ability-orientated goals rather than learning for the sake of it, short-term, goal-focused, product rather than process, skill rather than enjoyment, good practice as improved 'outcomes' and skills over knowledge as lists of competencies and standards. With the FP and YMP programmes there were clear examples of the award being used as a measurement in itself, as a benchmark for the projects' success to levy future funding. Although within youth settings Arts Award gave the opportunity for young people to undertake more intensive and more creative work, the structuring of sessions was an issue for those who just wanted to come and 'hang out', sometime being turned away from provision as they were not undertaking the accreditation. This frequently resulted in coercion of young people to undertake the award and youth workers pushing young people into the programmes to help boost their numbers. Showcasing and performance events are 'measurable outcomes' for youth projects and draw attention to the outcomes of young people undertaking positive activities, increasingly needing to be demonstrated as part of targeted work. The young people however took a much less instrumental view of this experience and relished the opportunities for sharing of the work they'd created through performing in public. Therefore the experience of young people on the youth work and informal education programmes was less controlled, more responsive and had possibilities for young people's Artistic Production. This experience will now be explored further in the following section on uncommon pedagogies.

6.3 Pedagogies for Artistic Production

There are alternative practices of teaching and learning or 'uncommon pedagogies' (Hayes, Hattam et al. 2017) which were demonstrated through the Arts Award. In order to give examples of particular logics of practice, reference is made to inclusive pedagogies (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011), cultural and popular pedagogy (Sefton-Green 2006, Hickey-Moody, Savage et al. 2010), border pedagogy (Coburn 2011) and signature pedagogies (Thomson, Hall et al.

2012). Within society the arts are used as part of symbolic creativity as a way of defining particular social groups. Artistic Production is concerned with cultural democracy, which provides a more positive lens that acknowledges working class culture. These alternative pedagogies are a way of embracing these kinds of production through notions of everyday practice, proto-community and symbolic creativity (Willis 1990).

Uncommon pedagogies, as opposed to default pedagogies (Hayes, Hattam et al. 2017) involve equipping young people with effective cognitive learning strategies, critical and higher order thinking. This often involves engaging with questions that mattered deeply to them, recognising the knowledge that young people brought with them and the acknowledgement of their learning lives, through tapping into everyday knowledge. The below excerpt provides an example of a young person is who sharing their skill in playing the guitar through explaining and demonstrating, but also reacting and adapting. This demonstrates practices of self-discovery, self-guided learning and logics of trust within the young people to guide their own experiences:

> *A young person is working with an Adviser on his Bronze Part D – arts skill share. He is teaching him how to play the guitar – carrying on from last week. They use an app. on the IPhone to tune the guitars before starting. Last week he was very confident at leading and has set his participant work during the week to learn the chords. They used letters, phrases and acronyms to help learn chord patterns / strings. The young person is mature in his approach, coaching and pushing his participant, explaining things and pointing out problems confidently. The young person is advising on how to hold the guitar, and reach each of the different chords. The participant is struggling with something, and says he can't do it. The young person shows different ways to do something and then changes to something easier. They swap guitars so that the participant finds it easier. There is some confusion about moving up the strings higher and lower. It's just practice, the young person says. The participant is starting to get it and seems pleased. They are discussing learning harmonies and strings and the young person says he is going to teach him, how he was taught – he is going to start with learning to read music. He goes off to get some sheet music, while his participant practices strumming chords.*
>
> (Fieldnotes, 12th Feb 2015)

Powerful learning often comes from real-life opportunities and learning as connected to life experiences, of which there were many examples within Arts Award. The Advisers were key to this experience, using their connections and peers in the industry or local scene to enhance learning and knowledge for the young people as ways of advancing young people's symbolic and social capital.

They frequently brought in other arts professionals to either work with the young people on their arts practice or to talk to them about their work. Cultural capital was built through work experience and other arts projects, which highlighted a wider range of jobs, aside from being a practitioner. These included technical, administration and management roles. As argued previously, Arts Award develops dispositions aligned toward administration 'skills' such as planning, budgeting, reporting. This makes the administration layer of arts employment visible and develops young people as arts workers rather than purely artists. For some this included the development of particular dispositions, which enabled the young person to feel a sense of fitting in. The below example of Lisa demonstrates the alignment of dispositions developed during the arts leadership activities with arts related career options – teaching dance, in this case:

> *Lisa: Obviously with my teaching, with the little ones and with my leadership projects, that's kinda made me realise that I actually really like teaching and it's something that I'd want to do.*
>
> (Interview with young person)

Productive pedagogies (O'Toole 2006) view the experience of teaching and learning as part of group identity and collective endeavour. Collective learning (Thomson, Hall et al. 2012, Burnard and Dragovic 2015), working with practitioners, shared experiences, learning as social rather than individual process are all particular strategies within these uncommon pedagogies (Hayes, Hattam et al. 2017). In the previous chapter the development of collective dispositions is one of the affordances of the Arts Award in terms of proto-community (Willis 1990), where young people are brought together through Artistic Production. The following chapter on arts pathways, will explore examples of young people joining collectives, and making their own arts enterprises that would sustain their interest and networks beyond the life of the projects.

The arts leadership element afforded young people opportunities to undertake activities and events that they wouldn't have been able to previously, therefore accruing symbolic and social capital. Some young people demonstrated being able to manage complex processes and engage with detailed planning and with young person describing the process as giving him 'power', demonstrating a sense of agency:

> *Greg: There was an event we helped plan … the event at Nottingham Contemporary last April and I would never have done that if I hadn't of come down here. And maybe if I hadn't of been doing my Arts Award, I*

wouldn't have presented it, which I did. But I never would have helped plan it if it wasn't for the Arts Award.

Frances: (points to folder) and these are all the phone calls that you did to the press and press release. This is like a real life experience, you know if you were going to put on your own music gig …

Greg: Yeah, it was. Yeah we've got the lady that came in from the press department, she did press releases. She passed it on to the press people and we did our own little press thing. Radio Notts gave us a shout out and gave the event a sort of nod. And things like that … it does do something very different because it's sort of … it really is giving you the power. It's saying 'here you go, you go and do some workshops' or 'you go and do a debate, you go and lead and take part in a debate'. So there's no teachers telling you what to do. It's very different. It really is very different, now I think about it.

(Interview with young person)

There were also examples of young people developing their own value frameworks, their own peer-to-peer judgements through grounded aesthetics. Through engaging with event ethnography, as explored in chapter 2, this study in particular explored participants' repertoire of grounded aesthetics of performing rapping and singing at live performance events. In asking young people what made a good performance in their preferred musical style, they reported things like the ability to 'spit' lyrics really fast, 'cut down' the other young person, not 'choking', having 'swagger' or presence on stage, hitting the right notes, performing your own lyrics and creating new combinations of musical styles i.e. combining rapping and singing. These are all dispositions which form codes for ways of being and ways of fitting in at these events, as well as ways of responding to and judging others and perhaps most importantly, what young people sought to propagate in themselves. They were their own critics within their own scenes, emphasising the people and the process within Artistic Production rather than solely the product.

6.3.1 Inclusive pedagogy

Artistic Production represents opportunities for participation for a wide range of young people. This research looked not at the arts as a tool for wider inclusion agendas, but at the practices of doing or making that were inclusive - the inclusive pedagogies that were manifest in the Arts Award. What is inclusive about the arts is not simply the 'doing', it is also the 'feeling' that is personal to each individual. It is the dispositions developed by the young people, which make them feel 'included'. For example, part of Arts Award's strategy is to focus on what young people can do rather than can not do (Florian and Black-Hawkins

2011), offering a flexible programme and a choice in what activities and learning they want to undertake. Therefore young people agreeing their own project with an Adviser based on their individual skill level rather than a predefined benchmark can be considered inclusive pedagogy.

Inclusive pedagogy is defined as practical task-based activities and 'praise culture' (Kinder 2004), building resilience and learning power (Wetz 2004) and the co-construction of knowledge (Bryderup, Moss et al. 2011). Within arts education particular characteristics might include being relevant to – and reflecting – young people's lives, interests and enjoyment (Harland 2005), valuing the process of art making over the artistic product (Karkou and Glasman 2004) and being encouraged to take creative risks (Batsleer 2009). Inclusive pedagogy also takes a person-centred approach (Stickley 2010), with no judgements on being right or wrong (Kinder 2004) and involve 'inclusive behaviours' through offering respect, encouragement and esteem (Kinder 2004). These pedagogical practices are intrinsic to ways of working with the arts.

6.3.2 Cultural and Popular pedagogies

Combining cultural, public and popular pedagogies youth arts programmes mobilise young people's knowledge of popular culture and their everyday literacies. This engagement with popular culture is democratic to the extent that young people from all classes possess popular literacies and their knowledges can be mobilised through the arts (Hickey-Moody, Savage et al. 2010). Willis argues that class is learned through culture and labour, whilst viewing the arts as everyday creative practices. Common cultural practices can be considered a form of cultural pedagogy, as they utilise formats that are publicly accessible through young people's use of symbolic resources (media, music and other materials) and engaging in proto-communities (groups of young people around particular arts projects) (Willis 1990). The inclusion of popular culture in the pedagogy of the Arts Award is a strategy that incorporates the tastes of marginalised social groups. Therefore cultural knowledge is brought into the realm of the everyday as a way of recognising diverse cultures.

Cultural pedagogy is concerned with teaching and learning practices through social relationships and interactions, learning through young peoples popular life-worlds (Sefton-Green 2006). Popular pedagogy is based around popular culture and consumption (Hickey-Moody 2013). Building on real-life experiences and young people's interests is one of the pedagogical strategies of the Arts Award. It is popular with young people as it is culturally responsive and can be used to follow up particular interests and develop new ones. Advisers can programme activities for the young people which have strong links to their

personal sphere of interest. They also create new opportunities for the young people such as working with professionals, meeting and interviewing people, the experience of going to live events and self-promotion:

> *Advisers are teaching the young people about promotion and the use of social media. They get advice on how to promote themselves as 'Artists' and why this is important – 'to get your work out there'. They proceed to set up email accounts, not in their real names, but in their Artist names: Sir Dee Productions and Marshall Productions. There are many things that artists can do now themselves using the Internet now in the place of Managers and Record labels.*
>
> (Fieldnotes 12th March 2015)

This kind of Artistic Production, demonstrates Arts Award's democratic nature, creating more opportunities for young people to get involved and get recognised in the arts. Here the programmes supported dispositions of self-expression, with young people making an investment in their own artistic practice by follow individual projects in which they had vested interests. In this way, the arts were utilised for personal and social development of young people accessing the programmes, as a way of drawing on symbolic capital in order to boost cultural capital.

6.3.3 Border pedagogy, bridging and bonding capitals

Informal education is a powerful catalyst for learning which encourages young people to be inquisitive, questioning and problem-solve creatively (Batsleer and Davies 2010). Border pedagogy (Coburn 2011) is a practice that encompasses the building of bridging and bonding capitals as part of social advantage within the field (Morrow 2001, Putnam 2001, Bottrell 2009). Previous research has demonstrated the advantages of these kinds of social and symbolic capital in terms of educational decision-making (Heath, Fuller et al. 2010), social media networks (Ahn 2012) and music festivals (Wilks 2011). As part of youth work projects these practices often include the provision of creative or cultural activities as opportunities to create learning within youth environments. A form of social pedagogy – where the field of education and welfare meet (Bryderup, Moss et al. 2011), border pedagogy is acknowledged as a form of youth work capital. As previously argued, this contributed to one of Arts Award's doxic narratives around the arts for social good. However, as this chapter argues, the logics of practice of border pedagogy displayed by the YMP and FP programmes were furthest away from the pedagogy of poverty on the spectrum.

In particular within the youth settings, Arts Award was seen in a positive light in terms of its fit with the pedagogies of youth work and mentoring. There are commonalities in pedagogical approach between youth work and the arts, which included conversation and dialogue, shared values and experiences, setting boundaries and being role models and building relationships. Youth workers were utilising Arts Award programmes to explore future opportunities with the young people and to link them into informal arts networks. There were also opportunities for young people to organise events and to perform. The programme meant that youth workers could 'give time' to the young people, as well as the 'pick it up, put it down' nature of the award with more transient groups. This notion of 'giving time' to the young people is a key logic of practice of youth workers:

> *Youth Worker: But when you are working informally, you often get to give them a lot more time and attention than they normally receive. And that's the time of youth work, that successful youth work is about making young people feel that they are cared about. And that you've got their best interests at heart. So that's why you're able as a youth worker, you can do the fun things with them, but you can actually take on a much more paternal role. Where you can, not discipline, but you can give some pretty stern advice. And they actually, it's more likely, that the young people will take note of that. It might actually have more of an impact, because you've been through the kind of fun positive stuff and built that respect where they feel like you care, do you know what I mean?*
>
> (Interview transcript)

With border pedagogy, Arts Award affords young people opportunities to engage with the arts through artistic dispositions of self-expression and creativity. One way that young people were able to develop these dispositions was through the production work such as films and lyrics around personal issues, which was a key part of the practice of Artistic Production. Young people engaged with informal learning in the youth settings, drew on the wider place of arts in life and called on their own experiences and interests. This resulted in individual projects and work being pursued by the young people under the Arts Award framework. Young people enjoyed the informal education offer and benefitted from a non-school environment and a more relaxed ethos where they could try new things. These kinds of environments engendered non-school practices through symbolic capital building, alongside logics of personal and social development of young people.

6.4 Artists' 'Signature' pedagogies

The pedagogy of poverty refers not only to the content and structure of engaging young people in learning but also the manner of teaching and the pedagogical logics of practice. Analysis of interactions of arts leadership activities focused on h*ow* young people were able to be or encouraged to be 'arts leaders'. As argued above this ranged from feelings of young people having power or being in control, demonstrating agency, to more didactic, spoon-fed instruction. Working with artists was a key practice of the programmes, with the majority of projects offering young people this opportunity and many Arts Award Advisers being artists in their own rights. However, some were not and this made a difference to the quality of the programme that was offered to young people.

The Creative Partnerships programmes sought to bring innovative pedagogic practices of artists into mainstream educational practices. Findings from Creative Partnerships research (Galton 2008) demonstrates that the arts empower learners beyond artforms, such as affecting ways of thinking and being. Working with the arts and artists enabled young people to develop artistic dispositions around critique, artform-awareness and how to develop their own practice. Artists' pedagogies enabled the development of artistic dispositions aligned to 'being an artist'. This section will explore how the award was able to support young people to reproduce artist pedagogies through the development of particular dispositions. It will also explore the notion of transition from novice to independent (Griffiths and Woolf 2009) as a logic of practice of Arts Award's apprenticeship arts learning model.

Previous research (Buckley, Goulding et al. 2007, Galton 2008, Pringle 2008, Burnard and Swann 2010, Thomson, Hall et al. 2012) demonstrates that artists bring particular things to learning contexts. These practices include access to opportunities, a connection to the everyday, particular routines or disciplines, collaboration, artists' language, dialogic learning and conceptual enquiry. Further research (Harland 2005, Buckley, Goulding et al. 2007, Pringle 2008, Burnard and Swann 2010, Thomson, Hall et al. 2012) has also highlighted that the ways in which artists work which are particularly beneficial for young people. These include processes of meaning-making, collective endeavour, experiential learning open-ended challenges, active questioning and enquiry, conversations, risk and failure through the logic of practice 'induction' into being an artist. Building on these, Thomson & Hall (2012) developed Signature Pedagogies, which are particular ways artists approach and conduct teaching and learning. These included:

1. Introduction through inspiration and sharing or performing work made
2. Explaining and demonstrating in a practical manner

3. Directing rather than instructing directly with two-way processes of questioning and responding
4. Problem–posing followed by encouraging participants to explore for themselves
5. Learning artists' and/or technical terminology and applying it in real-life situations
6. Warm up routines as learned practices or rituals with an emphasis on practising and perfecting

This section will utilise these criteria as a framework to explore the extent to which the interactions analysed in this section reflected artistic dispositions. The following subsections explore the artistic dispositions on offer. The following chapter will explore the entrepreneurial dispositions.

6.4.1 Being inspiring and sharing learning

Working with artists and arts professionals as part of their Arts Award was inspirational for young people because it enabled them to observe new practice, to collaborate with the artists and to share their own work as a way of getting feedback as part of collaborative creativity (Burnard and Dragovic 2015). With the music projects in particular, spending time listening to music together was a key practice. Young people gained new experiences and benefitted from sharing. YouTube and social media were frequently used teaching resources for these kinds of projects and the element on 'arts inspiration' frequently drew on these are resources for research. Considering their own arts inspirations was an opportunity for young people to learn more about the practitioners they admired.

There was often a two-way approach to learning where staff and young people shared interests in things such as music and art and shared their knowledges in these areas. Much learning was done through conversation and dialogue, which formed part of a co-creation of knowledge. There are shared understandings about certain kinds of music such as house music and rap lyrics. Through the act of listening to music together and watching DJing videos, conversation drifts to life topics, and then back again to the artform. Both Adviser and young person seem to enjoy just sitting and listening to music together. Starting from a basis of something that is shared, they work together to create music tracks, artwork or film, as the below excerpt demonstrates:

> *The sound engineers makes notes and gives advice so that Tyrone (young person) can build his track the way he wants. They are sharing knowledge together – the young person on music preference, scope and their experience*

and the Adviser on technicalities and composition. They are working together, co-creating.

(Fieldnotes 25th Feb 2015)

6.4.2 Practical demonstration

With arts leadership tasks and projects young people were often placed in situations where they were required to demonstrate and explain, but also to react and problem solve. As argued this varied depending on assumptions made about the academic abilities of the young people and their capacity to work independently. According to the pedagogy of poverty, the logic of practice dictated that young people must develop to be self-managing and responsible. Below is an example of where a young person is reproducing artistic dispositions transmitted through the learned rituals of leadership from the Adviser on the project. Jamie is sharing work that he has made (the film clips), using his own practice to demonstrate, encouraged his participant to learn the technical terminology of film-editing as well as problem-posing as a form of pedagogy. This was then followed by encouraging his participant to explore for himself, in a process of questioning and responding between young person and adult:

11.45am: From practising with the Adviser, it is obvious that Jamie knows what to do to edit his own films. At first he is struggling to explain these things to another person. But after some practice, I overhear Jamie gives clear direction on how to add titles to the film edit.

12.15pm: Jamie is really getting into it now. After an initial reluctance to use the written instructions he has made for himself, he is explaining effectively and referring to them. I am impressed with his instructions as it must be hard for people to communicate internal processes, their way of doing their art for others. Jamie is doing quite a bit of prompting but this is done through dialogue and reciprocal questions. He throws up lots of questions and scenarios



Figure 30: Jamie's Arts Leadership – film-editing. Vignette containing film-still and accompanying fieldnotes

for the participant so that they can creatively problem solve. He asks them where they want to go next.

(Fieldnotes, 24th June 2015).

6.4.3 Collaboration, dialogic learning, and reflection

Many young people reported positively on how they had been able to work with artists and their approach to the programmes. These practices included organising special events and activities, real-world associations, learning through conversation and processes of meaning-making. These enabled young people to choose to act in ways which allowed them to gain a new embodied understanding of working as an artist – to develop artistic dispositions which contributed to their habitus. A key element was making work together. There were many examples of collaboration between young people and arts professionals and more informal learning experiences such as 'jamming' together, which did not have a specific outcome. Often these spontaneous and sustained moments of experimentation gave young people more time to learn their artforms as part of collaborative creativity. Key practices included group learning and shared experience through the logic of self-expression and the personal and social development of young people.

Learning through conversation is a key practice through which artists work, and this was taken up by the young people on the Arts Award programmes. Young people working with artists were able to share ideas and knowledge, listen together, develop shared interests and approach learning from a questioning and analysis direction. Below is an example of the practice of dialogic learning, which is embedded within the Arts Award, where young people are required to reflect upon an arts event they have visited. Within the projects this is frequently done as a group conversation exercise, where young people have the freedom to be critical, to judge by their own concerns, with little fear of getting the 'wrong answer', where each young person's opinion is valued equally:

> *The second activity of the evening is sitting down as a group to discuss the event last week – Clash Money Battles. I am involved in the discussions as I attended the event and it is interesting to hear the young people's opinions – some are really hot on it, some cooler. The young people discuss the rappers: backpack rappers and roadmen – comments on the style, dress and social class of the rappers. They are actively disparaging of some of the rappers, but mainly because they feel they can do better than them.*
>
> (Fieldnotes, 2nd June 2015)

Young people reported a social experience of learning together with artists, but also reflected on how artists were able to respond to young people's needs and interests through work on individual projects. In contrast to formal schooling young people are allowed to or even encouraged to socialise, talk and share. Through the development of proto-communities (Willis 1990) learning was co-constructed. Meeting new people and the chance to work in collaboration with both other young people and artists represented the development of both symbolic and social capital. Collaboration or co-production, a key attribute of working like an artist came in several forms with singing, performing or rapping together, or working in collaboration with performers as sound engineer, technician or editor. With each person finding their role within each project based on what they could bring and how they could work with others. The practice of performing was an important element of collaboration, as the below excerpt shows, young people's practice developed in collaboration with others so that their abilities towards performing were built on:

> *JB comes in and chats. He and another young person have written and made some tracks together. Tonight I watch them work on performing together rather than being individual artists. Their collaborative song has the words 'I change when the fame came'. They talk about performance techniques, movement, pacing. Their track is pre-recorded and they sing over it.*
>
> (Fieldnotes 18th Dec 2014)

Young people were frequently engaged in the practice of reflection as part of evidencing for the award and reported that being encouraged by artists to give feedback and incorporate reflection was different and engaging. Gathering this reflective evidence was approached differently depending on whether the young person was viewed through the pedagogy of poverty or the pedagogy of possibility. The latter approach, which included a variety of video, writing and making artistic work in response, was more beneficial for the young people in terms of the development of their arts practice and was an indicative way in which artists work. Getting feedback themselves and giving to others was an important part of the Arts Award, and a key logic of practice relation to the proto-community built up around the Arts Award projects, as a key mechanism for developing shared repertoires and grounded aesthetics. Advisers built this logic into many of the activities, as the below excerpt shows:

> *After the two young people have led their dance warm-up, we sit down to write feedback comments on little pieces of paper. Sarah (Adviser) talks to the young people about why and how to evaluate the session. All the young people are quiet and get on with the task. It feels like school. The feedback tells us that their warm-up has been popular with the young people, as they*

give great feedback, which includes 'confidence' and 'interactive'. The group then discusses this feedback.

(Fieldnotes, 25th Nov 2014)

Personal reflection on progress and development is a key practice of Arts Award, whilst developing reflective dispositions. The award requires that young people reflect on their learning, what works, what doesn't and where to go next. These kinds of planned discussion activities were empowering for the young people, where the projects adopted an 'ok to fail' ethos and where learning was approached as a problem-posing, with no 'correct' answer. Risk and failure are affordances of working with artists as well as learning to appreciate the perspectives of others, which were encompassed within Arts Award. Young people were encouraged to respond personally, with their opinions being free from judgement on what is right or wrong. Young people found that this was a strange freedom compared their formal education experiences. This disposition gave young people the permission to play, an atmosphere of praise and the opportunity to become someone different, which are representative of uncommon pedagogies.

6.4.4 Problematising learning

One of the key logics of practice of working with artists is the encouragement of young people to develop dispositions towards creative thinking or to engage in creative problem solving. This is an area that the Arts Award identifies as skills based, however dispositions which problematize learning enable young people to think deeper, to go beyond that which is knowable on the surface, to the application of this understanding to a variety of contexts. These skills were engaged with many times, not only within the practical arts activities. The below excerpt gives an example, where young people abstract a physical experience and project it forward to a future or hypothetical experience, showing these creative thinking skills:

I join in an activity with Tyrone and Jamie where they are sharing their Arts Event Review of a play – The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-time. We talk for about 40 mins about the play. The young people are quite negative about it at first but slowly their thoughts creep in: experiences of the music, visuals, and effects. They talk about empathy for the main character, who has a learning difficulty and his braveness at making the journey he did and how he responded to others with violence and indifference … The young people undertake complex thinking about the creative elements: the stage, set, lighting, and design.

(Fieldnotes, 22nd April 2015)

6.4.5 Being 'professional'

As explored in the previous chapter, young people demonstrated the adoption of artists' languages and terminology as part of the development of dispositions, where they accrued symbolic capital. These formed clusters of dispositions, which encompasses ways of being and ways of working in order to be socially recognised through Artistic Production. Young people began to become inner critics in terms of the production of their work and their performances. They became knowledgeable in terms of self-promotion of their work, through advice that was directly handed down to them from the artists on the project. They benefitted from access to professional standard technical set up with support to utilise it. Young people were able emulate artists' practices by beginning to build platforms to release their own music and films, alongside learning the knowledge and experience of working in a 'big studio' or editing suite environment. This also demonstrated logics of scene building and entrepreneurial dispositions, alongside introductions to other professionals and the opportunities that these artists had offered.

What the programmes added to these practices was the opportunity to raise the level of the young persons Artistic Production through the disposition of 'being more professional' and to collaborate with other young people as well as artists. Making the transition from novice to independent (Griffiths & Woolf, 2009) is a key practice of young people in positioning themselves as artists. Being able to identify these instances was a useful in exploring what different young people could achieve and highlighted one of Arts Award's misrecognition as a pathway to the 'arts world'. There were clear examples of making this transition, as the below excerpt demonstrates a young person developing artistic dispositions through independent learning as part of Artistic Production:

> *Benji is doing much of his own production this week. I have noticed his development of skills in this area. He is getting more comfortable with the set up and needing much less guidance. Soon he will be able to be independent with his production.*
>
> (Fieldnotes, 11th March 2015)

However, only particular young people were offered these opportunities, which depended upon how the Adviser viewed the young person's artistic ability. This also varied depending on the level of the award, with young people undertaking, with Gold level working more independently, undertaking self-directed study and seeking advice on particular sections. The assessment criteria for this level requires that they work on their own or with peers to create a final piece, act as

experts to young people with less experience, use specialist technology and a focus on independent learning.

6.4.6 Induction through 'tricks of the trade'

In the previous chapter, the (re)productive ritualised practices emphasised in the ways that the projects and Advisers worked with the young people were highlighted as forms of embodied symbolic capital. In relation to pedagogy, the way that the artists worked the young people also implied ritualised and embodied practices. Using a constructivist approach artists brought new experiences for the young people to the programmes and engagement through improvisation and playfulness. They offered guided discovery and advice, rather than formal tuition, which was reported positively by the young people as different from the experience of being 'taught'. The induction of young people through ritualised practices was a visible influence of working with artists, alongside the use of artists languages, and performances practices. Many young people referred to how artists helped them to tap into informal arts networks, benefitting from knowing people, getting help to be 'professional' through the sharing of knowledge:

> *The vocal coaches talk about diction and projection – it's about getting out the deep meaning. This is Grace's own song. They share a 'trick of the trade' of using hands to gesture projection and high notes. She is encouraged to sing with her eyes closed. I close mine too and listen to the beautiful sound.*
>
> (Fieldnotes, 27th Jan 2015)

Aligning with new dispositions as a way of 'being someone different' was a practice for young people to engage with and see themselves as part of the artists' world. This was frequently demonstrated through the induction of young people into Artists practices such as set routines. In particular with the dance project, introductory routines became habitual, and there were sections of improvisations within each new dance and mirror learning techniques (Sanderson 2008, Chappell, Rolfe et al. 2011). Similarly with the music projects, the practice of improvisation was socially and musically inclusive (Burnard 2002).The previous chapter explored the aspects of (re)production associated with these routines. However in terms of pedagogies working with artists was a key part of Artistic Production. This was represented by the induction into various roles, such as artist, leader, talker and sharer, but also listener and supporter of others, and the development of clusters of dispositions such as artistic, administrative and entrepreneurial as well as behavioural.

These pedagogical practices contributed to the pedagogy of possibility, which celebrates the potential for young people to engage with self-expression alongside experimentation and a sense of challenging ideas and boundaries. This type of pedagogy represents a possibility, an opportunity for young people to explore the world around them and a sense of their place within it, as part of Artistic Production. The will be taken up in the concluding part of this chapter which explores the spectrum of pedagogies on offer.

6.5 Discussion: The Pedagogy of Possibility versus the Pedagogy of Poverty



Figure 31: 'Space painting'. Created by Billy undertaking Bronze Arts Award on an alternative education programme



Figure 32: Untitled, laser cut plywood sandblasted on latex. Created by Haley undertaking Gold Arts Award as an extra-curricular activity

Consider the two artworks above. Both seem to have been created through complex processes of layering, colour blending and composition of shapes. But one of the images was made by a young person copying an Adviser, using simplified step-by-step instructions, with limited materials and little scope for imagination. The other image was created by a young person with free reign over a range of diverse materials, different artistic processes, no parameters on what the final image would look like and undertaken with a sense of experimentation. The two approaches exemplify the pedagogy of poverty (Anyon 1980, Haberman 1991) and the pedagogy of possibility (Giroux 1988, Freire 2000), which demonstrate the range of pedagogies on offer from Arts Award.

This chapter has argued that there were varieties in pedagogical practice for different groups of young people. This can be viewed as a hierarchy depending on young people's perceived behaviour and assumptions made about their ability. Artists brought different ways of working and different practices to the programmes which enabled young people to enact Artistic Production. These represented its pedagogy of possibility (Giroux 1988, Freire 2014). Originally conceived by Paolo Freire, the pedagogy of possibility represented a different experience of schooling in relation to the young persons sense of time and optimism (McLaren 2000). Essentially a pedagogy of empowerment, it views practices of teaching and learning as having transformative capabilities (Rossatto 2004, Muirhead 2009). This accords with the potentially liberating and oppositional affordances of Artistic Production, as a way between the rhetorical and structural constraints for these particular young people. It offers possibilities for demonstrating agency and applying certain dispositions strategically within the field. However, the hierarchy of capitals and the uneven starting points of young people within the field resulted in particular groups of young people experienced the pedagogy of poverty (Anyon 1980, Haberman 1991). This end of the spectrum represents (re)production as those receiving this kind of pedagogy were not able to advance their positions.

Paradoxically Arts Award is presented as an open and flexible award where young people are free to make choices and follow up their own interests through democratic Artistic Production. However in reality this often controlled and confined to the particular offer of the project and the support of the Adviser. These offers often inadvertently result in (re)production in terms of 'positional suffering' (Bourdieu 1999). Within this hierarchy of pedagogy, the more 'dis-engaged' young people were programmed lower-level work and were 'taught' differently, with reduced opportunities for developing dispositions. Positioned on this spectrum by adults, the more dis-engaged or disruptive young people were offered the least opportunity to develop capitals and dispositions of value in the field. This raises key questions about education initiatives that are designed to be inclusive – are they about changing the agent, or changing the practice? Whilst Arts Award's strategy is focused on closing the gap in cultural capital, the logics of practice of the low economic and cultural capital sites in this study actually disadvantage the already disadvantaged.

This chapter has demonstrated that different young people receive different Arts Award 'offers' which is attributable to the programming put in place by the Advisers and the context of these programmes. Assumptions are made about what capitals young people have and what they need. Both the pedagogy of poverty and the pedagogy of possibility are strategies that Adviser can apply which make particular capitals available. However this does not reach *all* young people taking the programme as opportunities are limited for some, which is

dictated by behaviour. This highlights that there is an issue of misrecognition of prior or legitimate cultural knowledge as artistic talent or ability or suitability to an 'academic' curriculum. The most extreme example being AE settings, whose logics of practice of control and monitoring are derived from a misrecognition about young people's behaviour and assumed academic ability. This is turn reproduces their position by actively preventing them from translating cultural capital into economic advantage.

Whilst the Arts Award is tasked with broadening access to the arts and culture for a wider range of young people as possible, this chapter has demonstrated that the logics of practice of particular sites can provide the pedagogy of poverty, which has an adverse effect on 'inclusion'. In highlighting the pedagogy of possibility as part of Artistic Production, the argument is made that Arts Award's potential is not being reached, in particular with the arts leadership component. But what conditions are required to enact the doxic narratives of inclusion and access? And what would a universal arts education offer look like in terms of pedagogy? These questions are taken up in the conclusion chapter.

Only a limited few who display particular dispositions will be positioned so that they can convert their capital into economic gain through employment or further education. This has implications for the purpose of arts education as being wider than simply documentation and measurements in order to demonstrate progress, but as the offer of particular clusters of dispositions so that they can become cultural citizens. The following chapter explores these positions by investigating future arts pathways for the young people in the study, in order to highlight the different directions being signposted by the programmes.

Chapter 7 – Arts Pathways

Bourdieu's concept of field is a useful tool for analysing educational 'trajectories'. Previous research has highlighted a diversity of routes through the field of education and particular processes as 'gatekeepers' to these 'transitions' (Bathmaker 2015). The doxa of meritocracy positions cultural capital building, through the accrual of formal qualifications as a route for social mobility. As this thesis has argued, Arts Award's echoes this doxic narrative through the notion of an 'arts pathway' and this will be explored in this chapter. Engaging with the notion of pathway as a metaphor, young people were encouraged to progress in various directions. Narratives of 'progression' and 'pathways' are both meritocratic. However, as this research has shown, there was an unequal offer in terms of the capitals and dispositions for the young people in this study. Different groups of young people were positioned to take up varying pathways through the logics of practice of the different sites. This chapter presents three directions identified in this study: 'moving up' to higher education, 'moving out' of education to the field of employment and 'staying put' through sideways directions within vocational education streams.

One of the focuses of this chapter is the 'research' element of the award, which it is argued had an impact upon what young people felt was achievable for them in terms of future arts pathways. As has been described, Artistic Production includes a range of activities most of which allowed the collection of information about future possibilities. They contributed to the development of different dispositions, which held value for particular trajectories. However, for some young people, undertaking more limited and secondary research on arts pathways prevented them from developing the dispositions they needed to access all future possibilities.

The chapter is as follows:

7.1 The notion of an 'arts pathway' is critiqued through exploration of the position-taking of agents in the field and whether they were able to advance (or not). Whenever young people were able to build capital, this was due to Artistic Production. However there were also examples of (re)production.

7.2 A comparative perspective, which brings the field and logics of practice together, is presented in order to demonstrate the forces of tension. It defines three futures directions in relation to this particular cohort.

7.3 The differing practices, capitals and dispositions, which were acquired by young people as a result of researching future arts pathways, are explored. These include work experience, arts networks, self-made pathways, agentic, entrepreneurial and subcultural dispositions and freelance work in the CCIs.

7.4 Discussion of the implications of the different offer to the future pathways categorised as 'moving up', 'moving out' and 'staying put'.

7.1 Research and navigating 'arts pathways'

The promotion of an 'arts pathway' is a key strategy of Arts Award. The award is positioned as a stepping-stone, a way of advancing the young person's position within the field both horizontally and vertically. It is a mechanism that can enable and demonstrate progression. However the notion that there is a simple process, a set of steps to be followed in an order to secure employment, obscures the unequal starting points of different young people. It also misrecognises the importance and difficulty of acquiring combinations of capitals and qualifications in the field. The 'message' suggests the accessibility of jobs in the arts sector, despite a lack of secure employment in this area, intense competition and structural barriers in careers in the CCIs (Oakley and O'Brien 2016, O'Brien and Taylor 2017). Participants frequently referred to the value of Arts Award in terms of it as a qualification, looking good on your CV or gaining UCAS points for university, which demonstrates an assumption that employers can un-problematically match qualifications to jobs. Recent research into class-based employment within the arts (O'Brien 2018), has argued that there is a lack of acknowledgment that the meritocratic notions of 'talent' and 'hard work' obscure social privilege and cultural capital. The award's doxa narratives represent a misrecognition that all capitals hold equal weight and that young people can move at the same pace from one vertical position to another.

Researching arts pathways represents an opportunity for young people to advance their position in the field through symbolic and social capitals so that they may experience what it is like to be in another position. Young people are required to reflect on future education, career pathways and opportunities available to them. For each level of the award, there is a part that requires young people to undertake research into arts practitioners, arts organisations, further education and career pathways in the arts. At the higher levels of silver and gold there is an emphasis on active participation as a key practice of the field. This included experiencing arts events, meeting and working with arts practitioners and gaining first-hand experience of working within the arts or with arts organisations. However, as this research found different groups of young people were encouraged towards different areas of research and this was dependent on the logics of the sites and the dispositions encouraged in the young people. Some researched higher education and elite art colleges and drama schools, whereas others looked into local arts courses or FE provision and in particular a local college offering creative courses post-16. Others, in particular on the further education programme, took the opportunity to research academic routes and higher education courses, even if they felt they were not going to be able to attain a place on them. This represented different directions on the 'arts pathway', where some were enabled to more horizontally but not vertically through the field.

When questioned about what participants wanted to gain from the award a hierarchy was evident - (1) the qualification, (2) work experience and (3) further development of their arts practice. This was tied to improving their life chances by going to university or getting a job. However as this chapter will argue, for some young people this was an unreachable option, due to their limited ability to progress on vertically due to an inability to convert subcultural and symbolic capital into economic gain. Arts Award's doxic narratives, which position the qualification as universal and accessible to all, misrecognises the reinforcement of positions of inequality for some.

This chapter will explore three pathway directions identified in this cohort – 'moving up', 'moving out' and 'staying put' - investigating in particular what is required to move up. It will argue that social capitals are key - for example, the importance of networking and insider industry knowledge as well as dispositions such as entrepreneurialism and 'street cred', over qualifications.

7.2 Comparing the different pathways on offer

Despite the similarity in age between the participants, there were differences in the future directions to which young people were directed within the projects. In some contexts, the arts as a career was not encouraged whilst in others, jobs in the arts were misrepresented. Further future directions that young people with particular acquired skills were able to take were to move out of education into the employment field. Elite arts pathways such as acting schools were considered the world of celebrities, the unreachable domain of HE was propagated through meritocratic notions of education, whilst others encouraged re-engagement with education in general, under the guise of moving on.

For those who explored arts pathways through passive and desk-based research rather than participation or local opportunities, the offer was much more limited. This had an impact upon the young person's dispositions as there was a marked difference of experience with those groups who took up arts research as an opportunity to explore real-life or work-based situations. The below excerpt is from an interview with a young person who undertook screen-based research into arts pathways, where he communicates a sense that the famous actors he had chosen to research had achieved their career path firstly through 'talent 'and secondly 'hard work', easily overcoming any obstacles that stood in their way. He sets out a hierarchy, which can be seen to reflect the different practices and capitals and the intersections of fame and talent within the field:

Frances: Do you think it's important for young people who are studying Arts Award to do this kind of research?
Jamal: I don't think it's that important as some people will just get there. But I think it helps. I don't know much about myself, I don't know how I would want me to be, but probably looking at those three, I could see how I would want my acting career to go. Each, all three of those had a different way of starting off. Benedict Cumberbatch went to RADA so after that he was kinda set. Jack Whitehall left university early to take up a career in stand-up. He went on tour to do stand-up and then came back to acting. So he built up his world on comedy, whereas Samuel L Jackson was mentored by an actor like Morgan Freeman.
Frances: So have you learnt, and what you are saying in a way, is that there are different pathways you can take?

(Interview Transcript)

This example, of young people choosing to research celebrities – famous actors, singers, echoes the doxa of meritocracy. Many participants in this study had a firm belief in talent and hard work, which were propagated through the research component through narratives of 'working hard' and 'making it' (Littler 2017). Having researched celebrities or 'famous' arts practitioners, some young people asserted they were 'just like us', which enabled structural privilege to be passed off as merit.

7.2.1 Moving up? HE as an unobtainable pathway

In Springbank College (SC), Youth Media Project (YMP) and Fresh Project (FP), Arts Award was used to highlight routes to higher education. This was done through practices which included research into university courses in the arts, undertaking voluntary work experience and group visits to university open days. The logics for these practices were based on moving agents upward both horizontally and vertically in alignment with more conventional trajectories through the field of education. The vignette below recounts the story of a young person undertaking Arts Award through SC programme, as an alternative (of lower value) to BTEC. It demonstrates his assumption that taking up Arts Award would advantage him in the educational field. However, in discussing the low UCAS points value, he realises that his educational pathway is not aligned with that of higher education:

Jamal: (I'm) just looking for somewhere to go to do a drama or acting type thing that can come out as a degree. I think some of them, I just wasn't even qualified for.
Frances: So what do you need?
Jamal: For a degree, you're looking at top-levels, A's and stuff. But I'm not going to come out with an A in maths. So that wouldn't work. Also I can't come back next year to do the extended diploma, so that's just bad.
Frances: So they ask for an extended diploma?
Jamal: Some ask for an extended diploma.
Frances: And what are you doing at the moment?
Jamal: Just a diploma.
Frances: It's all about adding up the points for university and how much you need. But you'll get the UCAS points from this won't you?
Jamal: Yeah, there's 35 UCAS points on here
Frances: And what do you need to get in to your acting course? Do you know?
Jamal: I think it was 280.

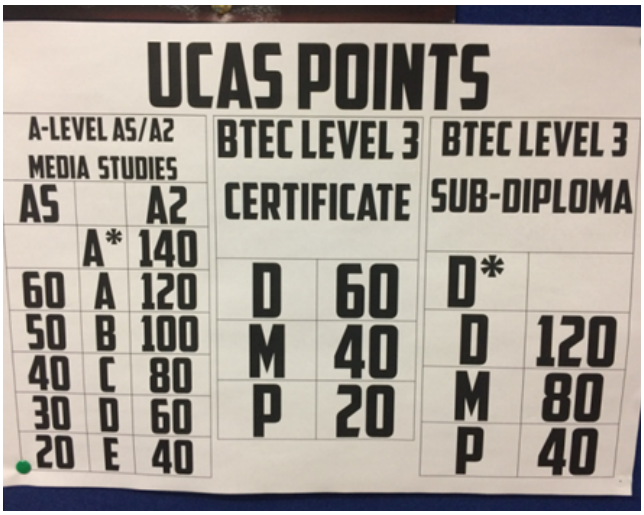


Figure 33: UCAS points – a losing maths challenge? Interview transcript with photograph of poster taken in further education site classroom

This extract demonstrates the young person's willingness to play the game by 'adding up the points' required to advance his position. However he is either not able or unwilling to recognise the unlikelihood of his pathway into HE, despite re-iterating Arts Award's assumption that it helps *all* young people progress. In addition, this image demonstrates the accreditation focus of the award in this context and reflects the low points value it holds for pursing higher education.

In particular, within SC the young person's experience of Arts Award was driven by the presumed need for accreditation, with the UCAS points being held as a key value. The award was seen as a tool to equip young people with qualifications with minimum effort on behalf of the college. This demonstrates one of the doxic narratives of the award and a meritocratic misrecognition that qualifications can lead to better re-positioning within the field. Whilst, young people reported the value of the UCAS points for them, their minimal value on the higher education framework did not assist any of them in taking up a university pathway.

7.2.2 Moving Out? Precarious employment and the gig economy

Those young people who developed entrepreneurial dispositions were made aware of the gig economy through the accepted mode of practice of the Arts Award Advisers themselves. The emergence of the gig economy has been epitomised by companies such as Uber and Deliveroo and is seen to reflect how many young people work today. The CCIs are reliant on a freelance or self-employed workforce, which has been exposed a problematic, class-based and at worst exploitative (McKinlay and Smith 2009, Mould, Vorley et al. 2014, Cohen 2015). Poor business practice has been highlighted by the Creative Industries Federation (Easton 2017) with calls for improvements to support its workers. The induction of young people into practices and working patterns associated with the arts and CIC gig economy came from the Advisers, the majority of whom were creative practitioners working on these educational projects in order to sustain their work as artists, dancers, musicians and DJs etc. They therefore became aware of the precarious nature of this kind of career and the need to take up different opportunities in order to survive.

Within the Arts Award programmes explored in this study, some young people were granted opportunities that led to freelance work as artists, musicians, workshop facilitators and DJs. This was through induction into local arts networks and opportunities and was only available to those young people who demonstrated entrepreneurial dispositions and the desire to work in a freelance capacity. These included opportunities such as local performances, competitions and introductions to local Artists and people working in the CCIs. The below excerpt is an example of the kinds of work experience and paid work that Advisers were able to organise for young people on the programmes. These fieldnotes record the opportunity one Adviser who was working as a Sound Engineer at a local nightclub, organised for a young people to DJ at a forthcoming night. The Adviser was using his employment on the FDP programme to support his creative freelance work:

> *JB arrives and is buzzing about the DJ event next week. It's 6pm to 2am at the Maze, he showed me a flyer on his phone with his name on the line up. One of the workers is organising the event and has got Tyrone on the line up.*
>
> (Fieldnotes 13th May 2015)

Here the young person is inducted into the practice of freelance work and subcultural dispositions. He is learning that it is important to 'get on the flyer' and the hierarchical positioning on that flyer – the higher up the list your DJ name appears, the more prestige you hold. This represents symbolic capital but also (re)production of the working conditions as an accepted mode of practice

perpetuating inequalities for young people on low-skill, low-wage educational trajectories. These kinds of working environments, linked to the CCIs, are arguably setting young people up for precarious futures where only the most advantaged can succeed. These logics derived directly for the employment experiences of staff working with the young people, tended to be (re)productive. It maintains rather than advances the young person's position. Also despite many participants reporting that the work experience and networks developed were of value to them in terms of 'moving out', undertaking work experience in particular was often down to personal contacts and the individual's motivation, rather than programme content. For those young people who simply reflected on past experiences, rather than undertaking new experiences as part of the programme, the connection to the world of work was sometimes tenuous. Their pathway is best described as 'staying put', which will now be explored.

7.2.3 Staying put? Re-directed towards the vocational

Frequently Advisers and other staff on the projects would undertake work with the young people around developing opportunities for future arts pathways. On several of the projects, young people were directed towards a particular college – Creative College, which offers digital-based arts and media courses post-16. On the FPD and YM programmes several young people were accompanied on visits and supported with interviews for this vocational pathway. Those who accrued subcultural capital were directed towards vocational rather than higher education pathways. The excerpt below demonstrates the accepted practice of filtering and selection of particular social types towards particular levels of education by a vocational institution, which has the effect of (re)production.

My fieldnotes below reflect the encouragement given to one young person, Billy, by two Advisers who were supporting with an application to Creative College. His achievement of the Silver level Arts Award counted as one of the 4 A to D grades required to get an offer. This represented accrual of symbolic capital to progress his position vertically:

> *Billy is working on arts pathways research. He has interviewed a local rapper and done some research on Creative College. They are discussing the entry requirements for the college – 5 grades A-C. Billy doesn't feel he can achieve these. The workers tell him that's just a guideline and that young people can get in with their recommendation and doing an extra piece of work, a project. This is what JB was working on last week – a piece of writing, 1000 words, on the day in the life of a DJ / music producer.*
>
> (Fieldnotes, 10th June 2015)

This excerpt shows the extra barriers the college required the young person to navigate - an on-the-spot maths exercise and a piece of English work to be done at home and submitted – due to him accessing the pathway from a low-level site of education. This represents assumptions made of the young person being based on their social class rather than their ability.

These kinds of young people were more likely to be guided towards the arts as personal development or hobbies through informal arts networks and amateur practice. For them the logic of 'moving on' represented overcoming a difficult time in their lives or connecting with another project or network that would sustain their arts practice outside of the life of the project. Within the YM and FP programmes in particular, many young people engaged in discussion about other venues within the city and this was a key research practice in understanding their own future opportunities and career pathways. The excerpt below demonstrates how when combined with a particular set of dispositions - artistic and entrepreneurial - young people can convert knowledge to capital. The outcome of moving on to other spaces through knowledge of local arts networks, a key practice for accruing social capital, is described as having resulted in further development of their artform:

> *The young people chat about different studios and places you can record in the city. Some have experience and they share these and talk about areas of the city they like and don't like. The conversations between young people and workers are based around the opportunities for young people to get involved. It reminds me of a young person – Lacey, who came happily trotting in one week with a new track she had made at another studios. She went in off her own back on the off chance and came away with a new track.*
>
> (Fieldnotes, 9th June 2015)

Particularly striking was the lack of future arts pathways that young people within Beat-Boxers (BB) and FDP were signposted to, which highlighted the lack of support and preparation for arts careers. For example, many meetings were organised for the participants with a view to re-engaging them in low-level education and 'vocational courses'. The logic of these sites related to monitoring and controlling behaviour in order to develop dispositions for obedience. These programmes tended to focus on the present instead of the future. Instead, re-engaging with education was encouraged as a way of moving young people on. There was a focus on young people changing their ways to be able to re-enter the system, instead of progressing to more specialised, higher level courses or to find employment. This can be considered as (re)production through staying put, where agents are 'sticky subjects', characterised by stasis and the continuation of classed habitus (Allen and Hollingworth 2013).

7.3 Differing practices, capitals and dispositions

This section explores the development of differing dispositions, which allowed young people to see where they would fit within the field. It will give examples of artistic dispositions such as critical thinking and experiential learning and for those who did not experience these, there were dispositions towards careers in arts administration (Coles and Thomson 2017). There were also dispositions towards entrepreneurialism such as preparation for self-employment, resourcefulness and notions of hard work as part of austere meritocracy (Mendick, Ahmad et al. 2018) are also explored earlier in this chapter, alongside subcultural dispositions such as reputation building and 'street cred' (Miles, Cliff et al. 1998, Green 2003, Baker and Homan 2007). These clusters of dispositions are valuable for Artistic Production, however as previously argued, some sites only offered behavioural dispositions, which encouraged obedience and responsibility and resulted in (re)production.

This section maps the field of practice by defining what young people took up in relation to their arts pathways. These practices are varied and it will be shown how they provided opportunities to develop agentic and entrepreneurial dispositions. However, it will be argued that subcultural practices do not allow the same opportunities for capital building.

7.3.1 Work experience

Work experience was a key practice of Arts Award and working with artists represents one of the key affordances in terms of Artistic Production. Previous research has demonstrated that practice rather than qualifications is arguably more important in today's labour market and opportunities to work in certain contexts offer young people a chance to begin to engage with the 'vocational practice' (Guile, 2009). They can begin to develop a reputation in their chosen vocational field and contacts to help them find future employment. Young people in this study reported that they had benefitted from valuable experiences and insights through work experience:

> *Clare: I think that the work experience has really impacted my work and career. I think that if I had never attended any of these, my idea of the arts industry would be very small, and I would have no idea what to expect or whether I'd be cut out for industry like. I would have had no idea about what skills I needed or what things in general, which would have made it even harder, if not impossible to secure a career in the performing arts …*
>
> (Young person interview)

This excerpt demonstrates the participants building of capital with both social and cultural impacts - for example the networking but also performance opportunities and the chance to experience industry standard equipment. Gaining work experience and working with artists is a key part of Artistic Production as many young people reported positively on opportunities organised by artists such as special events and workshop activities, real-life associations, learning through conversation and processes of meaning-making (Willis 1990). The 'induction' of young people into these practices was a visible influence of working with artists, alongside the use of artist's languages, professional production equipment and resources and performance practices. These enabled young people to choose to act in ways which allowed them to gain a new embodied understanding of working as an artist, developing artistic dispositions.

Below is an example of an opportunity organised by one of the Advisers for a young person to 'get recognised'. Although opportunities such as these were only offered to those participants considered as 'talented', they did offer advantages by placing agents in new social situations. Below the young person describes being selected for the *Ultimate Artists Scholarship*:

> *Tyler: Basically, Martin (Adviser) told me about this opportunity where some people from London were coming here to look for like raw talent and stuff, so we sat down and had a chat about it, like what songs to perform, and we decided on a song and I like changed the song at the last minute, to a different one. And I wasn't really prepared for it, but like they really saw something in me and they took me for the scholarship and that. So that's happening soon.*
> ***Frances: So what is the scholarship? What is it?***
> *Tyler: It's called Ultimate Artists scholarship. It's basically like an eight day course, where people going there are like, singers, spoken word artists, like everyone whose going, it's a chance to prove yourself and prove that you actually really want it. And basically make your mark on the music industry to be fair.*
>
> (Interview with young person)

This highlights the meritocratic notion of 'talent' as obscuring the processes of sorting and selecting within Arts Award. Young people reported the value of work experience in discovering the variety of possible jobs, aside from being an arts practitioner. These included technical, administration and management roles. Arts Award practices made an administration layer of the arts visible and developed dispositions in young people towards arts workers rather than simply artists. It develops administrative as well as artistic clusters of dispositions

which are useful to the young person. Some participants explored future pathways into teaching, stage management and arts marketing. These aligned with previous research which indicated the direction of many young people towards arts administration who do not find success as artists (Thomson and Coles 2018).

7.3.2 Localised arts networks

Tapping into locally held knowledge was an offer of the programmes for participants. Recent research into young people's cultural journeys has emphasised the importance of the 'hyper-local', the cultural offer from the area in which they live (Arts Connect 2018). Learning about and experiencing these arts pathways through local and informal arts networks, were of more benefit to the young people, than the more formalised pathways of education and work - recognised in the Arts Award literature. Many young people reflected on their experience of attending local events and how this influenced their dispositions, with some being inspired to organise their own events. These informal structures were a mechanism for building capitals, in particular for those with non-arts background, as well as reflecting what is currently happening with employment in the CCIs today.

Learning about and taking part in local and informal arts networks afforded some young people access to opportunities that did or could lead to future paid work. These tended to be subcultural, in freelance art forms such as DJing or filmmaking. Networking was a key practice that young people acquired with the YMP and FP programmes having the strongest offer for this. The below excerpt highlights the diverse nature of these informal networks which are key to maintaining young people's Artistic Production beyond the life of the projects. The Adviser explains a typology between informal networks and different artforms, identifying the different practices of each: house-bound practices with electronic equipment for house DJs and warehouses and rap battles for Grime and hip-hop:

> *Craig (Adviser): If you're 18, there are so many informal networks. So for something that I concentrate on in delivery, the music tech, people just go round each others houses and if they've got a laptop and a keyboard, that's how people tend to make music. Hip Hop and Grime people tend to gather in warehouses and have battles and stuff like that. And those are the networks, that's where people practice their art. And however you feel about it, it's where it happens. And you can't really steer people towards that. They find those avenues themselves. It's slightly different if somebody want to pursue*

music technology, then you can point them towards college. But where can you point someone who really wants to improve their rap battling skills?

(Interview transcript)

This illustrates not only a local, but also a national picture with different kinds of capital and dispositions being built from drawing diverse practices within the hierarchy of artforms. The following excerpt demonstrates the valuable learning that local practitioners can bring to these networks. These represent an advancement in symbolic capital as they include real-life experiences such as self-promotion through organising events, sustaining themselves with non-creative work, being self-employed, how to make money. This demonstrates the pedagogy of sharing 'tricks of the trade' as referred to in the previous chapter.

As part of the session, the project has invited two people who work in the creative industries – Will & Pat from 'I'm not from London' events label, publishing gigs, band management. They talk about their work history. One piece of advice they gave was to jump in and get straight on organising their own events. They talk about other kinds of work they did alongside creative work. They talk about working for themselves. With music, it's hard to make money, need to be versatile, involved in the business side. They talk about having a record label, releasing people, making money of royalties. How many years it takes to build that up to live off. Pitching bands for adverts and TV. They also help other small labels around, sharing knowledge. They say you start with music and then look at what you do and find the gap and make what you do successful. Advice – one of the most important things is to be friends with each other, build networks, are the key to getting recommendations and work. They talk about working for free, doing something you love and building a trust, a reputation to get paid work. Volunteering, working for free. There is the opportunity for young people to ask questions.

(Fieldnotes, 9th June 2015)

The advice given to young people by the *I'm not from London* practitioners emphasises the importance of networks, not only in relation to joining them but sustaining them. However as well as being unifying, networks can also reflect divisive practices as social spaces that signify difference, in particular in relation to music (Crossley and Bottero 2015). This will be explored further by this chapter alongside subcultural dispositions of 'scene-building' and 'talent-spotting'. However, previous research has demonstrated that in localities tending towards deficit labelling, dominant social capital closed down opportunities and limited the possibilities of escaping conditions of social exclusion (MacDonald 1997, MacDonald and Marsh 2005). Locally embedded, social networks become

part of the process whereby poverty and class inequalities are reproduced. Being unable to break out of these prevailing networks can limit the possibilities of escaping conditions of poverty (Johnson 2004), resulting in (re)production. Therefore not all social capital is beneficial and what is most valuable is access for young people to different networks.

7.3.3 Self-made pathways

Many young people demonstrated agentic dispositions in developing 'self-made' pathways. These included organising their own events, setting up bands and collaborations, creating record labels and promotion companies and utilising social media to promote their own work. One young person sent his music track to BBC Introducing[10] where it was played the next day. Through these practices, young people developed dispositions of self-management. The idea of being self-sufficient, having the skills of surviving on your own is an important element of individualisation and a condition of capitalist society (Avis 2008, Morrison 2008, Thompson 2011). These pathways were advantageous for young people joining collectives outside of the projects. The below excerpt exemplifies a self-made arts pathway of one participant and how he is positioning himself in relation to future employment:

> *Tyrone: Erm, I got something in the line, cos me and Jackz got picked up by this crew.*
> ***Frances: What like an agent?***
> *Tyrone: Called Baxters. Cos they want me to be the DJ and obviously like Jackz rapping and there's two Producers who said 'don't worry about Producing right now'. Just you focus on the DJing. And all the beats that they produce they're gonna send to me. But when they get two, three years down the line, they're gonna show me everything. Obviously not right away, but through those three years, they're going to show me everything about producing. Then that's me producing, and they're just going to step back …*
> ***Frances: So how did you meet them? Are they Nottingham? How did you meet them?***
> *Tyrone: Erm, my old[11] from Roundhill. He met them to my brother and they're alright.*
> ***Frances: So they're like a record label are they? Kind of?***
> *Tyrone: Yeah they're basically a label*

[10] BBC Music Introducing is BBC Radio's platform supporting unsigned, undiscovered and under-the-radar UK talent. See www.bbc.com/introducing
[11] "My old" refers to the participants older brother

Frances: I do know there are quite a few people getting picked up round Nottingham at the moment by different labels. It's exciting.
Tyrone: So I've got that in the line. And they just said focus on DJing for now.
Frances: Have you got any gigs lined up for the summer?
Tyrone: I don't know yet. But I'm in the studio today

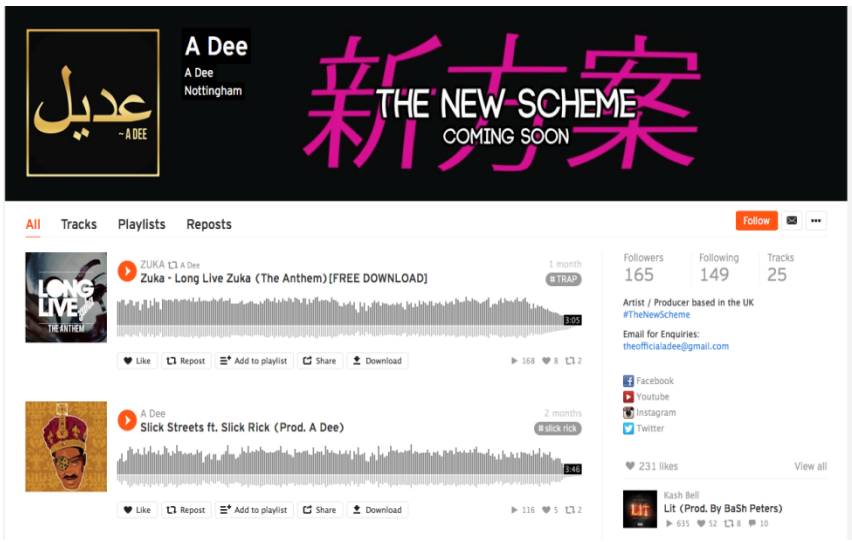
(Interview with young person)

This example highlights the development of entrepreneurial dispositions based around self-employment. In seeking out 'self-made' and alternative pathways into arts careers, the young people can be seen to disrupt the traditional trajectories of higher education and working in arts organisations. Instead these subcultural pathways are formed through making connections and investing in proto-communities which position young people as active culture makers (Willis 1990). Dispositions of agency and entrepreneurialism, are demonstrated by knowledge of self-promotion, branding and commercialisation of their arts practices, which represents a counter-cultural capital movement within the field. By following their own directions with the resources made available to them, young people can be seen to shun 'official' arts pathways and idealised trajectories. The following section will explore these dispositions for agency and entrepreneurship in more detail.

7.3.4 Agentic, entrepreneurial and subcultural dispositions

The nature of CCI and arts organisations shapes where young people see their future selves. The CCIs have influenced how young people position themselves in the arts world – as promoters, networkers, entrepreneurs, conduits, and events organisers. Drawing on the resources and practices from the commercial sector was part of Arts Award's strategy for widening access to this world and including more young people. Activities such as working in collectives and using social media to set up their own record labels and production companies reflected dispositions of scene-building - recruiting more young people and promoting their work. Some even managed and promoted their own events and nights, which became commercialised as a way of sustaining themselves financially and developing an economically viable brand. This demonstrated the resourceful and entrepreneurial nature of young people's experience on these programmes. Below is an example of symbolic capital accrual, where access to digital resources had enabled young people to undertake self-promotion and develop entrepreneurial networks. With digital tools and DIY techniques, young people can raise the status of their work, so it can be recognised by mainstream cultural organisations. The vignette includes a screenshot, which shows one young person's Soundcloud page, where people can listen to the music, follow the artist,

download the track for free and leave feedback. The accompanying interview transcript excerpts demonstrate the awareness the young person has about the process of undertaking the self-management tasks and how he can balance this with other things in his life. The second excerpt describes the success he has had in doing this, how his music had been picked up by a mainstream radio station and given 'air-time' due to his initiative:



JB: That's why I've been streamlining my social media. So Twitter, Facebook, Soundcloud, Instagram, MySpace. Back in the day there was like a team of people, there still is, but independent artists have to do that all by themselves. And it's stressful because I've got things like college …

(Interview, January 2015)

JB: Well it's been hectic since January, well December. It's just been popping off. Everything's been popping off. I've got erm … the radio thing was really out the blue because it just felt right at the time. It was about 2am on Thursday and I emailed the BBC my track. Something just told me, like a voice in the back of my head said 'send them the email'. And it usually takes about six months to even get a response and they messaged me the next day saying we want you on BBC radio now …
Frances: What BBC Radio …
JB: Nottingham. And they said they might pass it on to One Xtra.
Frances: Ok, what track was it?
JB: It's called 'Must Move On' featuring Shaan Caur.

Figure 34: Trying to make it 'big' – self-promotion.
Vignette of Soundcloud page screen shot with two interview excerpts

However, as argued, some of the offered pathways were (re)productive. For example, some young people were not offered the opportunity to undertake work experience or work placements and instead undertook only screen-based research activities. As explored earlier in the chapter, these resembled the pedagogy of poverty and were offered to those who were encouraged to develop obedient dispositions. Some young people reported a disconnection with the task of researching opportunities, considering it boring, a regurgitating of facts, a tick-box exercise, which had no real relevance to ambitions for their arts practice. For some the research task offered a pedagogical approach, which obscured Arts Award's misrecognitions of its limited offer for particular social groups. Others

reported being unsure about which pathways were available to them, considering the arts sector as impenetrable. Dissatisfaction was expressed over the arts pathways where there was an over reliance on writing, no connection to young people's lives and this created uncertainty and insecurity or a feeling of remoteness from arts careers. This did not represent an advancement in their position, as they would be researching pathways which were unattainable to them such as higher education, as the earlier example of Jamal demonstrates.

For those who did develop artistic dispositions, Arts Award afforded young people insights into other roles such as technicians, teachers and events managers. Meeting with or working alongside professionals, who included singers, musicians, film-makers, band members and promoters, ensured that key information was passed on such as how to get started, how to find work and importantly how to make a living. As argued above, young people in this study valued these qualities of social capital over the cultural capital offered by the higher education pathway. Young people frequently reported a sense of finding their place or being part of something. Those young people who experienced feelings of alienation as a result of their research, were those with primary working-class habitus (Reay 2004). This often reflected other experiences in their life where they had felt uncertain or where the difference to the familial habitus was significant (Reay 1998) as the below excerpt demonstrates:

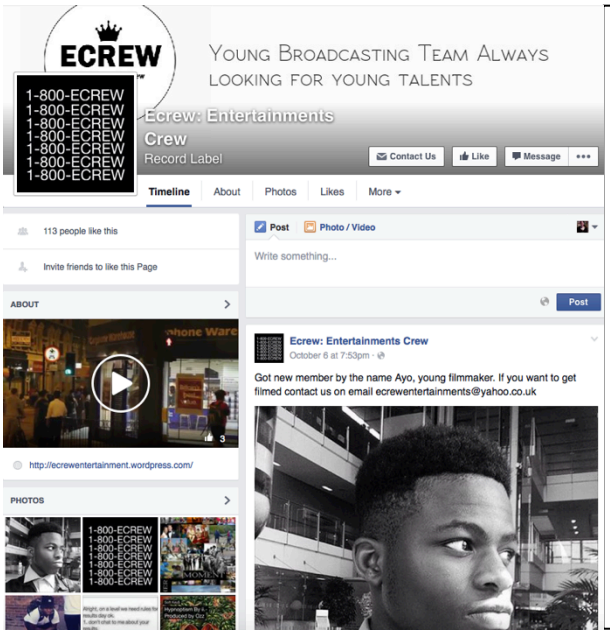
> *Jasmine: I don't know, she (participants mother) wanted me to do Health and Social Care and Sociology, but I was like 'I'd rather do something that I enjoy', because it will be motivation for me to do the work … So just to last minute, literally when you get enrolled on to the course, and one of the teachers was like 'do you wanna do this' and I was like 'no'. So then I just changed it and I thought that I'm going to stick to my own initiative. And I'm actually really happy that I did pick this and not Health and Social Care. I've seen the work that they do and I was like 'no, this is not me' … Because before when I thought I was going to do acting, I thought 'no, I'm not good enough' and I had a bit of a weak point. I was doubting myself and I thought 'no I'm not really academic' … But then I thought 'oh, hang on, I like this though, it's the only thing I enjoy'. And then after getting our predicted grades and stuff and getting an 'A', I thought 'ok, there's a chance'.*
>
> (Interview transcript)

There was a relationship between the dispositions on offer at the fieldwork sites and the logics of practice. For young people who were reporting the benefits of acquiring 'real-life' knowledge on arts pathways from working with artists and practitioners, the disposition aligned to this was entrepreneurialism and a particular disposition towards employment in the CCIs. The uncritical emphasis

on ‘industry’ and ‘industry-knowledge’ within several of these programmes encouraged the acceptance of the status quo, reinforcing positions of inequality, stereotyping and marginalisation (Beswick 2018).This often reflected the experiences of many staff working on the projects, the majority of whom were working on youth or informal education projects part time in order to sustain their arts practice. This cycle can be seen as (re)production as young people are inducted into this perception of freelance and insecure work within the gig economy (Friedman 2014, Burtch, Carnahan et al. 2018).

As argued above, for those young people who did not develop artistic dispositions, there was still the possibility of the development of dispositions towards entrepreneurship. These included creating networks, building collectives, contributing to a scene, platform-ing and taking initiative. There were also some examples of practices, which developed dispositions towards self-management such as organising events, setting up bands and record labels, devising a brand, engagement with social media promotion. These clusters of dispositions supported by subcultural capital, are most relevant to the CCIs and are also designed to induct young people into this area of employment (Thomson and Coles 2018).

By developing entrepreneurial networks as part of their Arts Award experiences young people were able to promote their work and the work of other young people or set up organisations or companies. Arts Award recognises setting up a website as a viable activity for the arts practice component as well as creating an arts organisation or running an event as an arts leadership project. Below is a vignette containing a screenshot of a record label a participant has set up and accompanying interview transcript that describes his motivations for doing so. He describes being rejected as a filmmaker posting on YouTube and seeing the same thing happen to his peers. In response he set up his own label to host the work of his friends and young people with common interests as part of a proto-community. This is an example of a young person demonstrating agency, forging a self-made pathway and creating their own conditions for making artwork as part of Artistic Production:



But when I made the E-Crew, I started to tell people about it and they were like 'oh, it's a good idea'. And the first video that we made was my friend, who was a rapper. And I edited his music and like the background music and playing it together and put it like on the page. And people liked it. And then like, two years, I kinda left the E-Crew as I was trying to focus on school a bit and I came back to it … when was it? … When I came back to Nottingham, when I came to Nottingham. And my Dad got me a camera and I'd been like videoing people rapping and stuff like that. So basically, it's been running for a long time. So yeah …

(Interview, June 2015)

Figure 35: E-Crew – an entrepreneurial network.
Vignette containing Facebook page screen shot of record label and accompanying interview transcript

The majority of participants engaged with social media as part of their Arts Award programmes for the production and promotion of work. YouTube as a social network has been extensively researched (Duncum 2011, Hickey-Moody 2013, Burnard 2016), However, recent research has identified YouTubers as an example of self-made, new worker subjectivities (Mendick, Ahmad et al. 2018). In terms of Artistic Production, YouTube represents a democratic space, where young people can, from their bedrooms, build their own arts pathways, as in Willis' 'bedroom culture' (Willis 1990). YouTube is viewed by young people as a space of community and discovery, where fame can be achieved from low cultural capital starting points. This creates dispositions towards networking and brand building required for employment within the CCIs. However, it has been argued that YouTubers are emblematic of worker identities within contemporary capitalism where entrepreneurialism and self-commodification are held up a response to economic uncertainty and precarious working environments (Mendick, Ahmad et al. 2018).

Drawing on subcultural practices such as these which are accommodated by the Arts Award programme, reflects its misrecognition that all capitals are valued equally in the field. Recent research has questioned whether subcultural capital represents the same advantage within the field as social, cultural and symbolic capital. Subcultural capital is developed through everyday creative practices and non-high brow artforms, through subcultural arts activities i.e. non-mainstream

arts education. Incorporating subcultural capital within Arts Award widens the possibilities for young people's Artistic Production. However, as this thesis has argued, it also can serve as (re)production due to its position in the hierarchy of capitals. The hierarchy of artforms, has implications for the young people drawing on arts from subcultural forms. This leads to questions about the value of subcultural capital and its conversion to economic capital.

7.3.5 Freelance work within the Cultural and Creative Industries

The emergence of the gig economy, which has been epitomised by companies such as Uber and Deliveroo is seen to reflect how many young people work today. The CCIs are reliant on a freelance or self-employed workforce. Recent research has shown that these kinds of working environments, are arguably setting young people up for precarious futures where only the most advantaged can succeed (Guile 2009, O'Brien, Laurison et al. 2016, Easton 2017). These opportunities were only available to those young people who demonstrated entrepreneurial dispositions and the desire to work in a freelance capacity. This capital is often built through engagement with informal networks, as previously explored in this chapter. The organisation of events is an example, as there were several examples of sharing work and planning events in fulfilment of parts of the criteria of Arts Award. The below interview excerpt demonstrates clear motives for sustaining subcultural networks, and contributing to a scene-building:

> ***Frances: Cool. And do you … do you organise events? And why is that important for you to organise events? For you or other people to perform.***
>
> *Seb: It's just a good way to showcase talent in the City, I suppose. I'm a strong believer in community and that everywhere needs a scene and to help build ours, helps builds us really. It's good to give back. If it goes well, it goes well. And that's great. And you might make some money on top of everything else …*
>
> (Interview transcript)

This excerpt also demonstrated not only the skills required for being able to spot and promote talent but also the development of entrepreneurial dispositions. This can be viewed as a re-hierarchization as some artists justify their position at the top by bringing new artists onto the scene. For example, attending a rap battle event, in which one of my participants was performing, my own personal habitus did not align with this, leaving me feeling like a 'fish out of water'. This particular club night started as an underground venture, but had now grown

through entrepreneurial use of social media, to stream and brand films, in order to create a following. For participants the development of subcultural capital aligns them with deviant or counter-cultural artforms such as rap and rave. Agency and entrepreneurship plays a large part in the dynamics of subcultural capital and the development of a counter – cultural or creative industries specific habitus (Thomson and Coles 2018).

For some, subcultural practices as part of the Arts Award helped them feel 'like a fish in water' but quite the opposite for others. This demonstrates the tensions between the hierarchies of artforms and capitals in terms of the positioning of young people. There were examples of this resulting in the restriction of young people's position-takings and future pathways, as demonstrated in the next excerpt. Here is a young person reflects on 'dropping out' after following a vocational pathway, which was provided by their Arts Award programme. He describes a mismatch with the habitus, through not having acquired the right kind of dispositions, as he felt it was not right for him. He describes feeling underprepared to take up a creative arts course, preferring to default to what he called 'proper subjects':

> ***Frances: So what's the plan? Start again in September? Which one (college) have you applied for?***
> *Tyler: Beaconsfield … I wanted to go there last year, but I ended up going Creative College instead … I didn't enjoy it at all.*
> ***Frances: Yeah? What was wrong with it?***
> *Tyler: A lot of things. I didn't enjoy it that much. It just wasn't me … Beaconsfield is more of a regular college, where I can do proper subjects, rather than go and try something that I haven't done before.*
>
> (Interview with a young person)

The tension described here shows that each young person's position within the field is constructed from the capitals and dispositions they already hold. As demonstrated above, when dispositions are not aligned to habitus the young person's position is not maintained (Skeggs 1997, Friedman 2011). This illustrates a problematic trajectory for young people who might be 'moving on' but are in fact not 'moving up'. They are unable to re-position themselves advantageously within the field using the kinds of capital afforded through the Arts Award programmes. The final section discusses the implications of the three future pathways identified in this chapter: 'moving up' the higher education pathway, 'moving on' to employment in the gig economy and precarious work and 'staying put' on the vocational pathway.

7.4 Discussion: Moving on? Moving up? Or Staying put?

Active participation is a logic of practice of Arts Award designed to boost cultural capital for all undertaking the programme. As argued above, those who undertook screen-based research activities rather than active participation accrued lesser or no capital of value. In analysing the different sites, their practices, capitals and dispositions can be illuminated through their attitudes to arts pathways. The below table aligns the logics of practice at the fieldwork sites:

Project	Logic	Capitals & dispositions
Springbank College (SC)	Moving up – to higher education Practical curriculums An institution	Symbolic capitals Work-ready dispositions / employability
Beat-Boxers (BB)	Staying put Keeping young people out of trouble Practical curriculums / lack of 'academic work'	Symbolic capitals
Fresh day provision (FDP)	Staying put Re-engaging with education in general	Behavioural dispositions Monitoring and control
Youth Media Project (YMP)	Moving out – to employment or other projects Instead of mainstream	Social capitals Bridging and bonding capitals
Fresh Project (FP)	Moving out - Informal pedagogies Supplement to mainstream	Dispositions for citizenship Personal and social development

36: Table aligning logics of practice with capitals and dispositions

To summarise the grid, the logic of 'moving on' ran through each of the sites and demonstrates a key tension within Bourdieu's work around constant progressive social mobility and the implications for those who fall behind or do not progress. However the idea of moving young people on manifested in different attitudes and dispositions. Within SC this was demonstrated by progression towards higher education, even if it was unattainable; within YMP and FP programmes moving on signified personal and social development such as overcoming adverse experiences of growing up or finding an avenue or network where they

could continue their artforms beyond the life of the project; and within the BB and FDP projects moving on signified a re-engagement with education (and society) which did not necessarily advance their position.

The most significant category is 'moving out', as it can be argued that this represents an alternative hierarchy through which to ascend the field and join the field of employment. This trajectory drew on social capital and entrepreneurial dispositions as part of Artistic Production. Here Willis' notion of counter-cultural movement is useful as it requires a re-evaluation of what capitals are given priority within the field as a way of democratising it. The formation of proto-communities and grounded aesthetics are key to this counter-cultural movement and can be seen as a new direction for arts education.

Arts Award is positioned as a gatekeeper to the three pathways of 'moving up, 'moving out' and 'staying put' explored in this chapter. These trajectories will be revisited in the final chapter that follows, where they will be plotted onto the Arts Award field diagram set out in chapter 2. This chapter has raised important questions around what capitals and disposition count in the field and which sites enable or restrict access to those that are most valuable. How can future pathways be equalised for young people from all social backgrounds?

In summary the analysis presented highlighted examples of Artistic Production through practices within the field that enabled capital building and the advancement of young people both horizontally and vertically through the field to more advantageous positions. However there were also examples of (re)production in arts pathways for some young people where 'moving' was a horizontal but not always a vertical progression. In conclusion, it can be argued that Arts Award does not disrupt the field by increasing cultural capital for *all* young people. Instead it is simply folded into the logics of the practices within the field. The following chapter, the conclusion of this thesis, revisits the key findings throughout the four areas of analysis: policy, practice, pedagogy and pathways, in order to argue that the offer of Arts Award for 'dis-engaged' young people was unequal.

Chapter 8 – Conclusion

This research sought to explore the educational experiences of 'dis-engaged' young people undertaking the Arts Award programme. The five fieldwork sites considered as 'vocational' strands enabled a particular focus on young people with low economic and cultural capital. The analysis demonstrated that the Arts Award held a different offer for young people accessing the programme in low status levels of education. This new finding makes a contribution to knowledge around youth arts programming and pedagogies. I have argued that despite changes to the ways that young people engage with arts education through common culture, emerging cultural capital and Artistic Production, there continues to be (re)production. The uneven accrual and conversion of capitals and differing pedagogies has resulted in an unequal offer for young people who already start at a disadvantage. The meritocratic doxic narratives inherent within Arts Award have inadvertently resulted in misrecognitions, which reproduce class-based educational inequalities, despite the award's mobilisation with a commitment to inclusion and widening access.

This chapter presents the key findings throughout the four areas of analysis: policy, practice, pedagogy and pathways. The analytical framework of Artistic Production and (re)production, has been applied throughout as a way of exploring a tension within Arts Award itself, between the uneven accrual of capitals within continuous social hierarchization. In examining Arts Award as a field within the field of education, its practices, capitals and dispositions can be identified in order to explore its offer for young people with low cultural and economic status. This chapter reviews the thesis' contribution alongside the limitations of the study. The implications of the research findings for young people, Arts Award Advisers and future arts education programmes are also addressed. The thesis closes with a reflective account of my learning journey through the research.

This chapter is as follows:

8.1 The research question is revisited in order to explore how the study has met the aims and objectives of the research.

8.2 Key findings demonstrating the unequal offer of the Arts Award for dis-engaged young people are presented. These include the award's narratives which support the doxa of meritocracy, capital accrual did not advance the position of all agents and differing dispositions on offer to different young people. It is argued that Arts Award is not reaching its potential when

combined with the pedagogy of poverty and that the award as a gatekeeper to 'moving on' through varying future pathways.

8.3 The contribution of this research to knowledge around arts programme with "at-risk youth" and the arts and vocational education programmes is explored. This is alongside the contribution of the concept of Artistic Production and (re)production in terms of its value as a framework for future research and the contribution of this thesis in representing experiential learning in expressive forms. Research limitations, which focus on the generalisability of the findings and the difficulties of dealing with the research method, are also discussed.

8.4 The implications of this research are addressed, which include challenging assumptions about young people, retraining the youth arts workforce and designing arts education for cultural democracy and cultural citizenship.

8.5 A reflective account of my personal learning journey through the research, exploring the particular struggles and re-imaginings, closes the thesis.

8.1. What shapes 'dis-engaged' young people's educational experiences of the Arts Award?

This research sought to highlight the different experiences of the Arts Award programme for young people with low economic and cultural capitals. These young people were often combining the award with low status vocational qualifications. An ethnographic research methodology was designed incorporating arts-based methods of data generation, analysis and presentation. Using the arts as a strategy for research, as both 'vehicle' and 'ends' enabled a rich description of the first-hand experiences of participants in this study. The practices that young people chose to engage with were captured through the wide range of data generated and analysed through four elements of the award: policy, practice, pedagogy and pathways. Each of these areas of analysis examined the differing logics of practice of the fieldwork sites and highlighted the key affordances but also implications of the programme. The textual and multimodal document analysis of Arts Award's policy, research and resources engaged with current debates about culture, the arts and education, set out in the literature review. The concept of Artistic Production and (re)production was created through bringing the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Paul Willis together. It was used analytically throughout as a way of representing the tension within Arts Award between the social hierarchization of the field and the assimilation of common culture.

8.2 Key findings: Arts Award's unequal offer for young people in low-level educational sites

This thesis argues that Arts Award represents an unequal offer for young people accessing the programme through low-level sites of education. The following findings are being discussed in relation to Arts Award for the first time. Contrary to the aims of the award, it is argued that the varying capitals and dispositions on offer when combined with existing low status cultural and economic capitals did not advantage these groups of young people within the field. This study has demonstrated that different young people have been offered different experiences through the Arts Award. These have been dependent on the different sites the programme was accessed through, which were socially streamed: school excludees engaging in alternative education, vocational learners through a lower-level BTEC alternative and young people 'facing challenging circumstances' through youth work projects. The practices, capitals and dispositions, which varied across the programmes reflected different combinations of 'vocational' and 'academic' logics of practice. These represented how the agents were disposed to 'play the game' and how the field reproduces these logics through the vocational / academic binary. The logics of practice of

these sites propagate the doxa of meritocracy and Arts Award's own doxic narratives which inadvertently support (re)production.

The analysis showed that Arts Award fails to build on dis-engaged young people's capitals that count in the field, with a frequent highlighting of social over cultural capital building. However the award did develop artistic, administrative and entrepreneurial dispositions, which were valuable in terms of preparing young people for employment in the arts sector and beyond. Arts Award is not easily 'cashed-in' for this particular group when converting cultural capital to economic gain. They are not regarded as cultural omnivores despite their take up of subcultural practices. But the dispositions are valuable. The logics of practice in the fieldwork sites dictates what dispositions were on offer and significantly for the groups, whose behaviour was deemed most deviant. These dispositions were often aligned towards obedience rather than agency or entrepreneurialism. Not all young people were offered social capitals and artistic dispositions, for example, which had an impact on future pathways. These findings make a contribution to new knowledge around youth arts programming and pedagogies. The following section retraces the steps taken in this thesis to build this argument.

8.2.1 Arts Award's narratives support the doxa of meritocracy

Undertaking a textual and multimodal analysis of policy documents, research and Arts Award resources highlighted Arts Award's narratives in relation to the doxa of meritocracy. Through the analysis of word counts and key words the themes of access and inclusion, performativity, employability and citizenship were identified. I argued that these doxic narratives positioned young people as audiences for the arts, workers for the economy and ideal citizens, which makes assumptions of the kind of capitals and disposition required by young people today.

Arts Award's key misrecognitions were highlighted as the assumption that in creating more opportunities for young people to engage with the arts, through widening access, the arts becomes more inclusive. Monitoring, measurement and moderation are presented as quantifiable markers of "progress" and will "raise the standard" of young people's arts education. It was also assumed that the symbolic capital held by the qualification being able to be converted to equivalent of the cultural capital held by mainstream qualifications, and that this will be converted easily into economic gain through employment. Being an 'arts leader', being self-managing and responsible, and being adaptable are championed as valuable dispositions for developing young people as citizens. These misrecognitions raise questions about whether all young people can be

'included' irrespective of background, geographical location and access to resources. They fail to acknowledge the unequal starting points of young people in the field, the hierarchies of capitals and the differing accrual and conversion of capitals.

8.2.2 Capital accrual did not advance the position of *all* agents in the field

This thesis has applied Bourdieu's concepts of field, capitals, habitus and doxa analytically as a way of exploring the offer of Arts Award for 'dis-engaged' young people. In depicting Arts Award as a field within the field of education, its own logics of practice, capitals and dispositions have been explored. For this group of young people social capital was more valuable than cultural, with the qualification having little symbolic value for those who combine it with other low-level vocational qualifications. I have argued that capitals acquired through accessing the programme from the lower levels of education have not advanced young people's positions vertically within the field. In chapter 5 it was demonstrated that different arts practices accrued different forms of cultural capital, including drawing on subcultural capital, which resulted in young people feeling like a 'fish in water'.

As argued previously, Arts Award seeks to raise cultural capital in as wide a range of young people as possible in order to re-distribute it. Whilst confirming the place of agents with familiarity with cultural capital, it is also positioned as a 'booster' for those who are deemed to lack it. However, I argued that for the young people in this study, the kind of capital accrued – often in the form of subcultural or symbolic capital – did not advance the agents position in the field. Young people were able to advance horizontally but not vertically. This finding supports current research, which demonstrates that social class still continues to exclude some groups from particular educational experiences (Oakley and O'Brien 2016, Reay 2017, Brook 2018) and that young people from different social backgrounds accrue capital in different ways or capital that holds different value (Friedman, Laurison et al. 2015, O'Brien, Laurison et al. 2016, O'Brien and Taylor 2017).

As argued, due to the young people's engagement with common culture, everyday arts practices and subcultural artforms, much of the capital accrued was in subcultural form. There were also frequent examples of the succession of social over cultural capital through the values of localised arts networks, new introductions and 'knowing the right people'. This study has presented a set of subcultural dispositions, which were developed by young people's engagement with subcultural capital. Previous research has indicated that subcultural capital develops a specific set of dispositions, which are relevant to the field of the CCIs

and are designed to induct young people into employment in this field (Thomson and Coles 2018). This is kind of capital leads to precarious work and insecure employment in what are considered low cultural forms, similar to critiques of VET leading to low skill and low pay work. Despite incorporating subcultural practices and capital within Arts Award in order to widen the possibilities for Artistic Production, this research demonstrated that this form of capital offers (re)production of a young person's position within the field.

8.2.3 Different dispositions for different young people

This research found that dispositions were deemed more valuable than capitals for the participants in the study. As this thesis has argued, there was a range of different dispositions on offer to young people through the Arts Award programmes. These represented an opportunity for young people to be recognised as talented, avant-garde or entrepreneurial. As an opportunity for young people to see where they fit within the field, both producing and reproducing a sense of what is possible, dispositions are a key affordance of the programme. This study identified three clusters of dispositions, which were valuable, with a fourth cluster being restrictive:

- Artistic dispositions, aligned to Artists' Signature pedagogies (Thomson, Hall et al. 2012): being inspired and sharing learning, practical demonstration, collaboration, dialogic learning and reflection, problematizing learning, being 'professional' and induction through 'tricks of the trade'.
- Entrepreneurial dispositions: which included agentic and often counter-cultural practices such as creating networks, building collectives, contributing to a scene, platforming and taking initiative. There were also dispositions aligned to the creative and cultural industries such as symbolic creativity through digital and DIY practices, scene building and knowing what has 'street cred', social media presence and hip-hop identity.
- Administrative dispositions: planning and reviewing, being an 'arts leader', self-management, organisation and communication skills.
- Behavioural dispositions: such as obedience, taking responsibility and school-like behaviours.

The first three clusters of dispositions represented opportunities for young people to become aligned with the habitus of the field through Artistic Production. However for those who did not feel this sense of affinity it led to (re)production through their non-advancement of positioning. Examples of young people feeling like 'a fish out of water' were given to demonstrate a misalignment of habitus, a sense of alienation and 'not fitting in'. Those not

developing the relevant dispositions were constrained by the programmes, as working-class young people with low cultural capital were made to feel uncomfortable through an unfamiliar set of dispositions. In turn this reaffirmed their positioning in the lower levels of the social hierarchy. Also when the disposition of obedience was combined with the pedagogy of poverty this resulted in (re)production.

8.2.4 Arts Award's potential is not reached when combined with the pedagogy of poverty

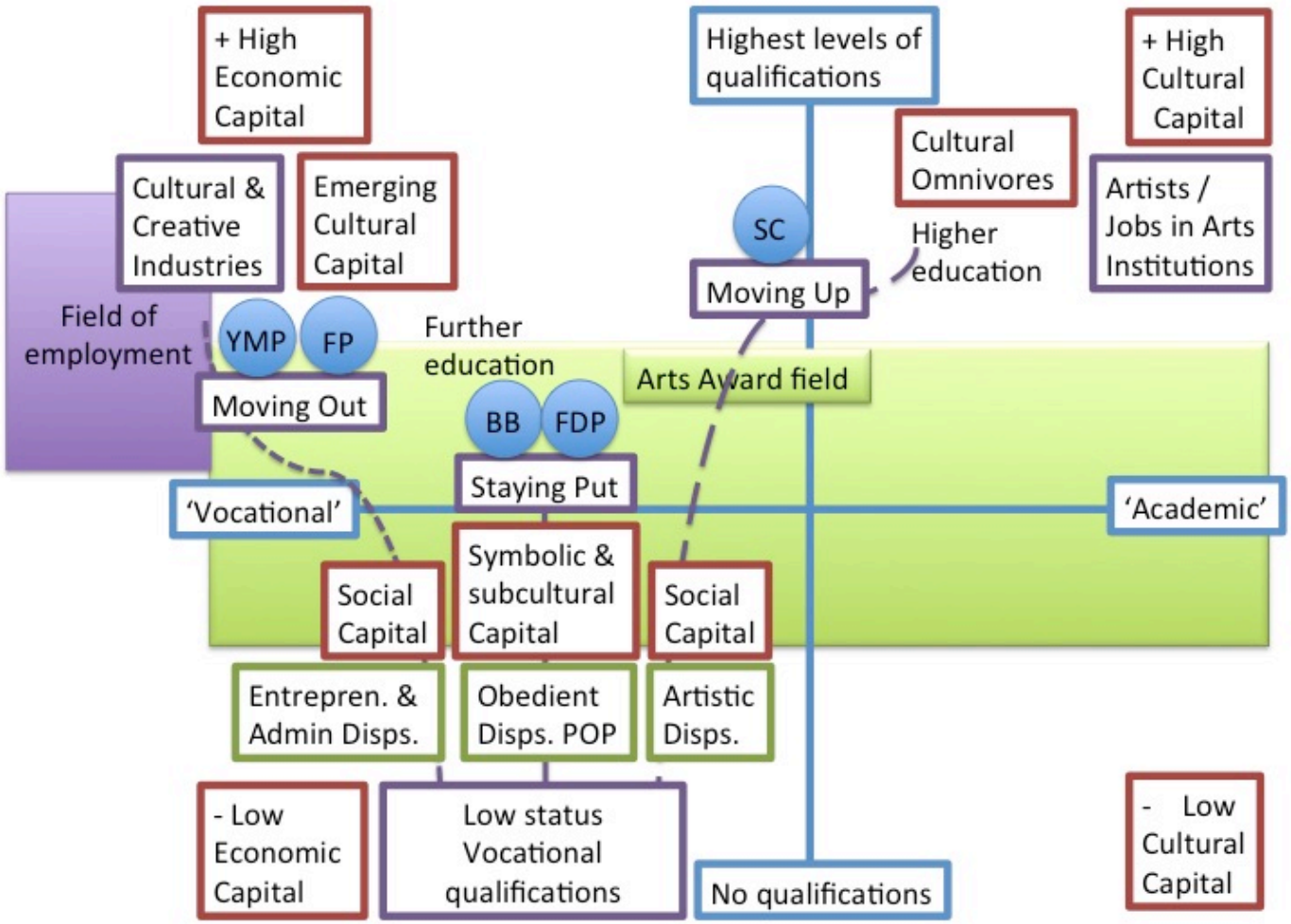
Whilst Arts Award aims to close the gap in young people's cultural capital, its translation into differing educational sites and the logics of practice of those aligned with low economic and cultural capital inadvertently results in (re)production. In chapter 6, by exploring the differing logics of practices of the fieldwork sites, I highlighted the difference in pedagogy offered to working-class young people. Through offering the pedagogy of poverty (Anyon 1980, Haberman 1991), a hierarchisation of pedagogy is established which represents those with strong cultural capital being further advantaged and those with less disadvantaged in the field. I argued that these ranged from the pedagogy of poverty (Anyon 1980, Haberman 1991) to the pedagogy of possibility (Freire 2000, McLaren 2000). In highlighting the pedagogy of possibility as part of Artistic Production, the argument is made that Arts Award has the potential to be democratic and develop artistic dispositions.

Both the pedagogy of poverty and the pedagogy of possibility are strategies that Advisers can apply which make particular capitals and dispositions available. However assumptions made about the young people due to behaviour meant that opportunities were limited for some. Prior cultural knowledge was misrecognised as artistic talent whereas vocational streaming was the result of a misrecognition of young people as unsuitable to an 'academic' curriculum. Only a limited few who displayed particular dispositions were positioned so that they could 'cash-in' their qualification in the field. The pedagogy on offer impacted upon the future arts pathways for the young people in the study.

8.2.5 Arts Award acts as a gatekeeper to 'moving up', 'moving out' and 'staying put'

Arts Award, like any other qualification, develops symbolic capital, which can be drawn on in the education field in order to access further or higher education, or the employment field as economic gain. Arts Award is positioned as a vertical gatekeeper to these fields, either enhancing or constraining the positions of the

agents. In the final analysis chapter (7) three pathways were proposed for this particular cohort of this study: moving up (towards higher education), moving on (into the employment field) and staying put (a non advancement of position). This section revisits the field diagram from chapter 2, where Arts Award was positioned in the subfield of secondary schooling, within the field of education. As demonstrated by the diagram, Arts Award is used across the field in both 'vocational' and 'academic' positions. For those with high economic and/or cultural capital it functions as an enhancer, building on family and school cultural and social capitals to create the 'omnivore' disposition. As symbolic capital it also supports more credible qualifications such as A-levels. However for those with low economic and cultural capitals it functions more like a gatekeeper than an enhancer. Some may progress to FE, some may obtain arts apprenticeships or employment, however this is mainly through social capital and entrepreneurial dispositions. This diagram illustrates the key argument of this thesis that for dis-engaged young people, it does not build on the capitals that count in the field and for those it does not advantage capitals need to be combined with particular dispositions. The diagram that follows is further explained:



Key to the diagram:
SC = Springbank College
BB = Beat-boxers
YMP = Youth Media Project
FP = Fresh Project
FDP = Fresh Day Provision
POP = Pedagogy of Poverty

Figure 37: Mapping Arts Award's field.
An axis of economic and cultural capital plotting capitals, dispositions, future pathways and fieldwork sites

The Arts Award field is mapped across the field of education as it can be taken up by young people from any position. This is a strategy designed to 'include' all young people and to attempt to raise the status of arts education within the field. However, this study in particular explored the educational experiences of agents with low cultural and economic capitals, who were combining the award with low status vocational qualifications, or no qualifications at all. The capitals on offer to this group were social, symbolic and subcultural. As argued above the award does not hold enough symbolic capital to hold equal weight to other mainstream qualifications. The dispositions developed were artistic, entrepreneurial and administrative, however some young people were encouraged to take up obedient dispositions. The alignment of these capitals and dispositions to the three pathways indicated assists with the plotting of the fieldwork sites in identifying the positions of the agents.

For example, 'moving up' represents an experience where young people are hoping to use the award to be able to move up the axis onto higher education. On the diagram higher education is aligned with high cultural capital, which develops young people as cultural omnivores and directs them toward jobs as artists or in arts institutions. Within this study young people from only one site – Springbank College (SC), an FE site, were exploring this kind of pathway. The analysis demonstrated that social capital was of most value to them in combination with the development of artistic dispositions. However, I argued that this pathway was unreachable for these participants due to the low value UCAS points in combination with their low-level vocational qualifications.

'Moving out' reflects the future pathways of young people moving out of the education field, into the field of employment. I argued that this was a direction towards precarious work within the gig economy. The high economic but low cultural capital of this pathway is aligned to employment within the CCIs, where emerging cultural capital through engagement with non-traditional artforms was of most value. Bedroom cultures, informal arts networks as proto-communities and symbolic resources were key to the young people's experience of the Arts Award in taking up this pathway. Their experience most aligned with Artistic Production. As highlighted by the diagram, social capital held most value for this group, in combination with the development of entrepreneurial dispositions. The amalgamation of these capitals and dispositions were demonstrated by two of the fieldwork sites: Youth Media Project (YMP) and Fresh Project (FP), which were both youth work programmes drawing on informal education approaches.

The middle trajectory symbolises the 'stuck position', where young people are 'staying put' and not advancing their position vertically through the field. As argued above these agents were not able to convert the symbolic capital offered by the award into cultural and economic capital within the field. For these young

people their experience was characterised by the pedagogy of poverty where dispositions of obedience were encouraged. When combined with low status vocational qualifications the position of these agents were reproduced. The fieldwork sites that are aligned to this pathway are Beat-Boxers (BB) and Fresh Day Provision (FDP), both alternative education projects, whose positioning within the field of education reflected (re)production for the young people involved.

In summary the trajectories and fieldwork sites plotted on this diagram represent the differing and unequal offer of the Arts Award for young people taking it up alongside low status vocational qualifications. For some young people the development of social capital and artistic and entrepreneurial dispositions signified an advancement in their position through Artistic Production. However for others there was (re)production due to the weak symbolic capitals, dispositions designed to control behaviour rather than encourage learning and pedagogies that contributed to social selection and 'sorting' through education. Importantly what this diagram does depict is how Arts Award can be positioned to disrupt the field, to offer an alternative pathway to the field of employment through emerging cultural capital and entrepreneurial dispositions. This direction is aligned to the CCIs and represents a new and emerging pathway for arts education, which recognises common culture and the arts practices that are relevant and accessible for young people today. Through this alternative hierarchy subcultural capital can be of value to young people if combined with entrepreneurial dispositions.

8.2.6 Arts Award is developing young people as *informed cultural citizens*

Throughout the analysis the concept of Artistic Production has been aligned with cultural citizenship, as young people are empowered to create artistic productions that make claims for their cultural rights whilst upholding agency. Cultural citizenship as Artistic Production is imbued with symbolic presence, social change, identity work and the development of dispositions (Kuttner 2015). This can be seen as part of "the long revolution" (Rustin 2007) where ordinary people could become creative, be actively involved in key decisions within society and develop themselves through education. Kuttner (2015) refers to the "justice-orientated cultural citizen" who feels a civic responsibility to use their artistic practice to actively promote justice and address inequalities in society. This involves a critical awareness of how the arts are used in processes of opposition and resistance, which can be found in the fields of social justice arts education, community-based arts, youth participatory action research and community cultural development among others. Below Kuttner's categorisations

are used as a framework to assess the potential for Arts Award to develop justice orientated citizens:

- The majority of young people undertaking Arts Award can be considered *informed cultural citizens*. These young people, with cultural capital rich arts backgrounds have the capacity to understand and appreciate works of art without feeling alienated. They are positioned as arts producers and have tried their hand at different artforms as cultural omnivores.
- Many young people in this study can be considered *participatory cultural citizens* as they saw themselves as active participants who can produce, remix and share work created. This was key to Artistic Production as young people drew on symbolic resources, freedom to explore artforms and a sense of connection through proto-community. This approach to arts education sees the arts as a way to connect to particular communities.
- The final category, already discussed above, of *justice-orientated cultural citizens* represents young people who feel a civic responsibility to use their artistic practice to actively promote justice and address inequalities in society. This involves a critical awareness of how the arts are used in processes of opposition and resistance as explored by Willis (Willis 1981, Willis and Corrigan 1983, Willis 2014). One example of this given in chapter 5, a documentary film called Life as a Youth, which presented a problem of the misrepresentation of young people in the media, but through the eyes of young people effected. I argued that this film represented an inheritance of radical work through which marginalised groups attempt to gain control over their representation through agentic expression and civil engagement.

The implications of Kuttner's typologies in relation to Arts Award and the design of future arts programmes raises questions about what arts education does and should prepare young people to be. Arts Award is presently developing young people as *informed cultural citizens*, whereas it should be aiming for *participatory cultural citizens* at least and *justice-orientated cultural citizens* at best. Arts education that values cultural citizenship is symptomatic of wider struggles between the impact of capitalism on cultural practices and democratic forms of participation. This is a tension inherent in Arts Award itself. The struggle for a democratic and autonomous society as opposed to a society ruled by neoliberalism or an authoritarian state is central to the concerns of cultural citizenship (Stevenson 2010).

8.3 The Research Contribution

The contribution to knowledge of this research is divided into four areas. The thesis makes a distinct contribution to questions of equity in relation to "at-risk" young people and vocational education programmes. In exploring a marginalised group of young people's experience of the Arts Award for the first time, an ethnographic approach was used which gave a deeper and more nuanced understanding. In addressing the question of equity this research also makes a contribution to recent findings from research around the arts and social class. In terms of the award's positioning within the vocational landscape, it is also argued that a contribution is made to knowledge of the reproductive nature of arts education for those young people accessing the programme in combination with low-level qualifications. In questioning youth arts programming and pedagogies this study raises questions about policies, which assume the arts, is good for young people as well as the particular pedagogies arts education engages with these young people. The third contribution is the conceptual framework of Artistic Production and (re)production and its value for future research. This is followed by a consideration of the methodological contribution in engaging with research methods which were responsive to the types of arts experiences of the participants in the study.

8.3.1 Arts programmes with "at-risk youth"

This study investigated the educational experiences of the Arts Award using an ethnographic approach. This was a key element of the research design, which enabled a deeper and more detailed study than research on the award that has taken place before. The Arts Award Impact study (Hollingworth 2016) was undertaken through surveys and interviews. This research was augmented by the prolonged engagement and varied range of data that the ethnographic approach afforded. This detailed engagement revealed insights into the ways on which the award can represent different experiences to different groups of young people across different sites. As this thesis has argued, this works to the advantage of some but the disadvantage of others, depending on young people's access to various capitals and dispositions, and the combinations of these with prior arts experiences and other qualifications. This argument is contrary to the aims of the award to 'include' everyone and the previous study, which claimed the award benefitted *all* young people in some way. Issues of equity can be raised as this research demonstrated that the most disadvantaged young people received the weakest offer.

Claims made in previous research around the assumed benefits of arts programmes with young people under deficit labels such as "at risk" can now be

questioned. For example, several research reports, including *Doing Well and Going Good by Doing Art* (Catterall 2009, Catterall 2012) have reported that arts-involved young people from low socio-economic status have improved 'academic' and 'civic behaviour' outcomes compared to those who are not arts-involved. In the literature review, I had already raised questions about the notion of 'transfer' of the arts into other areas of learning (Moga, Burger et al. 2000) and highlighted different conceptions of citizenship for young people and how different models of arts education can prepare young people for these (Pakulski 1997, Stevenson 2010, Kuttner 2015, Thomson, Hall et al. 2019). This study makes a distinct contribution in raising questions of equity, highlighting which groups of young people have access to particular practices and pedagogies and how this can impact upon their future pathways. For example, those who demonstrate "talent" are often deemed worthy of "platforming", and those who demonstrate agentic or entrepreneurial dispositions can be advantaged by the capitals on offer from the award. However, as demonstrated, only a limited number of young people from the cohort of this study were able to use these capitals and dispositions to their advantage.

8.3.2 The arts and vocational education programmes

Arts Award was designed to enable 'disadvantaged' young people to 'catch-up' to the mainstream. However this research found that the capitals and dispositions on offer were only able to be converted to advantage by a limited number of young people. The award's strategy of 'inclusion' to afford entry to further and higher education as well as employment, did not have the desired impact due to the social streaming of future pathways for young people with low economic and cultural capital. In chapter 4, I raised concerns about lack of classed analysis of the take up of Arts Award and the findings from the Impact Study being based on young people from cultural capital rich arts backgrounds and school-based programmes. In response, this study was designed to capture those voices who were deemed missing from this study. The focus in this research was on young people positioned in the low economic / cultural capital quadrant of the education field, as opposed to a high economic / cultural capital alignment. This group of participants were important because of their disadvantage and previous research around low status vocational qualifications in relation to social filtering of young people from working-class backgrounds (Bates 1991, Colley, James et al. 2003).

Positioned as a bridge spanning both vocational and academic practices - from high art to the creative and cultural industries, from elite to alternative schooling – the Arts Award has the potential to address issues of distributional justice. However as this study found, assumptions around what kinds of education are

'vocational' as opposed to 'academic' and the social streaming of young people towards these directions had an adverse effect. The Arts Award Impact study claimed that there was 'some evidence' that the award can have a marked impact on those with less cultural capital to start with and the findings of this study negate this. As discussed in chapter 2, the social streaming of education leads to the reproduction of inequalities in the lives of young people. Therefore this study makes a new contribution to knowledge around the reproductive nature of arts education for those with low-level qualifications.

A further contribution is the exploration of Arts Award as a future direction for arts education in terms of alignment with employment in the CCIs and the development of entrepreneurial dispositions. Using the concept of Artistic Production and the Arts Award field diagram (figure 35), it was demonstrated that Arts Award has the potential to disrupt the field through creating an alternative hierarchy through which young people could move into the field of employment. However, previous research has demonstrated that these groups of young people struggle to enter arts professions, as they do not have access to the same economic, cultural and social capital as those from privileged backgrounds (O'Brien and Taylor 2017). This study makes a contribution this research by investigating Arts Award's doxic narratives, as a way of critiquing the doxa of meritocracy, in masking the privileging of middle class cultural values and forms of knowledge.

8.3.3 Artistic Production and (re)production

Theories of reproduction are a useful tool for investigating sources of inequality. Willis and Bourdieu are two key theorists of cultural reproduction. This thesis examined the strengths and limitations of the application of Willis' common cultural framework and Bourdieu's toolkit of field, capitals and habitus to this research. In response a theoretical framework was set out which brought aspects of these theories together. Artistic Production describes the opportunities for young people to be agentic and entrepreneurial arts producers. It is derived from common culture, where bedroom culture, grounded aesthetics, proto-communities and symbolic resources are key practices of young people's informal arts engagement. However, where Willis' framework is limited by a cultural studies approach, through a focus on the arts and mass media, Bourdieu's concepts enable the recognition of wider social forces at work. Therefore, the concept of (re)production sought to describe the capitals and dispositions on offer in the programmes in order to explore the role of social advantage and structures of disadvantage for the young people in the study. Whilst Artistic Production is regarded as beneficial, (re)production draws our attention to negative consequences.

This research found that Artistic Production was key to agent's position-taking through engagement with common culture, which enabled young people to develop agentic and entrepreneurial dispositions. As an approach it seeks to be more democratic, by positioning the young person as an arts producer or arts leader, whilst supporting agency, expression and civil engagement. For example, some of the work created on the programmes demonstrated efforts by young people to gain control of their representation in the arts and media. Engagement with everyday cultures, including digital and DIY practices was a key mechanism for widening the possibilities for Artistic Production. These possibilities were responsive to young people's artistic tastes and influences, drawing on their cultural languages and knowledges through symbolic work. The majority of this Artistic Production was through everyday practices, drawing on symbolic resources, which were available to the young person in their everyday lives such as pre-existing music or images. This enabled young people to draw on their own life stories, previous experiences and grounded aesthetics in order to create work as part of bedroom culture (Willis 1990).

The opposing concept of (re)production analysed the production and reproduction of capitals, dispositions and positions within the field. Previous research has argued that artistic practices are varying sites of power, control and symbolic reproduction of young people's position within society (Oakley and O'Brien 2016, Taylor 2016). For example, this study identified ritualised practices, across a range of artforms - dance, drama, and visual art - which demonstrated logics of (re)production for those accessing the programme within lower levels of education. This included development of subcultural capital and obedient dispositions. This research highlighted examples of the pedagogy of poverty (Anyon 1980, Haberman 1991) as a way of exploring (re)production through the particular mechanisms of teaching and learning on offer to dis-engaged young people through the award. This study also found that young people's future arts pathways were socially filtered, highlighting the logic of practice of (re)production within the field of education.

The concept of Artistic Production and (re)production has the potential to be utilised as a framework for future research on arts education programmes. This is a new concept that brings Bourdieu and Willis together for the first time. This framework was recently presented at the *Understanding Everyday Participation* conference (June 2018). At this conference, Professor Kate Oakley in her keynote speech, argued that research should be celebrating young people's agency and take-up of everyday cultural forms as part of resistance. This is what Artistic Production is designed to recognise. Also presenting at this conference, Professor Andrew Miles called for the need to question the power structures within the everyday. In this thesis, this is captured by (re)production. Therefore a

contribution of this research is the potential transferability of its conceptual framework of Artistic Production and (re)production to future research.

8.3.4 Ethnography and visual data

Methodologically, this study has made a contribution not only to the process of data generation and collation but also of data analysis and dissemination. In order to conduct research into an arts education programme, creative and visual outputs from its participants were considered as data. These creations were both representative of the young peoples arts experiences, but also acknowledge a different way of knowing that the arts encompasses. The use of 'presentational' (symbolized) knowing which represents experiential learning in expressive forms is a relatively underdeveloped area in academic research. Particular techniques in data generation included using artefacts and objects in interview - a 'talk around art' approach, making and experiencing the arts together – collaborative learning experiences and engaging with lyrics, artwork and films as data – as vehicles to be used for analysis of young people's experiences.

Undertaking an ethnographic case study integrating arts based methods is not a new endeavour (Heath and Roach 1999, Barone and Eisner 2011, Finley, Denzin et al. 2011). However this is an important and emerging field of creative research methods in representing experiential learning through expressive forms. As stated in chapter 3, 'Ethnoarts' is an emerging concept, a hybrid space between ethnography and art practice and a space that is politicised and activist, and an important academic community where this research has been shared. Where the use of creative methods is important for exploring the experience of others, it is also important for communicating the key messages and arguments within the thesis. The use of visual and audio material is vital for the unpacking of meaning within this research and to communicate its messages. Three extra methods of analysis were utilised in working with the data, which were particularly relevant to the nature of the data and developed 'outputs' as part of the final thesis. These included the juxtaposition of visual data in order to create vignettes, film editing as interactional analysis resulting in seven edited film clips and the method of event ethnography which re-assembled a variety of data sources as a way of conveying experiences and representing findings about the research. These artistic forms assist in representing the young person's experience and contribute to the experience of the thesis as a work of art in itself.

8.3.5 Limitations of the study

This research has been an exploration of specific socially situated group of young people. To reflect the fieldwork sites and the programmes cohort, it has focused on small groups. This focus on 'dis-engaged' young people considered on the margins of mainstream education and society was in direct contrast to the mainstream schools and arts organisations from the Arts Award Impact Study (Hollingworth 2016). It was designed intentionally to give those young people a voice and to highlight the beneficial but also detrimental elements of their experience. This is both a strength and a limitation of the research. Engaging with a sample of 46 participants over 5 different sites has produced findings that can be generalised to similar setting with similar participants. The structures, disadvantages and filtering will be experienced in the same way, despite the arts experiences of the participants being different. These experiences are not scalable, as each Arts Award group will follow a different programme and every young person will have a different arts experience.

Whilst it is argued that Arts Award is a field within the subfield of secondary education, no attempt has been made to sample school based programmes. There is no direct comparison between formal and informal approaches to programming the award. Therefore it cannot be asserted that these experiences were specifically different from experiences within high and low achieving schools, or describe the extent to which these experiences are different. However this was an intentional choice made at the research design stage and the educational experiences of the chosen groups of participants were explored fully.

A further limitation of the research is derived from the difficulties and frustrations in working with these sites and the young people in these settings. Frequently young people would not turn up to projects, or with one programme, stopped attending altogether. It was challenging to keep track of and maintain contact with participants whose attendance was intermittent. However the ethnographic and multi-sited approach was beneficial in terms of affording a sustained amount of time in the field to be able to spend as much time with participants as possible. Engaging with ethnographic and arts-based methods also produced a large amount of data and data in different forms. This aspect of the research was challenging and made it difficult to record and understand a young person's whole experience and in response this thesis is presented in multi-modal form.

Finally, being an insider to the Arts Award programme meant that I would be approaching the research with conceptions based on previous experience. As described in chapter 3, it took quite some time to be able to take an objective and critical stance to a programme in which I had been so heavily invested. Viewing

the positioning of young people within the field of education as (re)productive felt contradictory. Despite acknowledging the differing nature in experience and the field as a constantly shifting and changing social space, I had to rely on typologies. Despite critiquing the deficit labelling of young people by these programmes, I still had to give my groups labels. However, these categories are never set in stone. Instead they are temporal groupings in response to this particular moment in space and time. Acknowledging difference and the potential to effect change are key elements for the future design of arts education programmes, which will be explored further in this chapter. This is often a contradictory feeling for youth arts workers using the award as a way to measure, record and standardise the arts experience.

8.4 Implications of the research

Through an exploration of the logics of practice of the Arts Award, which support the doxa of meritocracy, its own doxic narratives have been revealed. Its misrecognitions of access equating to inclusion, focus on performativity and narratives of employability and ideal citizenship for young people were examined in chapter 4. Doxic assumptions were made about what capitals different groups of young people have and what they need, which valued all capitals equally within the field. I argued that this misrecognised how Arts Award was practiced differently in the different sites. Meritocratic notions of 'talent' and 'progression' obscured a weaker offer for young people from low-level 'vocational' sites. This problematizes the accrual of cultural capital within continuous social hierarchization, whereby the education system fails to acknowledge its relationship to the dominant class. The concept of Artistic Production and (re)production, drawing on the work of Bourdieu and Willis has been a useful analytical framework through which to investigating these sources of inequality. As this thesis has argued, these are processes of (re)production, which further advantage those with recognised cultural values and knowledges. This has implications for (re)production with those young people with the lowest levels of economic and cultural capital being offered weaker forms of education, which are unlikely to advantage them within the field. The following section sets out these implications from three different perspectives: young people, Arts Award Advisers and future arts education programmes.

8.4.1 Challenging assumptions about young people

The uneven distribution, accrual and conversion of capitals is one of the key implications for young people. By widening what counts as cultural capital

within the field, previous research has demonstrated that it is those with most social advantage who continue to be advantaged through omnivorousness (Warde, Wright et al. 2007, Friedman 2012). This study has found that a key implication for young people of accessing the Arts Award programme through the lower levels of education has been differences in practices, pedagogies and pathways offered. This represents a social filtering of capital through low-level vocational qualifications. Within this vocational landscape, where Arts Award is frequently positioned as extra-curricular, it is seen as an addition rather than an entitlement. Access to the programme is either by fortune through gifted and talented programme and elite schools, or misfortune through 'second chance' education programmes. Therefore the key implication of Arts Award's unequal offer is that not all young people are getting the same and the best possible arts education.

Decisions guided by the assumptions of teachers, advisers, arts educators and youth workers can detrimentally position young people. This can impact upon the future life chances of young people in their care. Throughout this thesis, acknowledgment has been made of young people's unequal starting points in terms of cultural capital. It has been argued that more recognition should be made of the cultural knowledges that young people engage with through common culture. Through Artistic Production, arts programmes should engage with student's everyday knowledge, and the things that matter to them, whilst acknowledging their learning lives.

Where young people have accessed the programme should not dictate what capitals and dispositions they have access to. Assumptions about young people should not be made due to the social filtering and selection of the projects, which is based on the capitals they already have. Their primary (and often working-class) habitus should not impact upon what they are offered. To be truly inclusive of all young people a change needs to occur to the capitals that count in the field of education to enable more democratic arts education. It is clear that more needs to be done to work against the logics of (re)production at work within Arts Award, in particular the pedagogical practices employed by the Advisers in low-level sites of education. Mendick, Ahmad et al. (2018) reiterate the importance of dispositions in this respect:

> *"We urgently need to find ways of working with and making policies for young people that embrace a wider range of ways of being, encompassing young people as valued members of society rather than as citizens in the making. We need policies and practices that give them space to explore, rather than requiring them to narrowly imagine their futures around economic productivity"* (p. 165).

To ensure that the content of these programmes is fairly distributed and an equal offer is set out for young people, future arts education programmes should involve a pedagogy of more, not less; differing, not different; and an assets-based approach, rather than a deficit one. Returning to the concept of uncommon pedagogies (Hayes, Hattam et al. 2017) from chapter 7, education in, through and with the arts should involve equipping students with effective cognitive learning strategies, critical thinking and problem solving. This is about engaging with content that is challenging and can represent the best possible offer for all young people thus improving the conditions for learning and widening the possibilities for young people. The value of collective endeavour, collaboration and the development of proto-communities is also a strength in Arts Award. Opportunities that are already present, such as real-life opportunities and learning as connected to life experiences, should be strengthened in order to avoid young people feeling like a 'fish in water' with experiences that are unimaginative, uninspiring and (re)productive.

The finding of an unequal offer for young people accessing the programmes through low-level strands has implications for the need for future research. Further studies that investigate (re)production within individual artform practices would be of value. This could further examine the artforms take up in terms of social class and the future possibilities of employment for working class young people in these artforms. This kind of research has already begun with Friedman & O'Brien's (Friedman, O'Brien et al. 2016) study of acting and Bull's (Bull and Scharff 2017) research into classical music. However, particular studies in the visual and digital arts, dance and filmmaking would build on this. These individual studies could examine the particular forms of capitals and dispositions being offered and how these translate into future careers in the arts. Another way to approach this would be to undertake longitudinal tracking of the young people in this study in terms of career pathways. Of particular value here would be a focus on those identified as demonstrating dispositions of agency and entrepreneurialism and their alignment for jobs in the CCIs.

The value of dispositions over capitals as found by this study has implications for further research into the affordances of agentic and entrepreneurial dispositions through arts engagement. This study frequently reported the subsuming of cultural capital at the expense of social. This requires further research, which could look at particular work experience and networking opportunities that young people have in the arts field. This would further explore the value of informal and local arts networks, which this study found were vital for young people's engagement of everyday and often under-the-radar arts activities. Research of this kind would therefore acknowledge the importance of Artistic Production for young people today. Research in this area has already been undertaken through the *Teenage Kicks* project (Manchester and Pett 2015).

However there would be value in extending this to cover a wider geographical area as a way of capturing the take up of opportunities for artistic practice outside of school. Recent research, for example Nottingham Creative Youth Trends (Nonsuch Theatre 2018), has started to do this through an annual mapping exercise. However as this is still in its infancy, it remains small in scale.

8.4.2 Retraining the youth arts workforce

This study has highlighted that the unequal offer of the award originated not from the design of the programme but its translation and utilisation in different educational contexts. This has implications for future training and professional development of individuals who work with young people and the arts. In terms of the Arts Award Advisers, I have argued that assumptions made about young people's artistic and academic abilities due to their social background, has manifested in a limited offer. With little recognition of the unequal starting point of the young people in this study in terms of cultural capital, Advisers unintentionally 'dumb down' programming as a way of making young people feel like a 'fish in water'. As demonstrated in chapter 6, this included drawing on the pedagogy of poverty for those young people whose behaviour was deemed a problem. There is a key implication that Advisers who are planning to work with the award through low-level vocational programmes need further support to plan and deliver their projects. Funding should be made available so that Arts Award programme can be thoroughly planned, in order to take the starting points and needs of the young people into consideration. Funding should also be provided to include high quality artists, practitioners and arts experiences on the programmes as opportunities to boost social capital and artistic dispositions.

As part of my preparation for the presentation of these findings at the Arts Award conference, I designed a workshop for practitioners. This thesis has demonstrated that professionals often fail to recognise the different starting points of young people - what are they bringing with them i.e. their virtual school bags (Thomson and Hall 2008) and the importance of building pedagogy around that. Important conversations should be conducted between the young person and the Adviser about where to go next, what happens when this project finishes and how to maintain the young persons arts interest. To help with this process, a mapping exercise was designed as a planning activity for the Adviser alongside the young person, prior to starting the programme. The planning grid is attached in appendix C, which posed questions such as: who can they meet? Who can they work with? Where can they go to after this project has ended? What kinds of activities / pathways are they encouraged to get involved with? What might this position them for? In response to this, there was an expression of interest from

the regional bridge organisation in developing a set of resources from the study that would assist with future Arts Award programming.

In addition, my experience as an Arts Award Moderator has highlighted the opportunity for Moderators to be able to advise Advisers on their programmes as part of the moderation process. As indicated in chapter 4 through a textual analysis of the Adviser toolkit, advice to practitioners on how to plan programmes is minimal. As demonstrated in this thesis, this has implications for performativity and the reduction of creative activities to box-ticking exercises, as per dispositions for obedience and administration. As a Moderator, often the moderation process has felt like a checklist of "evidence" required within portfolios, which if it is missing, it is the young person, rather than the Adviser who is held accountable. With the allocation of time for training as part of the moderation process, Moderators would be in a good position to assist Advisers to build their programmes, recognise the needs of the young people and offer the best possible arts education experience for their young people.

8.4.3 Arts education for cultural democracy and cultural citizenship

This study has raised questions about the inclusivity of education initiatives, which put an emphasis on changing the agent rather than changing the practice. Whilst Arts Award's strategy is focused on closing the gap in cultural capital, this research has demonstrated that its logics of practice in particular sites can provide practices and pedagogies lead to (re)production. The focus on the arts leadership component in particular demonstrated the potential for Arts Award to contribute to the pedagogy of possibility. But what would a universal arts education offer look like? This has potential implications for future research into the take up of arts education across through both formal education, which is currently in decline and through informal arts engagement, which appears to be thriving.

In chapter 2, I turned to a cultural citizenship approach as a way of reimaging arts education (Thomson, Hall, Earl & Geppert 2019). Cultural citizenship positions arts education as a key tool for developing young people's dispositions towards the arts as a form of Artistic Production. There is a responsibility of these programmes for generating a particular habitus through which young people can demonstrate activism, agency and engagement with cultural life. Kuttner (2015) argues that arts educators are helping young people to acquire skills, knowledge, and attitudes that will prepare them to be competent and responsible members of their cultural communities. This has implications for concerns about cultural democracy, cultural citizenship and pedagogy of

possibility being at the forefront of the design of new arts education programmes.

The findings of this research which highlight the higher value of dispositions compared to capitals, has implications for the demonstration of progress in arts education as being wider than can be simply recorded with documentation and measurement. It also presents particular clusters of dispositions as routes to cultural citizenship, all of which need different ways of assessing. Returning to the work of Willis, a more inclusive view of what capitals count in the field would enable more young people to be 'included' in arts education. Broadening the capitals and dispositions that are of value would broaden the range of young people who can benefit from arts education. For example this study argued that social capital was held in higher regard that symbolic or subcultural capital. A forthcoming publication (Thomson, Hall et al. 2019) that takes this stance in calling for a reimagining of arts education argues that:

> *"If every child is to be a cultural omnivore, possessing the cultural capital that counts, then they must be engaged in an arts education that offers them the opportunity to produce meanings using their own funds of knowledge, heritages and teleologies" (p.10).*

This research has identified tensions between publically funded culture and everyday cultural practices and between hierarchies of cultural capital and the assimilation of common culture. As argued these are inherent within Arts Award itself, which the conceptual framework of Artistic Production and (re)production set out to capture. Despite Arts Award's recognition of changes to the ways that young people engage with the arts today and the mobilisation the award with a commitment to equity and social justice, there continues to be (re)production of capitals and positions within the field. I have argued that neoliberal ideals of meritocracy and performativity have led to an instrumentalisation of the Arts Award programme where symbolic creativity and agentic meaning-making are obscured by managerialism and measurement. Returning to Kuttner's (2015) notion of cultural citizenship, this enables a re-evaluation of the purpose of arts education as a process of developing cultural citizens. The instrumental focus is replaced by an emphasis on participation, belonging, democracy, and social change. As argued above, Arts Award has the potential to develop young people as *justice-orientated cultural citizens* but is currently only best-serving the cultural capital rich who already demonstrate the capacity to understand and appreciate the arts.

In summary, if assumptions about young people accessing the award through low-level vocational strands could be challenged, and training and funding was

available to support Advisers who work in these sites to plan and deliver their programmes, then Arts Award could fulfil its claims to be inclusive of all young people. If future research further explored patterns of social positioning within arts education programmes and the design of future arts education programmes could focus on cultural democracy, cultural citizenship and the pedagogy of possibility, then Artistic Production could be positioned as a way out of (re)production.

8.5 My learning journey

This thesis closes with a reflective account of my personal learning journey through the research. Undertaking this research was at times a struggle between my objective and subjective experiences. I wanted to develop my researcher identity by producing objective research that had the capacity to be critical. But I also wanted to convey the subjective experiences of the participants and my own experiences of working with the award. This tension was worked through with the collation of this thesis as multi-modal, where the objective and critical findings of the research have been presented alongside materials, which conveys the subjective experiences of the participants. As stated in chapter 3, acknowledging young people's 'voice', differing perspectives and representing them positively were important elements of this research due my epistemology and axiology. In devising a text, which requires the reader to move between modalities, the affective and sensual elements of the arts experience can be conveyed.

Being an 'insider' to the Arts Award has meant that undertaking this research has been a personal journey. As discussed in chapter 3, the disadvantages of this included an over-familiarity with the structure of the award and assumptions based on my experience of working with it. My ideas of what was 'good' were based on my practice. Through undertaking research and observing the practice of others, it became evident that my way was not the only way. In engaging with the academic literature around deficit labelling of youth, an element of my working life, which I had never questioned, was revealed as potentially damaging to the young people themselves. My learning developed into an understanding of the structural inequalities within the education system, awareness of distributional justice and adverse impacts of intended inclusionary programmes. Taking an objective view of these practices took quite some time due to my strong personal investment in the field. Therefore the experience of undertaking this research led to questioning my assumptions, my practice and the capacity to be critical.

Experiencing a change of roles, as described in chapter 3, through taking on the role of researcher, meant I was no longer programme organiser. However through my immersion within the field on several occasions, I experienced a collision of identities –being seen as someone who works for Arts Award and as a researcher. Whilst it took a little while for projects to stop seeing me in this capacity as an Adviser or co-worker, it also took some time for me to develop my 'academic' identity. Presenting this research at various conferences was a key way to develop this identity as well as being important in order to explore key findings and present them in a critical context. My biggest challenge was presenting these findings within a practitioner context. Towards the end of the study (March 2018), I presented my findings at the East Midlands Arts Award conference to employees from Arts Award and Arts Council England, as well as Arts Award Advisers and Arts Practitioners who were my previous colleagues. This signified a shift in my position from practitioner to researcher and the presentation of critical work rather than advocacy represented to these colleagues a shift in my epistemological positioning. This was a challenging but rewarding experience, and demonstrated my distance travelled since the start of the process.

Finally being able to take a 'step back' and recognise that for youth work and arts practitioners often working under the pressure of funding cuts and the requirements of local and national policies, the bigger picture gets obscured. I was able to come to the realisation that working intensely with young people can make it difficult to view their socio-cultural positioning objectively. Youth workers can feel often torn between pressures of demonstrating the value of their work, providing numbers and finding funding versus ethical leanings towards 'doing the best' for the young people. These tensions were well captured in Tania de St Croix's latest paper: *Youth work, performativity and the new youth impact agenda: getting paid for numbers?* (de St Croix 2018). Through this learning, I was able to reflect that there is great skill in the balancing act between government policy and local authority rhetoric on young people and being able to respond to individuals needs, interests and opportunities in practice. This is the everyday experience of people who work with young people and the arts in juggling all these elements at the same time and it is not an easy job. However being able to spend time thinking about the value of the arts for young people, engaging in debates around cultural value and revisiting the purpose of arts education was re-invigorating. I was able to re-state the importance of young people as a resource for society and the value for youth arts programmes as Haberman (1991) eloquently puts:

> *"Before we can make workers, we must first make people. But people are not made— they are conserved and grown" (p.294).*

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Project	Description	Ethnographic Methods	Data set list
Pilot Project (youth sector & alternative education)	A fee-paying Arts Award group, made up of Schools referrals (schools pay), self-referrals and home educated young people (parents pay). Mainly visual arts based activities, but some dance, drama and music. Activities are young person led. A variety of levels undertaken: Bronze, Silver and Gold. One Adviser supports the group and is there mainly to assist young people in collating evidence for their folders. A diverse group of young people with varying arts interests and backgrounds, mainly school-based arts experiences, apart from the home educated. Two hours per week, one evening, at the High Street Centre.	5 participants took part in the study 3 months (May, June, July 2014) 52 hours Observation of Arts Award sessions Interviews x 4 Shadowing Days in 4 local schools	• Fieldnotes from observation and schools shadowing • Interview transcripts x 4 • Photos of objects selected by participants • Collaborative artwork: photos, drawings and photobooks • Photos from portfolios and of artwork made • Photos from schools visits
Beat-Boxers (youth sector)	An after-school dance project, funded by the local authority and run by a young Dance Company. Initially designed to target NEET young people, but failed to attract and retain the group desired by funders. 7 out of the starting 20 were regarded as NEET, and these 7 had ceased to attend by the 6th session. All undertaking Bronze level in Dance activities set. Two Dancers ran the activities for the group and were the advisers supported by Dance Students from Central University as volunteers. Two hours per week, after-school, at Summertown College.	7 participants initially, but all dropped out of the project and the study 3 months (Oct, Nov & Dec 2014) 12 hours Observation of sessions	• Fieldnotes from observation • One photograph of a session • An email from participant explaining they are not returning • One participant expressed an interest in being interviewed after the project, but failed to turn up

Springbank College (further education sector)	An optional module offered to all students on arts / performing arts pathway, however for some it was compulsory. Two Advisers ran theory-based sessions where young people utilized two hours per week in a computer suite to document their arts activities and experiences from their other courses towards the award. All undertaking Gold. They also worked to plan and deliver the Arts Leadership section of the award. Funded by the college and by the Bridge Organisation as a pilot project in terms of embedding Gold for future delivery by college staff. Two hours per week, as part of the college timetable, at Springbank College.	20 participants took part in the study 5 took part in interviews 5 months (Oct 2014 – Feb 2015) 20 hours Observation of sessions Questionnaire for the whole group In-depth interviews	• Fieldnotes from observation • 1 photograph of poster from classroom wall • 20 completed questionnaires • 5 Interview Transcriptions
Youth Media Project (youth sector)	An 'open access' free youth project, funded by Youth Music, taking place in a youth club (one-stop shop facility for young people). A variety of Arts Award levels being undertaken. A youth music funded project, with project trainees undertaking Gold level as part of their training. Mainly music-based, but also film and radio, making use of the recording and radio studio facilities. Two Arts Advisers run the sessions, with numerous professional musicians running the creative element and supporting young people with their own music-making activities. The project	5 participants took part in the study 8 months (Nov 2014 to June 2015) 122 hours Observation of sessions Interviews Filming of activity Recording of lyrics / songs Attendance at three performance events	• Fieldnotes from observation of sessions • Identity Interviews (x 2) • Album Cover Artwork and photographic images • Lyrics with recordings (x 2) • Youthwork Interview • Performance Interviews (x 4) • Footage from performances (x 2) • Social Media pages (x 2)

	has a membership scheme based on the Arts Award levels, the higher the level you are doing the more privileges and access to the facilities you get. The project runs for four hours each evening, and the Arts Award session is one evening per week.		• Films with interviews (x 2) • Film script • Arts Leadership Videos (x 2) • Longer-term engagement interviews (x 2) • Photos of objects
FRESH Project (youth sector)	An evening music project, run by a local education charity – the FRESH Project. Funded by youth music, this project takes referrals of young people from schools and other bodies, who face challenging circumstances. This is part of the music mentoring scheme and young people are supported to create their own music, whilst accessing support with other areas of their lives. This is a tightly controlled and heavily monitored project and the young people's development is heavily documented. All three levels of the Arts Award are offered and all staff are trained Advisers as well as being specialist musicians. The ratio is 1-to-1. The project runs for four hours in the evening, once a week and young people enjoy access to a sound recording studio, called 'the booth' and the opportunity to create their own tracks to a high standard.	5 participants took part in the study 7 months (Jan to July 2015) 106 hours Observation of sessions Interviews Filming of activity / group discussion Attendance at two arts events which were reviewed	• Fieldnotes from observation of sessions • Identity Interviews (x 4) • Lyrics (x 4) • Album covers / artwork (x 2) • Youthwork interview • Performance Interviews (x 2) • Performance / event footage • Longer-term engagement interviews (x 2) • Social Media pages (x2) • Arts Leadership Video • Videos from group discussions • Photos of environment, posters, work in

			progress, room set up • Exit Interviews (x 4)
FRESH Day Provision (alternative education)	An alternative education programme as part a City Education Partnership. Referrals are taken from schools of young people at-risk of permanent exclusion and young people in care who are not attending school. Pupil premium is often used to pay costs. Bronze and Silver level Arts Award are offered. The timetable is bespoke depending on the number of hours the young person is dedicated to the project and what they have chosen to do for their Arts Award. Specialist staff are brought in to work with young people on music, film and visual arts based work. The project takes place three days per week, with young people attending two or three days. Ratio staff to young people is 2-to-1 or often 1-to-1. The group size is small, rarely exceeding 4 and the young people are transient often moving on to other things. There is one Adviser who runs the sessions and specialist arts staff to assist the young people. The project takes place in a community centre and has a sound recording studio.	4 participants took part in the study. 5 months (Feb to June 2015) I attended one day per week 120 hours Observation of sessions Interviews Filming of activity / group discussion Attendance at two arts events which were reviewed Shadowing days of two participants at their 'alternative learning provision' at a local school including a tour of the Allotments	• Fieldnotes from observation of sessions • Introductory interviews (x 3) • Album Cover artwork • Photos of environment, artefacts, rule sheets, worksheets • Photos of activities and work in progress • Social Media sites • Arts Leadership Videos (x 3) • Photos of Street Art Exhibition visited plus recorded comments • Fieldnotes from shadowing days • Audio recording from allotment tour • Exit Interviews (x 2)
		Total Participants: 46 **Total Hours: 432**	

Appendix B - Document Analysis Word Counts

Key to the Documents

(HR) - Henley, D. (2012). "Cultural Education in England: An independent review."

(ACE) - England, A. C. (2013). "Great Art and Culture for Everyone: 10 year strategic framework 2010-2020." (2nd edition).

(FM) - Film clip – What is Arts Award? Accessed online at:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HwYhwF8v_14 (2 minutes 20 seconds)

(IS) – Hollingworth, S. P., A; Robinson, Y; Chalgianni, E; Mansaray, A (2016). "Arts Award Impact Study 2012-2016: A report for Trinity College London", London South Bank University.

(NYA) - Agency, N. Y. (2009). "Artswork with socially excluded young people."

(UNI) - Tarling, R. and M. Adams (2011). Summer Arts College Outcomes Report 2007–10, London: Unitas. http://www. unitas. uk. net/Assets/258207/Document. pdf.

(CP) - Cape UK (2009) Bringing It Together. The Arts Award celebrates inclusive practice. Accessed online

(AATK) – Arts Award Adviser Toolkit (2014 edition)

(AABK-B/S/G) – Arts Award booklets for young people – Bronze, Silver, Gold (2014 editions)

(AALB) – Arts Award Bronze log-book

Words	**Document / source**	**Page reference**	**Frequency**
Qualification – valuable, valued, respected, recognised	HR FM IS NYA UNI AATK	pg45 18sec, 2min7sec pg2, 8, 9 x 4 pg10, 19 pg5, 9 x 3 pg2, 6 x 2, 72	19
Universal qualification National qualification	IS UNI AABK – B AABK – G AALB	pg8 pg15 pg3 pg3 pg2, 4 x 2, back cover	8
Talent pool / growing	HR	pg3	5

talent	ACE FM NYA AALB	pg14 2min5sec pg15 back cover	
Deepen engagement / engage	NYA UNI	pg6 x 2, 8, 9 x 2, 10 x 2, 17 x 2, 21, 22 pg6, 13	13
Active participation / participant	IS NYA AATK AABK – S AABK - G	pg2 x 2, 4, 9, 10 pg2, 5, 6, 14, 17 x 2, 18, 23 pg2, 6, 19 x 2, 20 x 3, 21, 35, 51 x 2 pg9 pg8 x 2	27
Improving delivery / delivering / provision	HR ACE NYA UNI AATK	pg30 pg59 pg19 pg7, 15 pg40	6
Raising the standard / improve the quality	ACE NYA	pg23 pg9	2
Connecting to the arts (and culture)	AATK	pg3	1
Developing audiences	ACE AATK	pg29 pg6, 7, 19 x 2, 21	6
Creative pathways / arts pathway / routes / transition / career development / arts journey	HR IS NYA UNI AATK AABK – B AABK – S AABK - G	pg30 pg3, 8 x 2, 10 pg3, 10 x 2, 14 x 2, 20, 21, 22 pg5, 15 inside cover, pg3, pg30, 34, 35 x 3, 48, 50, 52 pg5 pg3 pg9, 19	29
Unconventional / unique	IS NYA AATK	pg5, 7 pg9 pg2	4
Arts and culture approaches / arts-based curriculum / arts enrichment	IS NYA UNI	pg8 pg3 x 4, 6, 10, 17 pg6 x 2, 7	11
Soft skills / outcomes	IS NYA	pg3, 4 pg3, 7, 10, 21	6
Positive activity / effect / impact	HR ACE IS NYA UNI	pg17 pg10 pg2, 8, 10 pg6 x 2, 11, 15, 18, 22, 23 pg1, 5, 15 x 2	16
Accessible /	ACE	pg36, 39, 59	14

accessibility / for all / outreach projects / wider reach	FM NYA AATK	1min47sec pg3 x 2, 8, 14, 18, 19, 22, 23 pg3, 4	
Inclusive / Inclusion	IS NYA	pg2, 12 pg12	3
Engage quickly	NYA	pg3 x 2, 5	3
High-risk / at-risk / NEET / offending / re-offending / anti social behaviour/ hard to reach	NYA UNI	pg2 x 12, 3 x 8, 5 x 2, 6 x 4, 7 x 3, 8, 9 x 3, 10, 11 x 5, 12 x 3, 13 x 2, 14 x 2, 15 x 3, 16 x 4, 17 x 5, 19 x 4, 20 x 2, 23 x 2 pg5 x 4, 6 x 5, 13	76
Progression / personal progression / positive progression	IS NYA UNI AATK AABK – B AABK – S AABK - G	pg2, 5 pg3, 6 x 2, 9, 14, 17, 18, 21 x 2, 22 x 2 pg5, 6, 13, 15 x 2 pg4, 6, 7 x 2, 8, 11, 19, 33 x 4, 48, 49 pg18 pg5, 7 x 2, 16 x 3, 19 pg15	40
Re-engage / dis-engaged	IS NYA UNI	pg3 pg2, 3, 6 x 2, 7, 9 x 2, 11, 13, 14 pg6 x 4, 15	16
Evidence / evidencing	IS NYA AATK AABK-B AABK – S AABK – G AALB	pg13 pg10 pg5, 11, 22, 33, 35, 39, 49 x 3, 56 pg5, 15 pg5 x 2, 8, 9 x 2, 12 x 3, 13 x 3 pg3, 6, 8, 10, 15 x 2, 17 x 2, 18 x 2 32	37
Flexibility / flexible format	IS NYA AATK	pg2, 10 pg3, 18 pg2, 5, 36 x 2	8
High quality / professional	HR ACE NYA UNI	pg18 pg59 pg3, 7, 23 pg1, 7	7
Arts professionals / professional arts practice	HR	pgs3, 45	2
Live experience (of culture)	NYA	Pgs3, 24 x 3	4
Measurable outcomes / meaningful	HR ACE	pg45 pg60 x 3	26

recognition / Measures of participation / monitoring / recording / targets	NYA UNI AATK	pg13, 14 x 2, 18 x 2, 20, 22 pg12, 10 pg11 x 3, 20, 32 x 3, 33, 37, 38 x 2, 54, 56	
Personal journeys / personalised learning / personal development	IS NYA AATK	pg2, 4 x 2, 8, 10, 13 x 2 pg10, 17, 18 x 2 pg9, 72	14
Accreditation / certified outcomes	ACE FM IS NYA UNI AATK	pg18 1min50sec pg3 x 2, 13 pg3 x 5, 5, 6 x 3, 14 x 2, 17, 18 x 3, 19 x 2, 22 pg5, 6, 15 x 2 pg3, 5 x 2, 6 x 2	29
Transferable skills	IS	pg8	1
Skills / Skills-sets	HR ACE FM IS NYA UNI AATK AATK – B AATK – S AABK – G AALB	pgs3, 12 x 2, 15, 17 pg40 32sec, 1min6sec 1min56sec pg2 x 5, 5, 7 x 4, 10 x 2, 11 x 2, 12 x 3, 13 pg3, 5, 6 x 3, 14, 17, 18 x 2, 21 x 2, 22 x 4 pg5 x 3, 6 x 3, 15 x 3 pg3, 4 x 5, 5 x 2, 10 x 2, 20 x 2, 23 x 5, 30, 32, 33, 36 x 7, 37, 38 x 3, 39 x 2, 40, 41 x 2, 50 x 3, 54 x 5, 55, 56 x 3, 57 x 3, 58 x 7, 63 x 3 pg5, 7 x 3, 13 x 3, 16, 18 x 9 pg7 x 4, 11, 12 x 2, 13, 14, 19 x 2 pg7 x 2, 11, 13 x 3, 14, 15 x 2, 20 pg5 x 2, 6, 8, 10, 11, 24, 25 x 2, 27, 28 x 2, 20 x 2, back cover	165
Take responsibility / being professional	IS AATK AABK – S AABK - G	pg4 pg5, 7, 11 x 2, 36, 49, 54, 55, 57, 61 pg11 pg3	13
Keep things in order	AALB	pg5	1
Pass skills on / share work / share skills	AATK AABK – B AALB	pg6 x 2, 19, 23 x 3, 31 pg1, 3, 9 x 2, 13 x 2, 18 x 2 pg2, 5 x 2, 28 x 2, 30 x 2, 31 x 2	24

Stay on track	AALB	pg17	1
Assessment / moderation / validation	IS NYA AATK AABK – B AABK – S AABK – G AALB	pg13 pg23 pg4, 6 x 3, 8 x 5, 10 x 4, 11, 12 x 4, 15, 19, 27, 49 x 3, 50, 61 pg3, 15 x 4 pg3, 15 x 6 pg3, 17 x 6 pg4, 32	49
Independent learning / Individual development	NYA AATK	pg19, 23 pg3 x 2, 9 x 3, 32	8
Success	ACE IS NYA UNI AATK AABK – B AABK – S AALB	pg33, 64 pg8 pg3, 5, 7, 14 pg15 pg5, 11, 12, 40, 58 x 2 pg13 pg11 pg27	17
Young people with particular needs	AATK	pg4	1
Challenging circumstances / disadvantaged background / socially excluded	HR IS NYA UNI AATK	pg45 pg3, 4, 5, 10 pg1 pg5 pg4	8
Enjoy / enjoyable	HR IS UNI AATK AABK - B	pgs14, 20, 44 pg7, 10 pg15 pg3, 6 pg5, 16	10
Take part	HR IS AATK AABK – B AALB	pg44 p4 p3, 6, 10 x 2, 13 pg1, 7 pg6, 7, 11 x 2	13
Develop / development	HR ACE FM IS NYA AATK AABK – G AALB	pg45 x 2 pg13, 17 x 2, 24, 29 1min56sec pg7 pg6, 21, 23 pg3, 10, 11, 30, 33, 36, 37, 48, 51, 54 pg3, 7 x 2, 8 x 3 pg2, back cover	40
Not-achieving	AATK	pg25 x 3, 43 x 3, 61 x 3	9

Get involved / involve more	HR	pg45	1
Achieving / achievement	ACE IS NYA AATK AABK – B AABK - S	pg25 pg7 pg8, 13, 14, 20 x 2, 21 pg4, 6, 7 x 2, 11, 25 x 5, 32, 43 x 3, 61 x 4 pg15 pg3 x 2, 6 x 2, 11	32
Attending	AATK AABK - S	pg4, 52 pg3	3
Reviewing / recording	AATK AABK – B AABK – S AABK – G AALB	pg5, 6, 31, 33 x 3, 34 x 5, 40 x 4, 49, 52 x 2, 61 pg9, 16 x 3 pg3, 6 x 2, 7 x 3, 8 x 2, 16 x 2, 17 pg3 x 2, 6, 9 x 2 pg7, 16, 30, 31	42
Researching	AATK AABK – B AABK – S AABK – G AALB	pg19, 22 x 5, 35x 2, 52 x 3, 53 x 5 pg11 x 4 pg8, 9 x 2, 18 pg3, 8 x 2, 9 x 3, 10 x 3, 18 x 2, 19 x 7 pg5, 22, 23	44
Supporting	IS AATK AABK - G	pg8 pg5, 8, 9 x 4, 12, 15, 52, 55 x 2 pg3, 8, 14	15
Connecting	ACE IS	pg28, 37 pg4	3
Arts World / wider arts sector	AATK	pg5, 7, 8	3
Artform knowledge and understanding	HR IS AATK AABK – B AABK - S	pg12 x 2, 18 pg2, 3 pg3, 4, 19, 27, 30, 34 x 2, 45, 49, 49, 52, 58 x 2, 63 pg15 pg15	21
Creativity	HR ACE IS NYA UNI AATK AABK – B AABK – S AABK – G	pg18 x 2 pg30 pg4, 7 pg3, 5, 6 x 2, 7, 9, 14 pg1 pg3, 4, 19, 27, 45, 49, 50, 58 x 2, 63 pg15 pg15 pg5	28

	AALB	pg2, back cover	
Creative problem-solving	AATK	pg39, 45, 56	3

Appendix C - Mapping exercise presented at Arts Award conference

