The Value and Impacts of Collaborative Visual Art Projects for Young Artists: An Exploration of the National Galleries of Scotland's Outreach Work

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Abstract

The thesis is based on research conducted as part of a collaborative PhD with the National Galleries of Scotland's (NGS) outreach programmes and explores the potential value and impacts of collaborative visual art outreach interventions with young people (referred to as young artists throughout this thesis). Projects like those explored in this thesis are often encouraged in cultural policy and by cultural funders as it is anticipated they will positively boost young artists' social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986), through improving their health and wellbeing. However, there has been little focussed examination of such projects to understand visual arts' impacts on young artists, or on how visual art differs to other forms of cultural engagement.

The research draws on a mixed methodology, focusing on qualitative approaches. It includes cultural policy analysis, documentary analysis, visual analysis, interviews, observations, and questionnaires. The iterative nature of the research process allowed for the emergence of themes and patterns, ensuring a layered reflection on the research topic. The study examines the complex nature of visual art interventions, exploring power dynamics, cultural capital, social practice, identity, and recognition in the visual arts. The research draws on the works of influential theorists such as Foucault, Bourdieu, Raunig, de Certeau, Skeggs and Fraser to provide valuable insights into these concepts.

The research challenges existing problematic discourses created in cultural policy and enacted within institutions based on concerns for artistic quality. Young artists valued their artworks as they had the potential to positively impact their social worlds, however cultural policy and in turn the NGS emphasise that it is young artists who are anticipated to change through the process of making art. The research found that within cultural policy, and in turn NGS policies, problematic discourses emerged surrounding those deemed disadvantaged and as cultural non-participants, with many young artists rejecting this descriptor. Furthermore, the research uncovers how the positive impacts young artists experience during art interventions, such as increasing in confidence, change and often diminish over time. The findings problematize how cultural practices are currently evaluated and illuminates previously neglected concerns around the longevity of collaborative visual art projects impacts.

The research highlights how cultural policy, and in turn the NGS, are attempting to undertake acts of recognition (Fraser 1998); targeting arts interventions at groups of young artists who experience forms of social marginalisation, recognising that they need different cultural opportunities to people who do not. However, by not engaging in acts of redistribution (such as redistributing power in the NGS art collections by collecting the work of young artists), young artists remain othered and experience forms of misrecognition.

On the basis of these findings, recommendations are made to inform arts organisations, policy makers, funders, and artists in supporting long-term positive impacts of such projects, through encouraging the development of more meaningful evaluation practices and collaborative cultural policy practices. The recommendations also suggest the importance of challenging concepts such as quality and disadvantage within cultural policy and cultural institutions.

Overall, this research offers an exploration of collaborative visual art outreach projects and their impacts on young people, addressing gaps in existing research and providing valuable insights for practitioners and policy makers in the cultural sector. By centring the experiences of young artists so often talked about in policy, but rarely collaborated with in its creation, this research provides a springboard to positively impact how cultural policy is created and enacted in the future.

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1. Introduction

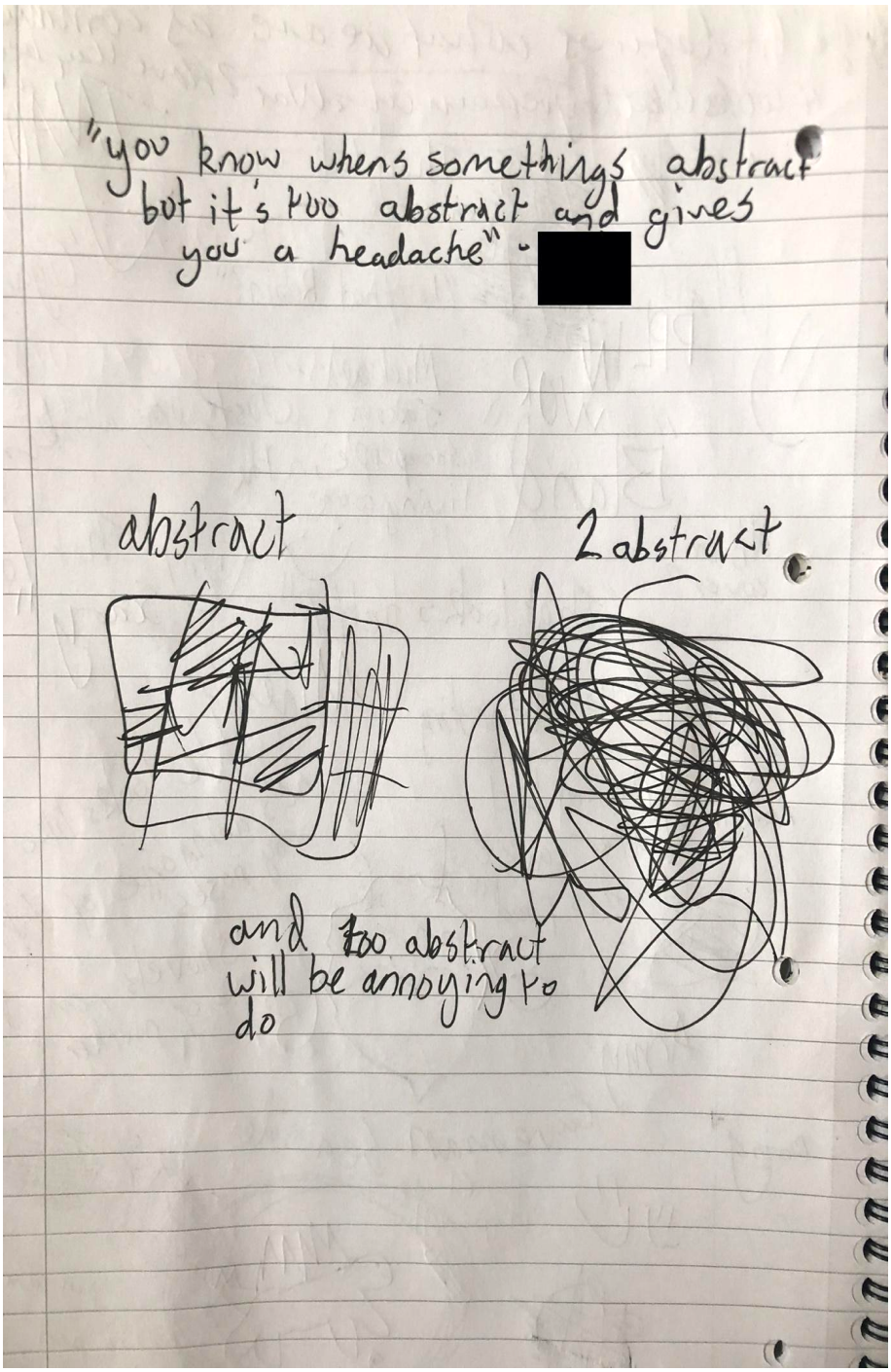


Figure 1: 'Too Abstract Will Be Annoying': pen on paper, Alex B 2022.

Text and image highlighting when things become "too abstract" (ibid.) written by a young artist. The image feels pertinent in the opening of this thesis, as the introduction attempts to provide readers with a contextual background to the research. This chapter also attempts to offer insights and broad overviews to avoid this thesis becoming "too abstract" and hence "annoying" (ibid.). Hopefully as a result, the reader will not get "a headache" (ibid.).

1.1 Overview of the Research

This thesis aims to explore the potential meaning, value, importance, and relevance of collaborative visual art projects, with a specific focus on the impacts and experiences of young artists[1] taking part in targeted outreach projects. It is based within the National Galleries of Scotland's (NGS) outreach programmes. It seeks to uncover the hidden power dynamics at play when subsidised arts organisations work with young artists as well as offering useful and useable insights to support meaningful visual art practices in the future. The thesis is based on my collaborative research study with the NGS. It delves into the complex and multifaceted nature of visual art, examining its links to power dynamics, cultural and social capital, social practice, and identity drawing on the work of Pierre Bourdieu, Nancy Fraser, Beverley Skeggs, Michel Foucault, Gerald Raunig, Ruth Levitas and Michel de Certeau.

I adopted what could be understood as a form of constructivist epistemology. I approached the research with the understanding that knowledge is constructed, not discovered. I believe that reality is totally subjective and is co-constructed between the researcher and the "participants", which is why qualitative methods were utilised and I fully acknowledge the influence that individuals' experiences and interpretations have on the research process. I acknowledge that my understanding of the phenomena under investigation is mediated through my own experiences and insights, where knowledge is viewed as being constructed by individuals and groups, rather than being 'discovered' in an objective reality (Law 2004, p.22). My approach reflects Law's understanding of the complexity, vagueness, and multiplicity of realities which challenges simplistic or reductionist approaches.

Ontologically, my research could be positioned as relativist. I emphasise the multiplicity of realities and the subjectivity of individual experiences. The ontology of relativism posits that reality is subjective and differs from person to person (Law 2004, p.61). However, I attempt to move towards pluralism (Law 2004, p.61). Pluralism recognises that "different realities overlap and interfere with one another" (ibid.). As such my research was open to the existence of multiple, overlapping, and sometimes contradictory realities, and attempts to navigate the complexity that these realities present.

By delving into the definition and value of visual art, this thesis also aims to shed light on the multifaceted nature of visual art and those that experience, make it and care for it. It explores the links between visual art and concepts of quality; the role of visual art as a social practice; and what happens when young artists' experience forms of recognition and misrecognition (Fraser and Honneth 2003; Bourdieu 1986) within art practices. The research findings challenge existing discourses and highlight the importance for policymakers and practitioners of considering and collaborating with the young artists making visual art.

Overall, this thesis contributes to the understanding of collaborative visual art outreach projects and their impacts on young artists, and how these impacts change over time. It questions current evaluation practices and provides a critical perspective on not only how

[1] I utilise "young artists" to describe the young people who took part in NGS outreach projects to reflect their active artistic lives and expectations whilst working with the NGS. The term is a response to young artists' identifying their misrecognition within cultural policy and definition of what makes someone an artist.

best to deliver collaborative visual art outreach projects, but also how to explore and evaluate them meaningfully. The work provides insights into the complexities of visual art and why we value it, the power dynamics at play, the problematization of young artists within current cultural policy and practices, and the potential for positive change. It challenges cultural policy makers to consider collaborative methods to better reflect the wants and needs of young artists. The recommendations derived from the research findings aim to inform arts organisations, policy makers, funders, and artists in supporting long-term positive impacts in visual art, and the cultural sector more broadly.

The research was framed by a series of research questions segmented into three broad areas:

> *How do organisations approach working collaboratively with young people?*
> What discourses are being created within outreach interventions? Are these different to the discourses created within policy and organisational discourses? Are large institutions acting as disciplinary institutions when engaging in outreach activities?
>
> *How do young people experience collaborative visual art practices?*
> What is the specific quality of visual art which leads to successful interventions? What are the shared/different languages of interventions? Are young people experiencing an otherness when engaging in art interventions? How do young people experience (and contribute to) the interventions? How do young people's understandings and experiences of participation change over the course of a programme and afterwards? What are the most important elements of these practices from their perspective? How do young people want to be described by these art institutions?
>
> *How can institutions develop collaborative relationships with young participants?*
> How might such programmes and relationships be evaluated? How is this work valued/ are the outputs considered differently to other artistic/creative outputs and is the value of the work based on the experience and not the final artworks?

These questions helped to structure and guide the research undertaken, which was also informed by ongoing critiques of cultural policy and cultural practices explored below.

1.2 NGS Outreach, Cultural Policy, and Cultural Participation Background

The NGS sits across four buildings in the centre of Edinburgh (The National, Modern One, Modern Two and The Portrait Gallery), and cares for over 120,000 artworks within its collection. 327 employees work across several departments including Curation; Collections Management; Learning and Engagement; Operations; and Marketing. A brochure exploring the work of the NGS outreach team details:

> the Outreach team, in the Learning and Engagement Department at the National Galleries of Scotland, was established in 2001 to work offsite with audiences that are unlikely to visit the four galleries in the centre of Edinburgh (NGS 2020a, p.1).

Broadly, the outreach team focuses on engaging with young people (of the 29 outreach projects detailed in the NGS brochure, 20 were focussed on working with young people) whose artworks are typically exhibited at the NGS once outreach projects have finished. The wider Learning and Engagement Department predominantly focuses on engaging audiences, such as through school visits, lectures and talks, or community and family days, at the NGS buildings themselves. What sets the outreach team apart from their department, and the NGS as a whole, is their focus on working *in* the local communities of the young artists they are engaging with.

The anticipated impacts of the outreach team include "[improving] wellbeing, confidence, skills development and creativity" (NGS 2020a, p.1). These impacts connect deeply to cultural policies such as *A Cultural Strategy for Scotland* (2020) and *The Culture White Paper* (2016), which cite positive impacts and outcomes for young people as justifications for the support of arts organisations working with young people. However, there have been criticisms of cultural policies emphasising positive impacts on people. A major exploration of the value of arts engagement by the Arts and Humanities Research Council found that evaluations of arts projects tended to rely on brief snapshot interviews rather than in depth explorations to evaluate projects (Crossick and Kaszynska 2017, p.135). Furthermore the "variation in methods used, and in the interpretation of findings, create… a situation where we can speak of findings specific to particular projects but without their being readily useful for the sector" (Crossick and Kaszynska 2017, p.133).

The following section explores an overview of cultural policy, policy critique, and cultural funding within the UK to provide readers with additional context for the research undertaken, and specifically the cultural landscape within which the NGS is delivering their outreach projects.

1.2.1 The impacts of austerity on cultural funding

Since the 2008 financial crisis, government arts funding across the UK has reduced by 30% (Easton and Di Novo 2023, n.p.), whilst funding for local governments (who provide vital cultural funding opportunities at a higher rate than that of central government) has reduced by 49.1% in real terms from 2010 to 2018 (Rex and Campbell 2022, n.p.). These reductions have limited the resources available for supporting artistic projects, cultural events, and the overall sustainability of the arts sector (Rex and Campbell 2022). Austerity policies have resulted in higher ticket prices, decreased outreach programs, and limited opportunities for participation in subsidised cultural activities, particularly for marginalised communities and those often excluded from subsidised culture (Oakes and Oakes 2016, n.p.). Sophie Hope argues that participation is "becom[ing] a luxury only some people can afford" (2011, p.48), austerity policies have created barriers to engagement and restricted access to cultural experiences. Considering the emphasis within contemporary cultural policy on the key role of participation in *transforming* individuals and communities (explored in future chapters), the impacts of austerity are at odds with cultural policy aims to increase participation.

Perhaps most alarmingly, austerity policies have contributed to the closure of cultural venues and institutions. As a result, some museums, theatres, and galleries have had to permanently

close or reduce their services (Marks 2017). From 2010 to 2019 over 800 libraries closed across the UK due to lack of funding support (Busby 2019, n.p.), despite *The Culture White Paper* stating "public libraries are an important part of our local communities" (Department for Culture Media and Sport 2016, p.30).

As a result, arts organisations have "become more reliant on private sources of revenue" (Hill 2016, n.p.) and have had to drastically diversify their funding streams, ultimately resulting in organisational "precarity" (Ashton 2023, p.388). Across all arts organisations, this has resulted in an increase in 'scarcity thinking' (Jancovich and Stevenson 2022). Potentially this results in organisations taking fewer risks and reducing the opportunity for the arts to be radical spaces of change and social critique. In addition to diversifying their funding, arts organisations may be applying for smaller funds typically accessed by non-arts organisations such as youth services. Within this research project itself, one of the two NGS outreach projects observed was funded by such a fund: the *Youth Work Education Recovery Fund*. It is of note that the NGS was the only national organisation to receive this funding, and only one of three (out of 64 funded projects) that are arts based.

1.2.2 The Scottish Government, cultural funding and the NGS

Cultural budgets are devolved, and Scottish organisations have faced significant arts funding cuts over the past decade. Creative Scotland (the arms-length government organisation responsible for the majority of arts funding in Scotland) has had its core budget reduced by about £13.1 million between 2010-11 and 2022-23 (Harrison 2022, n.p.). Alongside providing individual grants for artists and project funding for organisations, Creative Scotland funds 120 organisations employing more than 5,000 workers in its £34 million "regularly funded organisations (RFO)" network (Creative Scotland 2022, n.p.). Creative Scotland's funding for the next three years is at a 6-year standstill and therefore real terms decrease (Harrison 2023, n.p.). However, the NGS has secured continual and increased funding from the Scottish government. In 2023-24, NGS received an increase of 9.8% of its core funding directly from the Scottish Government, an increase in its annual core income to more than £18 million a year (Fergusson 2023, n.p.). Furthermore, in 2021-2022 the NGS secured an additional £12.5 million through additional fund raising, visitor purchases and investments (NGS 2023a, p.38).

As such, the NGS may have been less affected by austerity and wider cuts to the cultural sector will be less pronounced in the NGS than in other organisations. With the emphasis of cultural policy being on increasing participation with the arts to deliver *transformative* impacts, the NGS could be considered an important space for this drive towards participation to occur due to its relative protection from funding cuts. Furthermore, the financial stability of the NGS could suggest that as an organisation it can take more risks than those more precarious arts organisations experiencing funding cuts.

1.2.3 Discourse surrounding arts participation within cultural policy

Despite the austerity measures implemented by the government, cultural policy continues to emphasise the importance of increasing participation within the arts. All policy, including cultural policy, can be understood as intended to achieve *something.* For over two decades, UK cultural policy has focussed heavily on achieving an increase in participation within the

arts. As Eriksson et. al. note: "the concept of cultural participation is thus high on the agenda… among artists, cultural workers and policy makers" (Eriksson, Stage and Bjarki Valtysson 2019, p.xi).

In February 2020, the Scottish Government published the first ever *Cultural Strategy for Scotland*. This document emphasises that culture's "…transformative potential is experienced by everyone…[and] should be central to how we imagine new transformative possibilities for individuals, communities, the economy, businesses and society" (2020, pp.3 & 9). The emphasis to both *transform* and *empower* (Scottish Government 2020, p.4) through cultural participation is not unique to Scotland, however. In 1997 the New Labour (UK) Government introduced this association between participation and some transformation within individuals (as well as communities) and the discourses have remained similar in cultural policies since (Eriksson, Stage and Bjarki Valtysson 2019). Such claims have been criticised however, and the role of participation within cultural policy has been understood as "…legitimizing welfare cutbacks and socioeconomic instrumentalization of the arts" (Eriksson, Stage and Bjarki Valtysson 2019, p. xi). Other academics, notably, Belfiore (2002) and Stevenson (2022), have drawn on Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital (1986) to analyse cultural institutions as spaces which represent social difference, and to argue that state cultural institutions are unsuitable spaces and ill-equipped to transform lives through cultural participation.

It is vital to highlight that whilst cultural policy emphasises the role of culture to enact positive change in people's lives, *A Cultural Strategy for Scotland* (2020) and *The Culture White Paper* (2016) rely heavily on subsidised arts organisations reports and evaluations, which are regularly cited within policy, to legitimise these claims. Jancovich and Stevenson (2022) highlight how arts organisations do not engage critically with evaluation, and often misrepresent what occurs during arts projects due to the need to secure future funding. As a result, there is a lack of criticality in cultural policy, and in turn, cultural practices. There is a feedback loop occurring, between cultural policy and cultural organisations.

More radically, theorists have problematized the notion of cultural participation itself, describing a lack of participation as "…represented as a problem caused by a deficit amongst individuals and state intervention is needed to build the capacity of individuals to take part in what is represented as mainstream culture…". As such it "is a significant constituent part of the manner in which power is exercised, values are distributed and asymmetric power relationships are maintained in society" (Eriksson, Stage and Bjarki Valtysson 2019, p.167).

Hope (2011) meanwhile provides vital perspectives on participation within *Participating in the Wrong Way?* examining four participatory projects, to explore the contradictions, tensions, joys, and effects that come from participatory art projects. One key point from Hope (2011) highlights some of the tensions and potential issues within contemporary cultural policy emphasising that participation takes time and resources:

> What if too much participation bankrupts you? If participation is voluntary and unpaid it implies you need free time to do it and therefore excludes those who do not have the time, resources or money to spare (p.48).

It is important to remember therefore that whilst cultural policy and the literature it cites claim participating in the arts is good for you, and that those from "disadvantaged backgrounds" should have access to "high quality cultural experiences" (DCMS 2016, p.62), there is no recognition that those from "disadvantaged backgrounds" (ibid.) may have the least time and resources to participate for free.

1.3 The Research Project and Structure of the Thesis

The research project then, was informed by the cultural landscape and the ongoing critiques of cultural policy and practices. The following section explores the research project and the work undertaken, before outlining the structure of the thesis.

1.3.1 The research project

The project incorporated a mixed methodological approach, I undertook two literature reviews; a policy analysis of Scottish and UK cultural policy; a documentary and policy analysis of the NGS; surveys for NGS employees; interviews with NGS outreach staff; interviews with partner organisations of outreach projects; interviews with freelance artists delivering outreach projects; interviews both during and after outreach projects with young artists taking part in outreach projects; 300 hours of observing outreach projects; and visual analysis of artworks created during outreach activities.

Thorough literature reviews explored two key areas. The first focussed on research into the impacts experienced by young people engaging in similar projects to that delivered by the NGS outreach team; the second explores critiques of contemporary art evaluation methodologies and practices. Overall, these literature reviews highlight tensions relating to the focus on short term impacts. This raises questions around claims made by cultural policies that the arts contain "…transformative potential" (Scottish Government 2020, p.3). Furthermore, the literature review highlights a lack of thorough research into the impacts of specifically *visual art* activities, as the arts are discussed in both research and cultural policy documents as one homogenous group.

My research explored the tensions that the literature reviews highlighted, predominantly focussing on the experiences and interpretations of the young artists taking part in NGS outreach projects. The targeted nature of the outreach projects, which aim to work with young people experiencing "disadvantage" and "barriers" (NGS 2019b, p.15), provided an opportunity to explore the meaning of these descriptors with young artists and to consider their identities within outreach projects, and in society more broadly. This led to an exploration of the value of visual art and visual art outreach projects, which for NGS policies and documents emerged not from young artists' artworks but from the process of young artists making art. Young artists however, disagreed, and suggested that the value of visual art came from its ability to impact on their social worlds, resulting in developing recognition (Fraser 1998) within their communities which led to increasing their own agency.

The policy analysis I undertook revealed a discourse within both Scottish and UK cultural policies suggesting that societal issues like poverty could potentially be addressed through individual changes facilitated by the arts, particularly emphasising the impact of visual arts on

young people's education, wellbeing, health, and behaviour. The value of visual art within these policies was linked to their impact on people and communities, suggesting art as a tool for change. However, there was a noticeable lack of specific guidance for cultural organisations to achieve these impacts. The research also discovered a focus on individual participation and impacts and critiqued cultural policy for not considering collective aspects and structural inequalities more comprehensively.

Finally, the research project explored the potential long-term impacts of visual art outreach projects and returned to young artists three to six months after they participated in an NGS outreach project. In these interviews the young artists discussed how the positive impacts they had experienced during outreach projects had since faded and changed.

1.3.2 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is structured into eight chapters. Firstly, within this introductory chapter I introduced the research topic and highlighted its significance, whilst presenting the research questions and objectives (and some of the broad findings within the research). Chapter two explores a theoretical framework of key theoretical concepts and critical conversations in the field of visual arts. Specifically, this chapter discusses power dynamics, cultural and social capital, social practice, the role of everyday culture, and concepts of recognition and respectability which are then woven throughout the research project. In chapter three, two literature reviews analyse critiques of current art evaluation methodologies and practices as well as existing research on the impacts and experiences of young people participating in art outreach projects, highlighting gaps and limitations in the literature. Overall, these reviews emphasise the need for rigorous evaluation, visual-art specific research and UK-specific research. The fourth chapter explores the methodologies used in this study highlighting the iterative, and at times messy, nature of the research process.

The fifth chapter, and first of the findings chapters, explores different conceptualisations of visual art and why it is valued, focussing on the tensions surrounding concepts of quality and respectability, and the role of quality within disciplinary institutions. The sixth chapter explores the reported impacts that visual art projects have on young artists during their delivery by the NGS, its partner organisations and freelance artists, and highlights how these impacts are different to those identified by the young artists taking part in outreach projects. The seventh and final findings chapter explores the young artists' reflections on the outreach projects, three to six months' after they had taken part. It highlights how the impacts young artists described during projects change and diminish over time. The eighth and final chapter of the thesis discusses some of the implications of the research, shares my contributions to knowledge, and develops recommendations for future practices as a result.

The following chapter outlines the theoretical framework underpinning this thesis.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

The following chapter outlines a theoretical framework which supports my research. This framework can be separated into three broad sections. Firstly, Pierre Bourdieu's notions of habitus and social and cultural capital (1986) which provide insights into how visual art and galleries, such as the National Galleries of Scotland (NGS), are deeply embedded within the dynamics of cultural power and distinction. The exploration of Bourdieu's work is expanded upon by the work of Beverley Skeggs (1997) and her research into notions of respectability. In addition, the work of Robert Hewison (2015) and Ruth Levitas (2001) in their differing applications of Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital within cultural policies are examined. The first section finishes by applying the work of Nancy Fraser (2003) to support the application of Bourdieu's theory of misrecognition (1986), the idea that power relations in society are perpetuated through the common, uncritical acceptance of social norms and hierarchies as natural and legitimate, which masks the arbitrariness of those distributions of power and privilege, to the phenomena in this thesis.

The second section of the theoretical framework draws on the work of Michel Foucault and his conceptualisation of power and disciplinary institutions (1977) to understanding how power works, not just societally, but within the field of visual arts and culture more broadly. By applying Foucauldian concepts of disciplinary institutions, I consider how galleries, such as the NGS, enact power to develop self-regulation among individuals involved at all levels of these institutions (Chen 2013, p.407), creating normative, internalised, behaviours.

In this section I also examine Gerald Raunig's (2013) expansion of Foucault's work to highlight the tensions that may arise when attempting to exhibit artworks in disciplinary institutions, such as the NGS, as well as the possibility for moments of "molecular activism" and the creation of autonomous free spaces (Raunig, Derieg and Negri 2013, p.23) in disrupting power relations within disciplinary institutions. This second section culminates with an exploration of the work of Michel de Certeau (2011) who, like Foucault, also examined power, but like Raunig was particularly interested in how people exert agency within the structures of power. For instance, de Certeau's concept of tactics (p.xix), offers a nuanced understanding of how people creatively resist and subvert dominant structures within their daily lives.

The third, and final, section of the theoretical framework explores ongoing debates around "participatory art" (Bell 2017, p.73) through the work of Claire Bishop and Grant Kester. This section seeks to bring Bishop's emphasis on aesthetic and critical engagement and Kester's focus on the disruption of artistic autonomy closer together through the work of David Bell. It further discusses debates around the creation and viewing of art works, such as those created within NGS outreach projects.

All the literature within the theoretical framework provided an important lens to explore power differences and dynamics between policy makers, large institutions and young artists, whilst recognising that the latter are not passive, rather there are significant possibilities for resistance and alternative imaginings.

2.2 Bourdieu: Social Capital, Cultural Capital, Habitus and Taste

In the following section the work of Bourdieu is used to explore complex concepts of power within society, galleries, the visual arts, collaborative and participatory art practices, and culture more broadly. Mangione highlights how Bourdieu's work has been integral to developing understandings of how visual art, and culture more broadly, are interwoven with "social relations and rules" (2020, p.343). At the same time, Mangione recognises the potential limitations of Bourdieu's work, especially for those working within cultural institutions:

> … the understanding and appreciation of high culture is a learned ability, stratified by socioeconomic status… "cultural capital,"… is a way (intentionally or not) to signal one is elite, that people without it feel unwelcome and uncomfortable in art worlds, and that this all explains why policy studies of arts audiences consistently reveal they have a high level of education relative to the general population… arts administrators feel defeated about their work, deconstructing the origins of the problems they face democratising art worlds ultimately does not tell them how to move forward (2020, p.348).

The following sections explore these tensions and the ways in which Bourdieu can be useful in recognising power within galleries such as the NGS.

2.2.1 An overview of Bourdieu's theory of social and cultural capital and its ties to Foucault

Bourdieu's concepts of social and cultural capital and Foucault's concepts of disciplinary institutions (explored later in this chapter) both examine power and social structures. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital refers to the non-financial social assets like symbols, tastes and ideas that can be used for social action (Fowler 1996) and is defined as familiarity with the legitimate culture within a society (Bourdieu 1984) including knowledge, skills, education, and other cultural goods. According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital exists in three states: embodied (long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body, including both cognitive and non-cognitive aspects); objectified (material belongings and goods that a person owns); institutionalised (formal credentials and qualifications recognized by an institution). Social capital refers to the resources that are accessible to individuals and groups through their network of relationships. These resources can be tangible, such as job opportunities, or intangible, such as knowledge or support. For Bourdieu, social capital is a critical factor in determining an individual's or group's power and status in society. It is not just about the quantity of social connections one has, but also about the quality and utility of those connections. The concept highlights how social networks and the resources they provide can create or reinforce inequalities since individuals within more privileged networks are able to leverage their connections to gain further social, economic, and cultural advantages (1986).

Bourdieu's conceptualisation of social and cultural capital is of a form of power that individuals possess, which is acknowledged and valued in specific social contexts (Stewart, 2013, p.4). Foucault's disciplinary institutions are mechanisms through which these forms of

power are exercised, regulated, and normalised within society (Smith 2000, p.284). In other words, disciplinary institutions such as the NGS, are the structures that determine which forms of culture are valued and what therefore counts as cultural capital. Indeed, Bourdieu differentiated between legitimate culture and high culture (Stewart 2013, p.3) and highlighted how valued cultural objects are those which have been "consecrated by powerful institutions and people", legitimised through class-bound tastes through family socialisation and education (ibid.). In developing a concept of legitimate culture Bourdieu is recognising that high culture is often associated with morality and superiority perceived as more refined or virtuous compared to popular culture, which may be viewed as immoral or vulgar (Bourdieu 1984, p.16). This distinction reflects broader social processes and power dynamics, with high culture being naturalised, rather than the mechanisms which creates these divides, legitimisation, being recognised. This concept of legitimate culture will be returned to later.

Academics have considered the ways in which cultural capital, in all its forms, is tied to intergenerational transmission:

> Embodied cultural capital is accumulated in a lifelong process ... An early cultural socialization provided by parents is likely to leave its marks… thereby creating cultural distinctions that feel like natural differences, that the reproduction of embodied cultural capital is the best hidden form of intergenerational capital transmission (Kraaykamp and Eijck 2011, p.210).

Kraaykamp and Eijck explore further the ways in which institutionalised cultural capital is tied closely to the embodied and objectified states of cultural capital, in that children and young people have their academic experiences shaped by their "social class" (2011 p.211). In their study of the intergenerational reproduction of cultural capital they found that "a strong intergenerational transmission of cultural capital occurs" (2011 p.225), in which "parents who frequently engage in high-brow activities (and possess embodied capital) inculcate an interest in high-brow activities in their children. Parents rich in cultural goods are likely to have children who value cultural possessions as well" (ibid.).

Recognising and considering the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital may be important when working with young people, such as the young artists working with NGS outreach projects. If young people's cultural engagement is deeply influenced by the cultural capital inherited from their families, acknowledging this could help in understanding their backgrounds, behaviours, and attitudes (Raudenská and Bašná 2021). It has also been suggested that recognising familial cultural capital would allow cultural institutions to tailor educational and cultural experiences that resonate with the young audience's inherited cultural backgrounds, ensuring inclusivity and engagement whilst addressing inequalities (Kacane, Şentürk and Rovira Martínez 2023). Furthermore, if intergenerational transmission of cultural capital is pivotal in shaping the cultural identities of young people, cultural institutions can play a role in affirming, exploring, and expanding these identities (Kundu, Liu and Ahn 2023).

It is important to note that critics have argued that Bourdieu's theories of social and cultural capital, including the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital, lean towards structuralist determinism, implying that social structures predominantly determine individual

actions, and that agency may be very limited within the constraints of these structures (Lovell 2001; Yang 2014). However, Bourdieu did not entirely negate individual agency but argued for a complex interplay between structure and agency, where social structures influence but don't entirely dictate individual actions (Peters 2013).

2.2.2 An overview of Bourdieu's theory of habitus and Skeggs' respectability

Bourdieu's theory of habitus refers to a system of durable, transposable dispositions that guide an individual's thoughts, perceptions, and actions. Habitus is subjective; a system of internalised structures and schemes of perception that are shaped by societal influences and historical context. These are ingrained in individuals through their life experiences and social upbringing (Edgerton and Roberts 2014). The concept of habitus is central to understanding how societal structures are embodied and enacted by individuals. It is also intricately linked with the concepts of cultural capital and field, shaping an individual's position and practice within the social spaces they navigate. Habitus is instrumental in the reproduction of social structures and conditions, as individuals unconsciously adhere to established patterns of behaviour and thought that are like their social origins and upbringing (Power 1999).

It has already been mentioned how Bourdieu discussed legitimate culture rather than high culture. Bourdieu also explored the role and complex dynamics of taste, in unifying individuals of similar cultural and economic backgrounds and accentuating the distinctions between diverse social classes. Taste expressions, particularly in art, clothing, food, literature, and music, can sometimes be powerful, enabling the elite to exert dominance over the less privileged (Stewart 2013). As Stewart explains, Bourdieu was interested in exploring taste and cultural objects, including visual art:

> Bourdieu (1984) considers taste in its broadest sense… why it is that certain individuals seem to naturally gravitate towards complex works of art... [he argues that] they will have acquired, over the course of time, an aesthetic disposition – a way of perceiving the world that is attentive to form rather than function (2013 p.4).

Skeggs' used Bourdieu's theories of cultural capital and habitus, to explore the significance of *respectability* as one of the most ubiquitous signifiers of class in a study of working-class women's experiences of further education in the Northwest of England (1997), a context with some similarities to the areas worked in by NGS outreach projects. For Skeggs, respectability is a concern for those who feel they lack it (tied to notions of class, gender, and sexuality) and it plays a crucial role in how individuals negotiate and understand themselves in relation to the social world (1997 p.6). Skeggs (2004) recognised the role of cultural capital in the formation of respectability, suggesting that the acquisition and display of cultural capital are crucial for achieving a sense of respectability. The value attributed to different forms of cultural capital is not uniform but is influenced by the prevailing social, economic, and moral systems of exchange (Olsson 2008, p.76). Respectability, therefore, becomes a way of accumulating and embodying valued forms of capital, especially for those from less privileged backgrounds. It serves as a mechanism for negotiating social value and recognition, often in the face of structural inequalities and class-based judgments (Olsson, 2008 p.76). As Olsson writes; "… performing respectability is or can be an important strategy (in the sense that

Michel de Certeau talks about it) used by individuals as well as groups in order to maintain power to exclude/include individuals as well as groups from/in full community membership" (2008 p.77).

Skeggs argued that respectability is linked to self-worth and the feminine aesthetic (1997 p.105) and highlighted the effort that working-class women put into presenting themselves in ways that align with neoliberal values of self-improvement and individual responsibility (Craig 2021, p.23). Over time, however, Skeggs observed a shift where different working class women she studied, rather than striving for middle-class approval, began to reject the norms of respectability. For example as women got older they became more interested in "doing as many things as possible… the desire for attaching value via respectability to themselves as defence was gone; they didn't care what judgemental middle-class others thought anymore" (2011 p.510). This resistance could potentially be seen as a response to the pressures and norms imposed by neoliberal ideologies.

Skeggs' understanding of respectability may be applied to visual art and cultural consumption by the young artists that are worked with by the outreach team at the NGS in several ways. Firstly, visual art can be seen as a platform for the negotiation and communication of identities. Art may be a site of struggle over respectability and class status, where the cultural capital of both the artist and audience come into play. The aesthetics, subject matter, and presentation of artwork can signal certain class and other identities, which can either affirm or challenge societal norms around respectability. The ability to interpret and appreciate certain kinds of art, deciding what art is considered of quality or not, is a form of cultural capital typically associated with upper classes. Furthermore, the production and consumption of visual art are influenced by the intersection of class and gender; who gets to produce art, what kinds of art they produce, and how that art is received can all be shaped by class and gender dynamics. Women artists, particularly those from working-class backgrounds, may face specific challenges in achieving recognition and respectability in the art world, reflecting broader societal inequalities. At the same time, as suggested by older women, visual art can serve as a vehicle for the critique or subversion of societal norms around class, gender, and respectability. Artists may use their work to challenge stereotypes, reveal hidden power dynamics, or to potentially provide platforms to those with marginalised perspectives. In this sense, visual art may also be a form of resistance against the societal constraints identified by Skeggs.

Skeggs' conceptualisation of respectability also helps to recognise ways in which representations of class underserve those they describe. As she noted "representations of working-class women (historically and contemporary) are more likely to be products of fear, desire and projection than of knowledge and understanding" (1997 p.161). She further illuminates a complex knot of "being and becoming classed" (ibid.), in which the capital that is convertible or available to be capitalised on was not available to the working-class women she was studying. Importantly she emphasised the importance of local contestations over cultural and symbolic forms of respectability. This is vital to consider when exploring the outreach work of the NGS which occurs *in* local communities. The local environment is where different class and gender dynamics are negotiated and contested, and where individuals strive to achieve a form of respectability. For the women Skeggs studied:

> Respectability was used to make the movement in and out of the local, to increase their tradable assets, to generate distance from the representation of them as pathological and to claim legitimacy outside and inside the local. It was used to show they were worthy, they have value and that they should not be written off. (1997 p.161).

Skeggs further discusses how respectability impacted these women's positioning and responses to various social issues, including sexuality. She found that the local culture and community play a significant role in shaping these norms of respectability, and individuals navigate and negotiate their identities and behaviours in relation to these locally established norms.

2.2.3 Alternative views of cultural capital in UK cultural policies

In his book *Cultural Capital: The Rise and Fall of Creative Britain* Hewison provides an introduction to how concepts of cultural capital were first utilised by the New Labour Government in 1997. He highlights how the New Labour Government resulted in a marked period where the bonds between the government and cultural sectors grew rapidly (Gross, 2015). Hewison views the concept of cultural capital not just as a theoretical construct but as a practical tool and advocates for the essential role of government in nurturing and safeguarding public cultural spaces through its policies and funding mechanisms (2014 p.234).

Hewison celebrates the potential of cultural capital, writing "cultural capital is not an exclusive commodity that can be traded in the market. It is a public good whose value increases when more people possess it, not fewer" (2014 p.234). Levitas provides an alternative understanding of cultural capital and its role within cultural policy. Critiquing cultural policies' vagueness and emphasis on the concept of poverty and social exclusion (2001, p.7). She highlights how concepts of cultural capital within UK cultural policies "diverge sharply" from Bourdieu's conceptualisations (2004 p.41). Levitas recognises the ways in which social exclusion interconnects with cultural capital, and the naturalisation of the term 'cultural capital' within cultural policy and politics more broadly: "I am generally wary of the proliferation of terms such as social capital, cultural capital and human capital. They seem to me to reinforce the normalisation and naturalisation of capitalism itself" (2004 p.50).

Levitas specifically highlights how the conceptualisation of cultural capital in UK policies individualises cultural capital, focussing on how cultural capital resides in individuals rather than in groups, resulting in its commodification. She notes that "as a concept, it [cultural capital] contributes to the symbolic erasure of actually existing class relations, rather than shedding light on how class domination is sustained" (2004 p.53). The tensions between these understandings of cultural capital in policy and politics might be recognised as reflecting thinking based within the "present condition" and that of "a utopian method" (Levitas, 2001 p.419). I recognise the value of both forms of thinking. However I am attracted to a "utopian method" which would: "offer a more critical perspective on the present… encourage us to think about the interrelationships of social processes" (2001 p.450).

It is possible to consider Skeggs' identification of the efforts working-class women make to align with neo-liberal, capitalist, values of self-improvement (Craig 2021, p.23), in Levitas'

terms. Skeggs' found that over time these values became less important to the working-class women she studied. Considering a "utopian method" of social policy (and in turn cultural policy) could lead to the production of "alternative circuits of value/s" (Skeggs 2011, p.500). As Skeggs (2011 p.510) highlights: "not all people want to engage in, or can access, the value practices necessary for becoming a capital loaded fetish form of value. They may have better things to do with their time and energy". Concerns relating to this embedding of neo-liberal values within cultural policy will be explored in future chapters.

2.2.4 Bourdieu, (mis)recognition, Fraser and Honneth

Bourdieu's concept of misrecognition is closely tied to his theory of habitus and refers to the process whereby social agents unknowingly accept and legitimise the social world's structures and power relations as natural. Misrecognition involves the denial or misunderstanding of the social and power dynamics at play in societal structures, leading to the perpetuation of social inequalities and power imbalances (James 2015). Bourdieu's idea of misrecognition is often contrasted with Fraser's concepts of recognition and redistribution. While Fraser sees struggles for recognition as analytically distinct from conflicts over economic redistribution, Bourdieu's concept of misrecognition encompasses both cultural and economic aspects of social justice, indicating that they are deeply intertwined (McNay 2008).

Misrecognition is essential to Bourdieu's theory as it helps to understand how social order is maintained and how power structures are reproduced over time without being overtly enforced or questioned. It is a form of symbolic violence where individuals internalise and accept social hierarchies and inequalities as given, thereby perpetuating the existing social order (Lovell 2007, p.6).

Fraser's work on social justice provides a framework for analysing various forms of injustice, including misrecognition. Her work is vital in exploring the different methods and approaches policies (like cultural policies), as well as institutions (such as the NGS) can take in working with people and how they legitimise their work. For Fraser, recognition can be understood as:

> …some sort of cultural or symbolic change. This could involve upwardly revaluing disrespected identities and the cultural products of maligned groups. It could also involve recognising and positively valorising cultural diversity. More radically still, it could involve the wholesale transformation of societal patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication (1996, p.12).

Fraser explores tensions between the concepts of redistribution and recognition in tackling injustice. Whilst concerns for recognition often highlight differences between groups of people, redistribution aims to flatten these differences, for example through decentring class. Fraser (1996) suggests that redistributive justice is concerned with addressing the unequal distribution of material resources and opportunities within society, arguing that redistribution should not be limited to merely addressing economic disparities but should also challenge the underlying structures, power relations, and social norms that sustain inequality. This entails examining and transforming the ways in which resources are distributed, policies are implemented, and social institutions are structured (2003).

For Fraser, misrecognition is a form of social injustice as it denies some groups the ability to socially interact (2003). Recognition then, is a vital element for people to flourish both at a societal, but also an individual level. A point also made by Skeggs who found that; “recognition was context specific… changing over time, space and place. The production of themselves for recognition was deployed strategically” (1997 p.164). Recognition however can result in paternalistic forms of power emerging (Butler 2020). Butler highlights how broad applications of recognition, especially to those deemed vulnerable “ended up fortifying hierarchies that most urgently need to be dismantled” (2020 p.71). Butler’s concern highlights the tension inherent within theories of recognition: recognition is necessary for social existence and the formation of identity, yet it can also be a source of subjection and oppression. This duality arises because the norms governing recognition are not neutral—they are laden with power and can serve to marginalise and subjugate even as they support visibility and existence (Lepold 2018). These paternalistic forms of power will be explored as found in cultural policy later on in the thesis. Fraser developed a complex but useful theory to suggest that different forms of injustice require different approaches that intersect, in which both recognition and redistribution should be utilised.

Another useful concept developed by Fraser is *participatory parity* (2008). It is central to her theory of justice and is designed to address issues of redistribution, recognition, and representation. Participatory parity refers to a normative standard for assessing social justice, where justice is understood as a condition in which all members of a society can participate as equals in social life. For Fraser, achieving participatory parity involves overcoming two major obstacles: socio-economic inequality and cultural or symbolic injustice (2003, p.37). The former relates to the distribution of resources and economic structures that inhibit individuals or groups from participating on equal terms. The latter concerns institutionalised patterns of cultural value that deny certain individuals or groups the requisite standing to participate as peers in social life. These might manifest as forms of misrecognition, disrespect, or cultural domination (2003, p.36).

2.2.5 Crenshaw and intersectionality

Kimberlé Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality also complement and enhance Bourdieu’s wider theories. Both theorists are concerned with how social structures shape individuals’ experiences and opportunities. While Crenshaw focuses on intersectional identities and how they contribute to oppression (1991), Bourdieu examines the broader social and cultural structures that perpetuate inequality.

Interweaving Crenshaw's concept of intersectionality (1991) with the theories of Fraser and Skeggs offers an interesting opportunity for exploring social inequalities and identities. Crenshaw's intersectionality provides a methodology for understanding how multiple axes of identities (such as race, class, gender, and sexuality) intersect to produce unique experiences of oppression and privilege (1991, p.1241). This approach can enhance Fraser's dual focus on redistribution (economic justice) and recognition (cultural or symbolic justice) and Skeggs' exploration of respectability. For example, incorporating Skeggs’ analysis of class and gender, focusing on how respectability politics and the formation of classed and gendered identities operate within the intersecting oppressions identified by Crenshaw, could help explain how

social mobility and identity are navigated by individuals, particularly in the context of striving for recognition and respectability within oppressive structures.

2.3 Foucault: Disciplining Institutions and Concepts of Power

Bourdieu and Foucault converge on the idea that power is diffuse rather than centralised, operating through normative expectations and cultural dispositions (Bourdieu) or through discourses and institutional practices (Foucault). However, while Bourdieu focuses more concretely on the social and material conditions that shape and are shaped by habitus, Foucault emphasises the discursive formations and power/knowledge relations that contribute to the subject's experience. Foucault (1983) offers a potentially less deterministic view of power, recognising that power is not just concentrated in a few individuals or institutions, but is diffused throughout society, operating within various social networks, and exercised through discourse, knowledge, and everyday practices, allowing subjects to exert influence in numerous and often subtle ways.

The following section explores Foucault's concepts of power and the intricate relationship between knowledge, power, and the visual arts. In the context of galleries, this relationship manifests in the curation, collection, display, and interpretation of artworks, but can also be used to explore power within outreach interventions, visual art and the culture sector more broadly.

2.3.1 Foucault's institutions and power

Foucault develops multiple power-related concepts, and his dynamic view suggests that power is inherently complex and relational:

> Power…is a relationship between two individuals… Power is the exercise of something that one could call *government* in a very wide sense of the term. One can govern a society, one can govern a group, a community, a family; one can govern a person… one can determine one's behaviour in terms of a strategy by resorting to a number of tactics (1977, p.131).

For Foucault, these "tactics" are fundamentally linked to fields of knowledge, specifically to those associated with new professions and knowledge i.e., disciplinary power: "Sometimes this form of power was exerted by the state apparatus or, by a public institution… sometimes the power was exercised by private ventures, welfare societies, benefactors, and generally by philanthropists" (2001, p.212).

Agar defines an institution as "a socially legitimated expertise together with those persons authorised to implement it" (1985, p.164), suggesting that institutions are not bound to physical spaces, instead they occur amongst groups. "Agar's definition also includes the conception of institutions as involving asymmetrical roles between institutional representatives or 'experts' and 'non-experts' or 'clients', who must comply with institutional norms and objectives" (Simpson, Statham and Mayr 2019, p.8). The concept of knowledge, of who has it and their position in relation to institutions is intertwined with the concept of power, but for Foucault power moves beyond the institution. This concept of power will be

used to explore dynamics within the NGS, and those outside of it (such as with the young artists involved with NGS outreach projects) in future chapters.

2.3.2 Foucault's concept of disciplinary institutions and their application to galleries such as the NGS and possibilities of resistance

According to Foucault, disciplinary institutions refer to specific types of social institutions, like prisons, schools, and hospitals, that are designed to exercise power and control over individuals to produce "docile bodies" (1979, p.135), shaped and controlled through strict regimens, surveillance, and normalisation processes (Ki 2020) and ultimately self-regulation. Disciplinary power is not just punitive but also productive; it produces individuals who self-regulate their behaviours in alignment with societal norms and expectations (Ki 2020). In disciplinary institutions, power is not centralised but is diffused and embedded in everyday practices and routines. Foucault illustrates this with the concept of "the Panopticon", a prison design where inmates are constantly visible to the guards but cannot see them, leading to self-surveillance and self-discipline due to the uncertainty of being watched (Kaplan 1995).

There are several ways that concepts of disciplinary institutions can be applied to visual art galleries, such as the NGS. First through the art canon. Galleries may discipline the mindset of audiences by shaping and directing the ways art is perceived and understood, as people generally consider galleries as reliable sources of cultural knowledge (Che, 2013, p.407). This perception leads to galleries' role alongside academic and other cultural institutions, and the artworks they collect, care for, and display in the development and dissemination of the wider canon of art history. These institutions, guided by power dynamics, determine what is considered "worthy" art and who are considered "worthy" artists (Mills 2003, p.127). The concept of surveillance is also relevant; galleries often employ surveillance mechanisms, through security personnel, to ensure that visitors adhere to expected behaviours, a constant observation that encourages self-regulation (Chen 2013, p.407).

These normative behaviours are echoed across the arts. Kirsty Sedgman explores the tensions between "engagement and elitism, 'active' and 'passive' audiencing" (2018, p.4) with expected behaviours being "firmly grounded in subjective (racist, classist, sexist, ableist) biases" (2018, p.114). She further highlights the ways in which arts organisations are often likened to churches, or at least those that "justify a homogeneously quiet tradition of spectatorial reverence" (2018, p.116).

Sedgman's work is a vital reminder of the ways in which disciplinary institutions enact power, often in ways which maintain racist, classist, sexist, ableist biases . Her work ties together ways in which arts organisations, such as the NGS, enact power on audiences resulting in expected behaviours. This is particularly important to consider in relation to the young artists worked with during outreach interventions who may not share the NGS' cultural values, and the attitudes towards them and reception of their artworks by the NGS and others.

2.3.3 Disciplinary institutions and the implications for galleries

In contrast, through his exploration of contemporary social struggles and uprisings, Raunig (2013, p.49) suggests a need for a reassessment of the importance of knowledge and cultural

production. For Raunig, the role of the university and of galleries should not be to act as a factory of knowledge, but rather as a space for creative disobedience. However, Raunig also recognises that these spaces, like 19th century factories, offer opportunities to bring people together.

By utilising Raunig's understanding of the university it is possible to explore the tension between work created during outreach interventions and those by the *well-known* artists working in a social practice exhibited within galleries and museums as a possibility for creative resistance and disobedience (2013, p.49). By exhibiting art works (like those created by young artists in outreach projects) within a disciplining institution, these practices could potentially be understood as examples of the creation of autonomous free spaces within those institutions. Furthermore, the work created outside of these institutions and never exhibited, never seen by an audience, are created within an *auto-formazione* (ibid.), a self-organised, autonomous, free space. The importance Raunig places on autonomous free spaces suggests a shift away from traditional, hierarchical structures of learning towards a more decentralised, collaborative, and self-directed environment.

Raunig's work further highlights how knowledge formation and sharing exists within disciplining institutions, and the ways in which social practices and outreach practices may draw on a specific form of intellectuality: "social intellectuality". In Raunig's view Foucault distinguished multiple forms of truth discourses, but emphasised that those whose role was to impart knowledge were rooted within hierarchical and patriarchal European histories (2013, p.54). In contrast, social intellectuality "transgress[es] the privatist model of intellectuality of the solitary thinking, solitary writing and… open[s] up forms of intellectuality that can be imagined as strictly inclusive and no longer solely available to classic knowledge workers" (2013, p.63). This is relevant to social practices and art outreach practices since there is not one single intellect, or intellectual, being championed, rather a collective intellectuality from multiple singularities.

Raunig moves on to discuss that "social intellectuality... is not the vague quality of a "collective intelligence," taking recourse to a communalized pool of know-how..." (ibid.). Rather, it is seen as "emerging in the struggles" (ibid.), and as being the antidote to the notion of hierarchical, patriarchal intellectual knowledge giver that predominates in disciplining institutions. Social intellectuality also pushes against the notions of the independent artist according to Raunig. Like Foucault, Raunig has a strong belief that art has the capability to form new ways of living. "Aesthetics as ethics", Raunig calls it, riffing on the work of Foucault, "forming life as living together" (2013, p.106). Fundamental to this is the toppling of the independent artist and the sole intellectual, and rather a celebration of social intellectuality which will result in a "molecular activism" (2013, p.112). Such ideas of "molecular activism" to produce these more meaningful and non-subservient ways of living (2013, p.51) build on the work of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, whose understanding of the molecular highlights the processes, flows, and intensities operating at a smaller scale, beneath or between fixed and stable formations. It emphasises the presence of multiplicities, "becoming", and "assemblages", challenging hierarchical and centralised models of understanding (Deleuze and Guattari 1987). The molecular level is where new possibilities, connections, and subjectivities emerge, contributing to a more decentralised understanding of the world (Raunig, Derieg and Negri 2013). Within my research the environment of the

outreach projects where intellectual contributions were recognised as emerging from the collective experiences and struggles of the young artists was vital. The multiplicity of experiences the young artists explored was considered critical by the young artists.

2.3.5 Tactics, the everyday and the work of de Certeau building on Foucault

De Certeau was influenced by Foucault's ideas on power and how it permeates every level of society. However, unlike Bourdieu and Foucault his focus is on the everyday use and manipulation of the system by ordinary people. De Certeau's concept of "strategy" refers to the tools and methods used by those in positions of power to control or organise society often within institutional structures, creating spaces that are governed, aligning with Foucault's analysis of how institutions shape social practices.

However, de Certeau's concept of "tactics" (the ways individuals navigate, manipulate, and subvert the structured environments in which they exist (Silverstone 1989) challenges Bourdieu's somewhat deterministic concept of habitus (King 2000). He asserts the creativity and agency of individuals in everyday practices, illustrating that people are not just passive recipients of structural influences but active agents who innovate and improvise within given structures (Silverstone 1989).

De Certeau's work highlights the importance of recognizing the ways in which individuals are not passive but actively engage with and transform cultural practices and representations in their daily lives. It provides a lens for understanding the agency and creativity of people and their ability to subvert and shape culture according to their own needs and desires. Unlike the emphasis Raunig places on "molecular activism" within institutions (2013, p.11), de Certeau's work celebrates how everyday practices, of "reading, talking, dwelling, cooking, etc" (2011, p.xx), are in and of themselves creatively engaged with acts of subversion as they produce without contributing to capitalisation. This therefore celebrates the everyday practices that often go unnoticed, highlighting the ingenuity and resourcefulness of individuals in their everyday lives.

The everyday, then, is a powerful space which is often ignored or undervalued. De Certeau highlights the "ruses," "fragmentation," and "clandestine nature" (2011, p.36) of everyday practices, emphasising their tireless and quiet activity. In my view, Levitas, Skeggs and de Certeau all connect in their desire to push against notions of capital and value and all three critique the dominant structures and ideologies upheld by capitalist societies. De Certeau underscores the micro-level, everyday resistances and creative practices that challenge systemic impositions, whilst Skeggs questions individuals "becoming a capital loaded fetish" (2011, p.510). In contrast, Levitas engages in a macro-level, theoretical exploration of alternatives to capital arrangements, emphasising utopian thinking as a tool for transcending existing structures. Indeed, it will be highlighted how the young artists' recognised their contribution to culture as capable of subversion.

2.4 Bishop and Kester, Introducing the Idea of Art as a Social Practice

Much of the artwork created by the young artists discussed in this thesis, would fall under the descriptor of "participatory art" (Bell 2017, p.73). The young artists made artworks as a result

of being involved in participatory art projects, however the artworks they made were also often participatory in nature as they engaged audiences to participate in them. The following, then, provides insights into some of the ongoing heated discourses and debates surrounding the value and purpose of such artworks.

The critical discourse on the social practice of art, as articulated in the debates between Kester and Bishop, resonates with the themes of power, discourse, agency, and resistance explored above. The following section, then, provides an overview of ongoing debates surrounding visual "participatory art" (Bell 2017, p.73). These debates broadly focus on Kester's enthusiasm for the "dialogical" (2011) nature of art, where the value of an artwork is not solely in its aesthetic or material form, but in the social interactions and dialogues it generates, breaking down the hierarchy between professional and non-professional artists. Bishop meanwhile is critical of the emphasis on social utility and Kester's enthusiasm for troubling the professional/non-professional divide, arguing that it can diminish the autonomy and criticality of art and artists (2012).

2.4.1 Claire Bishop: Art as a social practice and as experiential

Bishop's *Artificial Hells* (2012) provides a historical and theoretical overview of the increasing effort towards a "social practice" within visual art. Bishop's central narrative focuses on the "disavowed relationship" (2012, p.26) between social practices of art and the aesthetic. That is, the social practice of art pushes against the normative understandings of aesthetics, or what makes a piece of art good, or bad. Bishop draws on the work of Rancière to discuss the role of *experience* in relation to art:

> … I have adopted Rancière's idea of art as an autonomous realm of experience in which there is no privileged medium. The meaning of artistic forms shifts in relation to the uses also made of these forms by society at large, and as such they have no intrinsic or fixed political affiliation (2012, p.30)

Such views therefore emphasise the freedom and diversity of artistic expression and Bishop's the dynamic nature of artistic forms and their meanings, which as Bishop suggests are not fixed but rather shift in relation to how society utilises and interprets them.

Bishop discusses many artistic practices, and in the culminating chapter of *Artificial Hells* focuses solely on "Pedagogic Projects" (2012, p.241) by modern and contemporary artists such as Joseph Beuys, Tania Bruguera, Paul Chan, and Pawel Althamer. These projects are characterised by their educational and participatory nature, aiming to engage audiences in active learning experiences. The term "pedagogical" emphasises the role that the artist becomes a facilitator or guide, and the audience becomes active participants in the creation and interpretation of the artwork.

Bishop's writing suggests an understanding of the relationship between the aesthetic and political but does not explore work happening outside of the art establishment, work such as that created during outreach interventions. All the art explored by Bishop is high profile, established within the art canon, art criticism, art theory and in art galleries.

2.4.2 Bishop's problematization of social art practice

A pivotal moment within *Artificial Hells* is Bishop's discussion of the exhibiting of *social art*, which she understands as a form of participatory art that engages with social and political issues. She explores the idea of art as a social practice that goes beyond traditional aesthetic concerns and focuses on creating social interactions, collaborations, and interventions. In her view, social art encompasses artistic practices that aim to involve participants and communities directly in the creation and experience of the artwork, often in the form of participatory installations, workshops, performances, and public interventions. These projects are characterised by their emphasis on collective action, dialogue, and shared experiences (2012, p.27).

Bishop focuses her understanding of social art on its political implications and the potential for transformative social change. She argues that social art is not merely about fostering social interactions or creating temporary communities but should also critically engage with power dynamics, social inequality, and institutional structures:

> …the objection [is] that artists who end up exhibiting their work in galleries and museums compromise their projects' social and political aspirations… it reinforces the hierarchies of elite culture… art is ultimately produced for, and consumed by, a middle-class gallery audience and wealthy collectors (2012, p.37).

Bishop goes on to assert that understanding high culture (as found in art galleries) as being produced for the ruling and middle classes suggests that "'the people' (the marginalised, the excluded) can only be emancipated by direct inclusion in the production of a work" (2012, p.38). Bishop sees this rhetoric as common amongst arts funders and policies of social inclusion. For her it suggests that "the poor" can only engage physically whilst the middle classes have the opportunity to think and critically reflect, which only further reinstates prejudices whereby the working-class is "restricted to manual labour" (ibid.).

Whilst Bishop adopts an understanding of art as experiential, rather than purely aesthetic, this experience remains limited in her writing to the experience of viewing art works in the traditional sense of audiences viewing work. Bishop's notions of the experiential nature of visual art do incorporate the experience for the maker. Whilst Bishop adopts Rancière's idea "of art as an autonomous realm of experience in which there is no privileged medium" (2012, p.29), her exploration remains well within what can be understood as the *canonical.* Bishop's analysis of social practices therefore offers interesting insights into the historical and political realm of social art practices but, again, fails to recognise work occurring outside of the canon. However, her work provides a springboard to develop and explore more expansive understandings of visual art, and her understanding of social art which emphasises collective action, dialogue, and shared experiences (2021, p.27) is an important thread throughout this thesis.

2.4.3 Grant H. Kester: building on the idea of visual art as a social practice

Kester critiques Bishop and pushes her understanding of the social practice of art further, recognising that the shift to collaborative and social practices has "the greatest potential for

transforming and reenergizing artistic practice… precisely at those points where its established identity is most seriously at risk" (2011, p.1). He disputes Bishop's emphasis on the integral role of artists in creating powerful artworks, seeking to diffuse the power hierarchies for those that participate in creating artworks more broadly. Kester is also interested in how participation and collaboration are articulated differently across practices and sites (2011, p.9). Unlike Bishop he shifts discussions outside of the well-known art world and celebrates the expansive practices unrecognised within the canon.

In many respects, Kester can be considered at odds with Bishop in his celebration of the dissolution of the artistic canon through collaborative practices. However, Bishop and Kester are both hostile towards participatory art practices being used as tools for social inclusion agendas. Kester celebrates truly collaborative practices, nothing that work which is driven from "the top down" will always have unequal power dynamics, with projects stemming from the wants and wishes of those with the most power (2011, p.210).

For Kester, these top-down projects will never be genuinely collaborative, or able to develop social inclusion. Kester encourages sharing the autonomy of truly collaborative artworks, whilst Bishop asserts that these works lead to artworks which are uninteresting to those who have not collaborated. For Bishop, it is the artist's role to create "unease, discomfort...frustration...fear, contradiction, exhilaration and absurdity" (2006b, p.24). By pushing the boundaries of artistic practice, Bishop believes that professional artists can create works that are more engaging and meaningful to those who have actively collaborated in their creation. This involvement of participants can lead to a deeper level of connection and understanding of the artwork, making it less accessible or interesting to those who have not directly experienced the collaborative process. Whilst Bishop and Kester's differences may appear minor, they fundamentally disagree on the role of artistic authorship. In contrast, Kester wants to dissolve the realms of professional and non-professional to challenge hierarchies, although, interestingly, he does not do so by including collaborative voices in his single-authored book.

In the journal *Artforum*, Kester and Bishop challenged one another's stances in open letters. Kester asserted that "Bishop seems determined to enforce a fixed and rigid boundary between 'aesthetic' projects and activist works" (2006, p.22). Bishop meanwhile retorted that Kester's "righteous aversion to authorship can only lead to the end of provocative art and thinking" (2006a, p.23). The exchange between Bishop and Kester was heated highlighting the increasing tension between those that champion the artistic canon, and those that challenge, potentially shining a light on the tensions which may occur within institutions (like the NGS).

2.4.4 Kester and Bishop: working together

Whilst the debate between Bishop and Kester is useful in considering alternative conceptualisations of participatory art practices, many contemporary theorists have tried to synthesise their approaches. Bell (2017), for example, combines Bishop's emphasis on the critical function and autonomy of the artist with Kester's focus on collaboration and socially engaged art, developing an approach that values both the artist's critical and autonomous role (as emphasised by Bishop) and the participatory, inclusive processes central to socially

engaged art (as celebrated by Kester). Bell recognises artists as facilitators who both introduce critical perspectives and enable participatory spaces for public engagement. For Bell, this synthesis could lead to a dynamic where dissensus emerges organically from the collaborative production of knowledge and experience (2017, p.81). In this way, the artist's critical interventions and the participatory processes of art creation are not mutually exclusive but complementary, fostering a richer, more nuanced form of socially engaged art that is both critically incisive and inclusively participatory (ibid.). Bell's nuanced perspective provides a further critical lens through which to explore the work of the NGS outreach projects.

2.5 Chapter Summary

The above theoretical framework draws on a variety of theoretical perspectives to develop complex understandings of power, and applies them to the field of visual art. At the heart of this framework, and in the first section of this chapter, are Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and social and cultural capital, which provide a lens through which visual art and galleries (such as the NGS) can be viewed as institutions with complex power hierarchies. Bourdieu's theories are complemented by Skeggs' research which further investigates the role of cultural capital in the formation of respectability. I determined to apply Skeggs' work to visual art and galleries, highlighting how art may act as a vehicle for resistance and social critique.

Levitas' work helped to apply Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital within the context of cultural policies. Their contributions serve to contextualise Bourdieu's ideas, albeit from very different perspectives. I found relief in the work of Levitas, and I associate my research with her emphasis on policy (and practices) having a role in imagining alternative social worlds. Levitas' work was particularly important when exploring the artworks created during NGS outreach projects and contemporary cultural policies. This section of the framework culminated in an exploration of Fraser's development of Bourdieu's concept of misrecognition by framing it within her broader theory of justice. While Bourdieu focused on the internalised structures and schemes of perception and conception, Fraser extended this concept to include the role of recognition in justice and politics (Lovell 2007). Recognition (and misrecognition) is vital when considering how institutions enact inclusivity agendas, such as the NGS' outreach projects (Martineau, Meer and Thompson 2012).

The second section of the framework applied Foucault's work on power and disciplinary institutions to galleries, such as the NGS, and developed an understanding of an institution full of contradictions. Recognising galleries as potential disciplinary institutions allows us to reflect on the ways they create normative behaviours, which may maintain racist, classist, sexist, ableist biases (Sedgman 2018, p.114). However this second section moved on to explore the work of Raunig highlighting acts of "molecular activism" (2013, p.112) as possible within institutions, such as the NGS. This notion of activism is not about large-scale, sweeping changes but rather smaller, molecular transformations that collectively lead to significant societal shifts. This second section concluded with a brief exploration of the work of de Certeau, and the role that everyday practices have in their tireless and quiet activity and the agency which comes with this.

Finally, the closing section highlights the intensity of ongoing debates over the role of participatory art works, at a theoretical level. Unlike previous sections where I apply theories

to the realm of visual art, here theorists directly discuss the role of visual art. However, unlike Bishop and Kester, my research works directly with the people partaking in participatory practices to support their experiences in being championed and there is the possibility of my research providing vital reflections on the role of participatory art projects, an area neglected by both Bishop and Kester.

The following chapter develops two literature reviews. The first provides a review of studies exploring the impacts of precisely such projects: arts interventions with young people, like those projects being delivered by the NGS outreach team. The second analyses literature exploring how arts and cultural projects are evaluated.

3. Literature Reviews: Exploring Research on the Impacts of Projects with Young People Similar to the Projects the National Galleries of Scotland Outreach Team Deliver; and a Critical Exploration of Current Evaluation Methods within the Arts.

3.1 Introduction

The following chapter is divided into three key areas. The first provides a contextual background to the following two literature reviews and insight into how the literature was gathered for each. The second section, and first literature review, explores studies investigating the impacts of visual art activities on young people. The final section of the chapter reviews and critiques evaluation practices relevant in such activities.

The first literature review first explores UK literature based on UK projects, the location of my research. The UK is somewhat unique in its emphasis on arts and cultural projects as attempting to "transform" (Scottish Government 2020, p.5) communities and individuals. In contrast Denmark, France, Sweden, Australia and other countries emphasise an equality of access without the expectation of transformation (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 2022). This review then explores literature from outside of the UK, and finally literature that met only some of the inclusion criteria[2] for the literature review. In addition, some international literature which met the exclusion criteria, and which has contributed towards the discourses of UK based arts practice and policy, is also discussed.

The second literature review is markedly different and explores the complexities of evaluating art and cultural projects. This literature review offers insights into the tensions in attempts to evaluate complex cultural projects, and how, as a result, cultural policy makers encourage arts organisations to make oversimplified and unsupported claims of social impact (Belfiore 2002; 2006). It focusses on UK based literature, recognising its direct ties to UK based cultural policy.

Overall, this chapter provides insights into theoretical and practical gaps in research into visual art impacts on young people (through both broad conceptualisations of evaluation and empirical research into specific projects of visual art's impacts). The two literature reviews shed light on emerging discourses of poverty, difference, engagement, and disciplinary behaviour. They also suggest that there are gaps within current literature, making it difficult to draw conclusions about the specific impacts of visual art activities on young people and suggesting that further research is needed specifically focussed on visual art impacts rather than other art activities (music, dance, and drama) that have received attention.

[2] The full inclusion and exclusion criteria can be found on page 38, but includes; young people under the age of 11 years old, or over the age of 25 years old; interventions in hospitals or acute settings, special schools and young offenders' institutes; no results, outcomes, or impacts presented; non-English language, unspecified data collection and dissemination

3.2 Background to the Literature Reviews

In their recent review of World Health Organization (WHO) and the UK Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) research which claims the arts have important roles in promoting health and reducing social inequalities, Clift et.al write:

> … the paucity of research evidence [for these claims] is again striking, with most of it coming from outside the UK. The use and relevance of this body of literature for formulating policy in the UK, on the role of the arts for social and health benefits, must surely be in question…the field must rely on rigorous systematic reviews involving careful quality assessment (2021, p.13).

They conclude that "arts and health research undertaken for the WHO and DCMS… do not show that a substantial, robust evidence base exists to support arguments that arts engagement can improve health and reduce social and health inequalities" (2021, p.17). This chapter takes note of the criticisms by Clift et. al. (and those of the Arts and Humanities Research Council noted in chapter one) to ensure that the literature reviewed should be of use and relevance to my specific research project and pays particular attention to "quality assessment" of research. As such the literature reviewed within this first literature review is detailed within Appendix 10.1, 10.2 and 10.3 highlighting potential weaknesses and strengths.

Previous literature reviews exploring the impacts of visual art activities on young people have often focussed on multi-art forms (Bungay, 2013; Zarobe, 2017; Clift, 2021; Robb, 2021), including music-making, theatre, and performance as well as visual art activities. These reviews, despite some critiques, broadly conclude that engaging with the arts has positive impacts on individuals as well as society. The aim of the first literature review, therefore, is to develop an understanding of the extant research into work like the NGS outreach projects as well as other UK visual art projects. It also reflects on common discourses across this literature which in turn contribute to policies and practices.

Overall, the chapter therefore focuses on the gaps in previous literature reviews by;

- Exploring research into the impact of UK visual art interventions on young people, typically within galleries, museums, and working with artists;
- Focussing on "young people" (11-25) as previous literature reviews have often included children as young as 7 (Bungay 2013; Zarobe 2017) to ensure the age range covers those typically targeted by the outreach team at the NGS and who are typically within "the transition period from childhood to adulthood" (Sawyer et al. 2018);
- Summarising findings from studies outside of the UK as well as those which met initial exclusion criteria such as those that include large age ranges within appendices 10.2 and 10.3;
- Exploring literature aimed at investigating problems and challenges associated with evaluation within the arts and cultural sector.

Policy makers and practitioners often rely on a wide range of literature, including studies across various art forms and more informal, unsystematic sources (Clift 2021), to back claims

of the arts' positive impacts. However, it's the referencing of such literature by policy makers that generates the narratives within which art organisations operate and cultural policies are formed. Therefore, this literature review includes both grey literature, typically produced by organisations in a less formal manner and not always peer-reviewed, and more methodically rigorous sources. The inclusion of grey literature, despite its often informal creation process, acknowledges its influence on policy and practice alongside more traditionally academic research.

3.2.1 Previous Literature Reviews

As mentioned, literature reviews exploring the impacts of visual art activities on young people have previously focussed on multi-art forms (Bungay 2013; Lonie 2016; Zarobe 2017; Robb 2021). Creative Scotland, the non-departmental government body responsible for most Scottish arts funding, commissioned a literature review to "explore the experiences of young people taking part in a range of creative and cultural activities within and beyond Scotland" (Lonie 2016, p.7) as part of a larger piece of work assessing the impacts of their funding on young people. The Creative Scotland review examined 50 studies, 40 of which were in the form of 'grey' literature (organisational reports and evaluations). Of these, only three pieces of literature focused on visual art activities, two of which were based outside of the UK and involved health professionals and very young children.

The Creative Scotland review asserted that "we can only really understand the effects of young people's creative participation by allowing them to explain it and communicate their experiences on their own terms" (Lonie 2016, p.12); and "the variety in standards and types of evidence made it difficult to draw general conclusions about the benefits of the arts for young people experiencing additional challenges" (2016, p.10). This review also raised the important question "at what point does encouraging a young person to 'take the next step'[3] become a process of coercion with the aim of meeting a particular funding target rather than a reflection of their needs or wishes?" (ibid.).

Like the review by Creative Scotland above, Zarobe et.al. mention "the range of research methods and outcome measurement utilised and the different arts activities included in the studies reviewed" (2017, p.341), and conclude that;

> what is clear is that there remains a significant gap in the research evidence directly linking arts participation and the promotion of mental wellbeing and resilience... [and] many of [the studies cited] lack sufficient methodological rigour (p.346).

Bungay et. al echo these concerns as to the lack of rigour and of validated outcomes measured (2013, p.51). Despite these critiques, both Zarobe et.al. and Bungay et. al. came to similar conclusions that participating in arts activities had positive impacts on young people.

12 of the 31 studies explored by Zarobe et. al. were represented by 'grey' literature and neither Zarobe et.al. or Bungay et. al explored work that exclusively focussed on visual art and

[3] 'take the next step' here means to engage further with an arts organisation.

young people. As in the Creative Scotland literature review, arts and culture were treated as synonymous across forms. These literature reviews then, whilst highlighting the complexity of exploring the impacts of the arts due to a lack of "methodological rigour", still combine all arts forms together when discussing potential impacts. The first of my literature reviews below examines and considers the limitations of approaching a literature review in these ways and aims to provide a more nuanced reflection on the possible impacts that *visual art*, and not the arts more generally, can have on young people.

To date, there have been no significant literature reviews of the problems and challenges associated with evaluation within the arts and cultural sector. The second literature review presented in this chapter is a significant step in gathering and analysing the widespread discussions and critique of arts and cultural evaluation.

3.2.2 Literature reviews methods

A systematic search of the literature was undertaken across 16 databases, including; Elicit, ProQuest Central, Google Scholar, Sage Journals, Research Rabbit, and Scopus. The search terms and the detailed inclusion and exclusion criteria used for both literature reviews can be found in Tables one, two, three and four below. The terminology used was to ensure both comprehensive coverage of literature, as well as a focussed research scope. By employing a wide array of keywords across different thematic groups, such as "Culture", "Art", and specific terms like "Participatory art", I ensured that the literature search covers a broad spectrum of relevant studies. This approach helps in capturing diverse perspectives and studies on visual art projects with young people and the evaluation of arts and cultural projects, which might otherwise be missed. Whilst the inclusion and exclusion criteria clearly define the boundaries of my research. For instance, specifying age groups and settings for the cultural interventions helps in focusing the literature review on a target group and context, to be like those young artists the NGS work with. This precision enables the identification of studies that are directly relevant to my research questions and objectives, enhancing the applicability of my review findings.

Table 1 - Keywords employed in the literature search of literature review exploring visual art projects with young people (first literature review)

Group 1: Culture	**Group 2: Art**	**Group 3: Evaluation**
Culture	Art intervention	Evaluation
Cultural organisation	Creative	Evaluate
Cultural policy	Participatory art	Research
Arts Management	Art	Intervention
Museum	Creative art	Result
Gallery	Museum	Outcome
Creativity	Gallery	Impact
Art organisation	Theatre	Impacts
	Art outreach	
	Culture	
	Co creation	
	Collaborative	

	Co design	

Table 2 - Keywords employed in the literature search of literature review exploring evaluation of arts and cultural projects (second literature review)

Group 1: Culture	**Group 2: Evaluation**
Culture	Evaluation
Cultural organisation	Evaluate
Cultural policy	Research
Arts	Result
Arts Management	Outcome
Museum	Impact
Gallery	Impacts
Creativity	Learning
Art organisation	Reflection
Theatre	

Table 3 – Inclusion and exclusion criteria of literature review exploring visual art projects with young people (first literature review)

Inclusion Criteria	**Exclusion Criteria**
Cultural interventions with young people aged 11-25	Young people under the age of 11yrs, or over the age of 25yrs
Art interventions based within the UK	Interventions in hospitals or acute settings, special schools and young offenders' institutes
English language	No results, outcomes, or impacts presented
Qualitative or quantitative, mixed-and/or multi-method research	Non-English language
Papers reporting outcomes, evaluations and impacts	Unspecified data collection and dissemination
Interventions outside of the normal curriculum	

Table 4 – Inclusion and exclusion criteria of literature review exploring evaluation of arts and cultural projects (second literature review)

Inclusion Criteria	**Exclusion Criteria**
Research on evaluation methods and principles of arts and cultural projects	Non-English language
English language	Unspecified data collection and dissemination
Qualitative or quantitative, mixed-and/or multi-method research	Not peer-reviewed (aka 'grey' literature)
Peer reviewed	

3.2.3 Overview of the literature reviews

The first segment of the literature review, exploring visual art projects with young people, applied the exclusion and inclusion criteria (as detailed in table three above) to the articles collected leading to the identification of just 19 studies based within the UK. The characteristics of the identified studies are tabulated and are presented in appendices 10.1. The inclusion and exclusion criteria were developed to ensure research being explored was specifically like the kinds of interventions undertaken by the NGS outreach team (as well as those of other visual art organisations in the UK working with young people). Most research was excluded on the grounds of focussing on arts practices other than visual art such as dance, theatre, and music or working with children younger than 11.

The second segment of the first literature review reviewed literature outside of the UK. In this way an additional eight studies were included in the literature review. The characteristics of these studies are presented in appendices 10.2.

The third segment of the first literature review recognises Xanthoudaki's critique (2007), that there is a significant lack of literature that specifically explores the role of young people within visual arts. Whilst this critique is over a decade old, I too found that literature exploring young people and visual art specifically was sparse. As a result I applied the exclusion criteria leniently within the literature review. Appendices 10.3 highlights the inclusion of literature including work set in acute settings, work involving children younger than 11. The latter was initially excluded, but has contributed to the discourses and practices of UK visual arts interventions with young people. These studies met at least one of the exclusion criteria however, to ensure that they remain relevant to the research project and have some relevance to the kind of work undertaken by the NGS outreach team. An exploration of this literature is provided and reflected on. In total, across all three segments of the first literature review, 48 pieces of literature were reviewed.

The second literature review explored the problems and challenges associated with evaluation within the arts and cultural sector and is smaller, but simpler, than the first literature review. The search for literature across the same 16 databases used for the first literature review resulted in 20 pieces of literature being reviewed in the second literature review.

Table 5 – Overview of the literature reviews

<table>
<tr><th>First Literature Review: exploring studies investigating the impacts of visual art activities on young people</th><th>Second Literature Review: problems and challenges associated with evaluation within the arts and cultural sector</th></tr>
<tr><td>1st segment: UK-based literature – strict exclusion and inclusion criteria

19 pieces of literature reviewed</td><td rowspan="2">Literature exploring the problems, challenges, methods, and practices of evaluation within the arts and cultural sector. This literature review is thematically organised, and literature is reviewed together rather than segmented as with the first literature review.

20 pieces of literature reviewed</td></tr>
<tr><td>2nd segment: Outside UK literature – strict exclusion and inclusion criteria, however, includes research from outside the UK

8 pieces of literature reviewed</td></tr>
</table>

3rd segment: Literature which met one of the exclusion criteria but no more – lenient exclusion and inclusion criteria 21 pieces of literature reviewed	

3.3 Literature Review 1: Literature Exploring the Impacts of Visual Art on Young People

3.3.1 Segment 1: UK based literature investigating the impacts of visual art activities on young people: emerging themes from the review

The following segment explores issues with the sources that the literature draws on, concepts of citizenship, the role of disciplinary institutions and the individualisation of impacts in the literature explored.

Sources cited by literature and the problems with the literature

The nineteen UK-based studies explored within this first literature review often cite research from other countries including Australia, Denmark, the USA and France. Three of the studies framed their discussion within UK policy only using sources and studies from other countries as evidence. Despite the studies' focus on visual art, the sources cited are often related to other creative art forms such as theatre, dance and music.

Most of the studies relied on referencing papers which fell into the exclusion criteria for this literature review or were forms of grey literature and un-systematic in their approach. For example, Lawy et. al. (2010) relies on the work of Pringle (2006) and Taylor (2008) to develop a narrative that learning in galleries can support critical thinking and develop human and social capital. However, both Pringle (2006) and Taylor (2008) rely on anecdotal narratives without providing clear indications of research processes such as how data were collected. Furthermore, they rely on studies exploring unspecified multi-arts forms based outside of the UK.

Much of the literature reviewed may also be considered to lack, what Clift et al. would call, "careful quality assessment" (2021, p.13). Reflecting Xanthoudaki's observation of a lack of literature focussed specifically on visual art (2007).

Claims made for the positive impacts of the activities discussed within the literature

The overwhelming narrative that emerges throughout the research literature is that taking part in artistic activities is broadly good for you. All but two of the 19 UK studies explored suggested some form of positive impact from participation in visual art activities but relied heavily on literature based in other creative art forms such as theatre, dance, and music to create their narrative and argument.

The positive impacts identified were often linked to the studies' aims. These impacts were detailed as "resilience benefits" (Macpherson, Hart and Heaver 2015, p.542); young people becoming "contributing citizens" (Lawy et al. 2010, p.352; Robinson, Paraskevopoulou and Hollingworth 2019, p.1204); "positive learning experiences" (Illeris 2005, p.239); "young people be[oming] more involved with the gallery including working as facilitators" (Mossop,

2011, p.7); “integrating these students into a wider community of practice” (Hyde p.147) and being “transformative in improving the confidence and social connectedness of young people” (Mannet 2021, p.2). The aims of the research could have been discussed in relation to the concepts of recognition, that different young people required different visual art interventions, potentially offering “affirmative remedies” (Fraser 1997, p.14), however this is not discussed within the literature.

Positive impacts are often cited as “transformative” (Mannet 2021, p.1), but without exploring the longevity of impacts after an arts activity has been completed. Practically, whilst many of the studies were longitudinal in nature, only one of the 19 studies returned to participants to explore the impacts of activities after the activities had ended. Just as the Arts and Humanities Research Council review noted (2017), these studies exploring the impacts of art activities rely on brief snapshots. Creative Scotland (2016) returned to young participants to explore the impacts of projects; however, it is noted that these participants were interviewed when projects had concluded and were those available to Creative Scotland for interviewing. As such the Creative Scotland findings may not have been representative of the wider groups of participants. It could be suggested those that were available to be interviewed were those who were most ‘successful’ or ‘engaged’ with projects, and most likely to skew results towards positive experiences.

In stark contrast to the positive claims of 17 of the studies, Howard (2020 p.679) argues that some art activities replicated a “pedagogy of poverty where teaching and learning are designed in a socially reproductive manner in order to produce and reproduce the existing social order”. As Oman highlights, “the burden of proof is enmeshed with a historical tendency to decide what is good for (other) people’s well-being, and what has social and cultural value” (2021, p.254). The decision of what is of social good is itself an act of paternalistic power; the power holder (in this instant the researchers and organisations working with young people being researched) act in what they believe to be the best interest of the young people, without the latter's input.

Howard’s concepts of pedagogies of poverty are also useful in illuminating potential tensions within the other 18 UK based pieces of literature. Most of the studies hint at some difficulties. Five of the 17 studies that concluded visual art activities have positive impacts on young people also discussed some form of discomfort experienced by young participants; “…others were left with feelings of aimlessness… A minority of the young people found it quite difficult to make sense of the perceived lack of an obvious plan” (Lawy et al., 2010 p.356); “…sometimes feelings of belonging were only partial… some participants seemed to self-evaluate their own artwork unfavourably” (Macpherson, Hart and Heaver 2015, p.552); “elements of an award had proved challenging, often taking them ‘out of their comfort zones’” (Robinson, Paraskevopoulou and Hollingworth 2019, p.1209); young people experienced “confusion and boredom” (Illeris 2005, p.238). As Bourdieu noted, cultural capital stresses the role of “distinctive aesthetic tastes and knowledge in reinforcing class boundaries…” (Ostrower 1998, p.42), and the young people taking part in the art activities being researched may be engaging with these distinctive aesthetic tastes, resulting in their discomfort and feeling outside of their comfort zones, unfamiliar with the techniques and processes being used within projects.

A “pedagogy of poverty” is exposed by Howard’s study as existing within art activities working with “dis-engaged” (2020, p.679) young people. Howard suggests that unlike young people who are familiar with normative forms of cultural capital, those who are “dis-engaged” will experience such activities as corrective and disciplining experiences. As Howard states:

> those who displayed less-compliant, less school-like behaviours received the most basic instruction, methods of ‘safe teaching’ and an overemphasis on the performance of schooled routines and the imposition of rules (2020, p.679).

The experiences of young people may therefore be dependent on their perceived “behaviour and assumptions made about their ability and different kinds of cultural knowledge” (2020, p.682). This is not unexpected if considering those institutions providing art activities as disciplinary in nature. This could also be recognised as a form of *misrecognition*, in Bourdieu's terms, where facilitators delivering art projects to young people legitimise the social world's structures and power relations as ‘natural’, leading to the perpetuation of social inequalities and power imbalances (James 2015). This perpetuation in the case of Howard’s research results in “dis-engaged” young people receiving different, more restrictive arts experiences than their peers. Reflecting on the work of Kester (2011) who urged artists to avoid a “top down” approach to working with people on collaborative practices, it could also be suggested that this form of “top-down” working that is evidenced in Howard’s study has resulted in misrecognition.

Whilst Howard explored the pedagogies of projects and young people, Cole focussed predominantly on the role of the artist and the institution in such projects stating that “although the work is co-authored by all those involved, it is ultimately the artist whose vision has brought it all together; it is the artist who has to take responsibility for it, and who directs its dissemination and controls its documentation…” (2011, p.28). Like Howard, Cole does not conclude (unlike the other 17 UK based pieces of literature), that arts activities result in positive impacts for young people. At the same time, she does not reflect on the power dynamics resulting from the research and how these might be analysed through the work of Bishop (2012). Bishop asserted that it is artist’s intentions which must drive collaborative artwork creation, privileging artists over participants, and not the existence of multiple shared authorships (Kester 2011), or the middle ground recommended by Bell (2017).

Citizenship, disciplining institutions, and individualisation of impacts

Two studies (Lawy et al. 2010; Robinson, Paraskevopoulou and Hollingworth 2019) claimed the development of citizenship and “citizenship quality” (Robinson, Paraskevopoulou and Hollingworth 2019) as positive results for young people engaging in art activities. These claims might, however, be interpreted through Foucault’s notion of the disciplining institution, a space where knowledge and cultural production become homogenised and modes of expressions reduced (Raunig, Derieg and Negri 2013, p.14). As Lawy et al state: “we recognise the importance… to provide young people with the knowledge and skills that they need to be ‘active’ and contributing citizens” (2010, p.352). The qualities of citizenship are all associated with societally normative behaviours and neo-liberal values: gaining future employment, compliance and staying in formal education. Similarly, Robinson, Paraskevopoulou and Hollingworth (2019, p.1204) link citizenship to “paid work” and “education and career trajectories”. Visual art activities with this aim could be seen as celebrating a homogenisation

of behaviour, encouraging the creation of normative behaviours among young people tied to societal expectations.

Citizenship is also linked to notions of individualisation. Just as Levitas highlighted how the conceptualisation of cultural capital utilised by UK policies individualises cultural capital, (2004, p.53), the concept of citizenship is further conceptualised as an attribute that individuals develop in the work of Macpherson, Hart and Heaver and Robinson, Paraskevopoulou and Hollingworth. As academics have suggested, concepts of citizenship encourage an understanding of society as a level playing ground, where it is the individuals' responsibility to thrive within society (Marshall and Bottomore 1992). This narrative does not recognise social privileges, social and cultural capital, or other power hierarchies. The studies which emphasise citizenship and developing active citizens therefore ignore the societal barriers in place which some young people may be facing. This suggests the need for criticality to be applied when utilising terminology such as "citizenship" to better engage with the potential discourses it creates.

Similarly, art activities have been associated with 'resilience' (Macpherson, Hart and Heaver 2015) and 'confidence building' (Mannet 2021), and whilst not overtly linked to citizenship, they are tied to the concepts of becoming "contributing citizens" (Macpherson, Hart and Heaver 2015, p.546). Whilst one study recognised "wider structural, institutional and socio-economic determinants of an individual's capacity to be resilient" (Macpherson, Hart and Heaver 2015, p.548), both studies still shifted the responsibility of building resilience on to the individual. At the same time, it is important to note that whilst these studies shift the emphasis of change onto the young people who may be experiencing societal inequalities, rather than on society itself, this does not necessarily negate their findings. If young people become more confident, or resilient, through art activities this may be considered a positive outcome.

There is one noticeable absence from all the studies exploring the impacts of visual art activities on young people. That is, an exploration of why visual art is an appropriate tool to create such positive impacts. The claimed successes of the projects explored are explained in terms of "openness" (Lawy et al. 2010, p.353), "interpersonal relationships" (Mannet 2021, p.2) and "participating in social exchanges" (Illeris 2005, p.239). Many of the mechanisms identified as important to creating positive impacts could be applied to many other forms of interventions and activities.

Only one study hints towards why visual art specifically is a desirable tool to deliver such impacts. Illeris discusses the possibility of visual art "to give an unusual break from everyday life that allows for participation in different social forms of communication" (2005, p.238). Unlike the other studies which claim positive impacts for young people taking part in visual art activities, Illeris avoids language like "transformative" (Mannet 2021, p.1) focusing instead on the experiential nature of the activities and the visual art itself. By discussing the importance of "experiencing otherness" and "new forms of consciousness" (2005, p.239) Illeris focuses on the experience as impact, rather than leading to impact. Illeris' work has been particularly influential in my thinking about this study, and themes from their research provided contrast to other literature.

3.3.2 Segment 2: Themes emerging from the review of non-UK literature investigating the impacts of visual art activities on young people

The below explores literature which is based outside of the UK but has contributed to UK cultural policy and practice discourses.

Similarities and differences to UK based research

Like the UK-literature reviewed, many of the papers which researched young people and the impacts of visual art activities outside of the UK relied heavily on sources not linked to their art forms. Of the eight papers explored which were based outside the UK but met all other inclusion criteria, four relied heavily on sources utilising other cultural activities (Wright et al. 2006; Xanthoudaki 2007; Martin et al., 2013; Gentle, Linsley and Hurley 2020). Furthermore, Loughseed and Coholic (2018); Hauseman (2016); Rapp-Paglicci, Stewart and Rowe (2009); Irwin and O'Donaghue (2012) all cited literature which was arts based but not specifically visual arts based, such as performing arts, music and dance. Once again Clift et. al's critique of "careful quality assessment" (2021, p.13) is applicable to the literature based outside of the UK.

The non-UK literature can be split roughly into two categories: that which focussed on exploring art projects whilst they were happening (like the research project I undertook), and those which were reflective and occurred after projects had taken place. Five of the eight studies explored ongoing art projects (Wright et al. 2006; Rapp-Paglicci, Stewart and Rowe 2009; Hauseman and English 2015; Loughseed and Coholic 2018; Gentle, Linsley and Hurley 2020). Three of these five studies (Wright et al. 2006; Rapp-Paglicci, Stewart and Rowe 2009; Hauseman and English 2015) did not return to young people who had taken part in arts activities after projects had finished to explore longitudinal impacts or the potential of impacts changing and developing over time. Wright et. al. (2006) returned to participants six months after they ended. However, it is notable that this was done through surveys and not through interviews. Gentle et. al. (2020), interviewed 2 of their original participants six months after art activities had ended. Overall however there is again a lack of robust evidence being gathered on the long-term impacts of visual art projects.

All but one of the eight non-UK research studies suggested that art activities have some form of positive impact on young people. Like the UK research, the positive impacts of the arts projects explored were often framed with the research's aims. These impacts included "better emotion regulation [and] feelings of optimism" (Loughseed and Coholic 2018, p.170); "impact on the confidence of participating youth" (Hauseman and English 2015, p.5); "positive youth development" (Martin et al. 2013, p.704) "increased confidence, enhanced art skills, improved prosocial skills, and improved conflict resolution skills" (Wright et al. 2006, p.635); and "improvement in mental health" (Rapp-Paglicci, Stewart and Rowe 2009, p.520). It is important to note that research which suggested an increase in confidence to young people engaging in art activities can be recognised as making some loose claims: "another youth stated "I get happiness." This evidence indicates that the Hubs are having a positive impact on the confidence of participating youth" (Hauseman and English 2015, p.335). It does not however seem logical to connect a young person's happiness whilst attending an arts event, to an increase in their confidence.

Other non-UK research addresses the potentially problematic connection of impacts findings to the relevant programmes: “It is not possible to determine if changes in mental health symptoms caused program completion or, conversely, if program completion caused a change in mental health symptoms” (Rapp-Paglicci, Stewart and Rowe 2009, p.521). Whilst Hauseman and English (2015) appear to be mixing correlation with causation, Rapp-Paglicci, Stewart and Rowe (2009) emphasised the complexity of determining causation.

Similarly, Loughseed and Coholic (2018) warn: “Overall, though promising results have been reported, these have also been criticised for having relatively weak methodological designs, and a lack of adequate measures and/or follow-up data” (p.168). Whilst the research based outside of the UK appears to align with similar impact focussed outputs, these papers engage more critically with their findings than some of the UK work. It could be suggested that this criticality comes from different processes of evaluation and the influence of different cultural policy landscapes and funding, discourses surrounding cultural engagement and working with cultural partners who require certain evidence of successes.

Three studies (Xanthoudaki 2007; Irwin and O’Donaghue 2012; Martin et al. 2013) did not attempt to capture change in young people engaging with art activities, which is in stark contrast to the nineteen UK based studies explored in segment one of this literature review. This may be due in part to the nature of the studies; Martin et. al. undertook a huge survey of 643 young people in Australia, similarly Xanthoudaki surveyed several museums and galleries across Europe and North America. Both studies focussed on the role of access, and again concepts of redistribution (Fraser) could be applied to the studies, such as greater access to the arts, rather than targeted interventions. Whilst this is an interesting change from the practices which underpin the UK based research, it does result in a lack of criticality exploring power hierarchies.

It is suggested by Xanthoudaki that it is the role of museums and galleries to educate, which Xanthoudaki recognises as moving beyond “backing up schools in their roles as dispensers of knowledge” (2007, p.170). However, Xanthoudaki affirms the role of galleries and museums in developing neoliberal principles, by asserting young people can become “responsible and involved citizens” (ibid.) by engaging with galleries and museums. The power hierarchies emerging from the UK based literature in segment one are mirrored in Xanthoudaki’s work. None of these studies therefore critique or engage with concepts of redistribution and recognition working together to bolster positive impacts for participants, as suggested by Fraser (1997). Potentially, the UK based studies explored in segment one of this literature review are focussing too heavily on recognition (that different young people require different cultural offers resulting in paternalistic power formations), whilst some of the non-UK studies explored here in segment two are relying heavily on concepts of redistribution (creating an equity of access to cultural offerings). In many cases, economic redistribution or recognition might not fully address the root causes of injustice, or worse, exasperate these injustices as was identified by Howard (2020) in relation to UK projects.

Not all the non-UK studies focussed on concepts of access. Some reiterated a focus on recognition (although none overtly discuss the concept of recognition, rather they all

provided targeted arts interventions I would identify as tied to Fraser's conceptualisation of recognition). Lougsheed and Coholic (2018) discuss the importance of resilience in their Canadian based work (recognising that young people with experience of foster care may require more resilience than other young people, through targeted arts interventions). Just as the UK based study by Mannet et. al. (2021) and Macpherson et. al. (2015) did not critique the individualised concepts of resilience, nor do Loughseed and Coholic. Both these research studies treat concepts of resilience as universally good. By not engaging with the possibility of the world surrounding young people needing to change rather than the young people themselves, the individualisation of impacts is echoed in the research. Again, the work of Fraser can provide a critical lens through which to explore this research and consider how recognition (that some young people could benefit from gaining resilience more than others) and redistribution (such as the socio-economic disparities which may need flattened to support a society where young people don't need to be resilient against inequalities) can work together to meaningfully tackle injustice.

Lack of young person-centred approaches

Of the eight reports reviewed based outside of the UK, only three can be understood as young person-centred, that is with young people's experiences as the primary focus of research. Loughseed and Coholic 2018; Hauseman 2016; Wright et. al. 2006, are similar in that they focussed heavily on attempting to capture the experiences of young people through observations and interviews with them, as well as survey data. At the same time, these three papers do discuss other people's experiences (such as parents and teachers). For example, Wright et. al. state "the parents (person most knowledgeable) of each of the selected children were also interviewed to compare their feedback" (2006, p.360). This could somewhat reduce the young person-centred approaches to research, by centring others' experiences as the "most knowledgeable" (ibid.) of young people's lived experiences.

The five articles that did not centre young people's experiences, share a similar lack of criticality around the projects they are researching, focussing instead on external indicators to explore impacts of arts activities on young people. Rapp-Paglicci, Stewart and Rowe (2009) relied on observations and parental interviews to explore the impacts of an arts-based project on young people with experience of the juvenile justice system. However, there is no critical engagement with the juvenile judicial system or recognition of the potential for the juvenile judicial system itself to harm the young people in their work. Rapp-Paglicci, Stewart and Rowe also placed significant onus on the role of parents in capturing the role arts activities have played within their children's lives after experiencing the juvenile judicial system. By giving parents a privileged position within the research, Rapp-Paglicci and colleagues may be unwittingly disempowering young people. Similarly, Martin and Mansours (2013) created a large-scale survey of young people's engagement in cultural activities and mapped that across school attainment over a two-year period. Xanthoudaki (2007) explored museum and galleries attempts at working with young people, through a survey of reports by museums and galleries, again not empowering young people to share their own experiences, whilst Irwin and O'Donaghue (2012) focussed on their own experience via autoethnographic writing. Just as with the UK based literature explored in segment one, some of the non-UK research may be replicating power hierarchies. Furthermore, there is a general lack of engagement with concepts of cultural capital, habitus, or disciplinary institutions and lack of engagement with critical theories in general.

3.3.3 Segment 3: Literature which met initial exclusion criteria

The literature which met initial exclusion criteria[4], whilst differing in research approaches, settings and scale, can be broadly separated into two categories. The first is research which explored cultural projects and visual arts activities inside what could be considered disciplinary institutions such as schools and galleries (Catterall, Chapleau and Iwanaga 2000; Pringle 2006; Hall, Thomson and Russeul 2007; Cumming and Visser 2009; Glow and Johanson 2012; Andrews 2014; Rudolph and Wright 2015). The second includes those studies which were based in more difficult to define settings such as online, in community hubs, and youth centres (Bradley, Deighton and Selby 2004; Dyer and Hunter 2009; Skudrzyk 2009; Hampshire and Matthijsse 2010; Coholic 2011; Coholic et al. 2012; Slayton 2012; Franks and Thomson 2016; Brooks, Hooker and Barclay 2020; Lomax et al. 2022; Rizzo, Knox and Day 2022). Whilst potentially still tied to disciplinary institutions, these settings are more fluid and more expansive in definition. Within these spaces young people can opt in and out of activities, with attendance not mandatory. Indeed, often the rules and guidance within these spaces are co-created with the young people accessing them.

Within these two broad approaches to researching the impacts of culture on young people there were divergent lines of inquiry and framing of research questions.

Research within disciplinary institutions

The framing of the research within disciplinary institutions fell into two further categories. Either research was framed through a critique of disciplinary institutions (Hall, Thomson and Russeul 2007; Cumming and Visser 2009; Rudolph and Wright 2015), or it did not engage with critiquing the institutions in which arts and cultural activities took place (Catterall, Chapleau and Iwanaga 2000; Pringle 2006; Glow and Johanson 2012; Andrews 2014).

In more critical studies, young people were not depicted as problems to be solved, or within a deficit model. Instead, researchers noted: “students who demonstrate knowledge and capacity through means that are not measured often become deemed unsuccessful” (Rudolph and Wright 2015, p.487) and how “it would be impossible to speculate whether the Art Workshops were solely responsible for the increase in the refugee children’s emotional development” (Cumming and Visser 2009, p.156). The scepticism of the researchers towards disciplinary institutions and the impacts of the arts projects might be understood in terms of social intellectuality being recognised as “emerging in the struggles” (Raunig, Derieg and Negri 2013, p.630). For example, Rudolph and Wright discuss explicitly how traditional forms of knowledge create deficit models of young people and how they came “to appreciate that children and young people can offer contributions to knowledge that may not be seen, valued or understood in a rigid curriculum that leaves no room for the unexpected” (2015, p.505). Rudolph and Wright’s work may be seen as aligned with notions of everyday practices (de Certeau 2011) and recognising alternative forms of knowledge as

[4] The full inclusion and exclusion criteria can be found on page 38 but includes; young people under the age of 11yrs, or over the age of 25yrs; interventions in hospitals or acute settings, special schools and young offenders’ institutes; no results, outcomes, or impacts presented; non-English language, unspecified data collection and dissemination

important. The claims to impact of arts activities by researchers who engaged critically with disciplinary institutions were less explicit than those who did not.

In contrast, research that did not critique the disciplinary institutions in which they based their research often reinforced potential power hierarchies in their findings. A common feature of these research papers was the lack of young people's voices: Andrews' (2014) exploration of cultural projects and young people in Wales featured no insights from young people themselves, neither did Pringle's (2006) or Johanson and Glow (2012). For example, Johanson and Glow (2012) claim "one of the aims of dedicated children's programs is to build the adult visitors of the future and cultivate appropriate visitor behaviour in young visitors" (p.40). The notion of "appropriate behaviour" assumes that children behave inappropriately within galleries and museums. Johanson and Glow's claims reinforce the notion of galleries and museums as disciplinary in nature.

Research less clearly tied to arts and cultural institutions

These studies all relied heavily on practitioners from outside of galleries and museums, such as psychologists, therapists, art therapists, and social workers. The NGS does not work with these kinds of practitioners. However, this research does provide useful insights and reflections on the work being undertaken by arts organisations with young people with similar lived experiences to those being targeted within these research papers.

Overall, these papers made fewer claims about the impacts of arts on people than those based within arts and cultural institutions and recognised the importance of surrounding social structures;

> … we cannot assume that the changes will be unequivocally good or straightforward… social capital operates in association with economic and cultural capital, and cannot be understood in isolation from the wider constraints of people's lives" (Hampshire and Matthijsse 2010, p.714).

The papers did however suggest that the impacts of art activities were positive, but these impacts did not come in the form of changing young people's behaviour (as Johanson and Glow's research suggests, and Howard et. al.'s research critiques). Rather, impacts from these studies included: "enhance[d] opportunities for self-expression" (Bradley, Deighton and Selby 2004, p.210); "providing social inclusion… and a contributor to young women's recovery from the health impacts of adversity and trauma" (Brooks et. al. 2020, p.399); "having access to a group program that helps to build resilience may have the potential to help children in care cope better with their challenging life situation…the programs are not a panacea for the multiple and diverse problems that children taken into protective care face" (Coholic et al. 2012, p.357). Some of this research discussed the impacts researchers can make; "researchers involved in this kind of work can alter policies to the benefit of young people" (Bradley, Deighton and Selby 2004, p.210). Furthermore, there were overt links by the research papers in the role of researchers critiquing and challenging practices, leading to better future arts projects, and potentially supporting wider social change.

Coholic et. al.'s conclusions that "the programs are not a panacea" (2012, p.357) and Hampshire and Matthijsse's recognition of the "constraints of people's lives" (2010, p.714)

(thereby recognising social structures) are echoed throughout the research based outside of arts organisations and cultural institutions. It is notable that these research projects were less clearly tied to disciplinary institutions. Their work is not framed by the wants and needs of galleries or schools, but instead have a far more young-person-centred approach to their research practices. Whilst these research papers recognise creativity and the arts as a useful tool, they also recognise that what sits around those tools such as: being together in a group, having experiences validated and the opportunity to share lived experiences in safe and considered ways may be what creates positive impacts. One research paper even notes the "ethical concerns regarding mental health promotion in the absence of improved social circumstances" (Dyer and Hunter 2009, p.149), with another stating "community arts project aren't a quick fix to poverty or social issues" (Hampshire and Matthijsse 2010, p.714). The awareness of this research based outside of disciplinary institutions of participants' complex social worlds is a notable shift from most literature explored throughout this first section of this literature review. It could be suggested that because research is being undertaken with professionals such as therapists and counsellors there is a more considered approach to young people's experiences of encountering the activities. This literature moves away from concerns of developing "appropriate behaviour" (Glow and Johanson 2012) in young people, towards a more nuanced understanding of why creativity and culture can be useful in working with them. This approach allows researchers to escape from the paternalistic power dynamic (Butler 2020) which characterised much of the literature reviewed.

Whilst the research papers based outside of disciplining institutions encourage readers to consider participants' complex social worlds outside of the research, they also discuss the need for creative projects to become sustainable. Brooks et. al. for example state "this research also attests to the importance of long-term sustainability of services" (Brooks, Hooker and Barclay 2020, p.399). Their work attests to the important role of sustainable funding for these kinds of projects.

3.4 Literature Review 2: Critiques of Evaluation within the Culture Sector

Evaluation within the arts and culture sector has been a topic of widespread discussion and critique, and it connects deeply with the findings above that raise "ethical concerns regarding mental health promotion in the absence of improved social circumstances" (Dyer and Hunter 2009, p.149). This second literature review therefore explores the problems and challenges associated with evaluation within the arts and cultural sector. As has been highlighted, it is important to recognise that cultural policy is hugely informed by "grey literature" such as organisational reports based on evaluation. Developing a clearer understanding of evaluation methods and critiques is vital then as organisational evaluation directly informs cultural policy. Some of the themes explored in the first literature review, notably issues with the longevity of research, are echoed within this second literature review. The literature also sheds light on three aspects of arts and cultural evaluation, discussed below: the limitations of evaluation methods, measuring cultural value, and the discrepancies and critiques of evaluation within the culture sector.

3.4.1 Evaluation methods

Evaluation methodologies in the context of arts projects have evolved over time, with a shift in emphasis from aesthetic outcomes to social impact (Clements 2007). According to Clements the historical analysis of evaluation methodology reveals distinct generations: First and second generation evaluation focussed on descriptive elements of the arts, while third generation evaluation recognised the limitations of measurement and description and emphasised the evaluator's judgement and expertise. The fourth generation meanwhile "was based on a constructivist framework that responded to participant needs and perceptions directly influenced by the 1960s Civil Rights Movement" which arts organisations find have found themselves in the last two decades (2007, p.326). Clements also recognises that evaluating social impact in arts projects presents unique challenges. Short-term projects often struggle to provide hard evidence of social impact beyond the presentation of artistic products (2007, p.328). Evaluators therefore often rely on soft evidence such as registers, feedback forms, personal diaries, and observation to triangulate opinions. The use of social auditing techniques, which convert qualitative information into comparative statistics, may not accurately reflect the reality or projects and their impacts (2007, p.328). Moreover, the process of evaluation can lead to decontextualization and stereotyping of participants, reinforcing existing power structures, and disempowering "vulnerable" and excluded individuals (ibid.).

As Clements notes:

> This social impacts agenda has tended to ignore a range of methodological, aesthetic, political and ethical problems embedded in evaluative method that in general has not supported democratic self-management or enfranchised participants, which is compounded by a lack of transparency regarding techniques used… [these points illustrate] the tension between self- determined democratic intent and predetermined purpose, itself one classic description of the struggle undertaken by community arts practitioners over the last four decades (2007, p.326).

Different models of evaluation may reflect their political foundations. Bureaucratic evaluation prioritises the values of funders and decision-makers, autocratic evaluation focuses on educational merit, and democratic evaluation aims to collect all definitions and reactions to the program (2007, p.330). However, the extent to which evaluation methodologies have shifted towards participant-centred democratic approaches is debatable, as funders and the bureaucratic language of culture often influence project aims and objectives (2007, p.331).

Efforts have been made to embed notions of evaluation as empowerment, critical engagement, and dialogue within a more democratic discourse (Clements 2007, p.331). However, as Clements highlights; lack of time, money, and interest often leads to the adoption of top-down bureaucratic-autocratic methods, undermining local control and participant involvement. The use of two evaluation reports, one evidential and one promotional, has been suggested to address questions of authority and authenticity (Clements 2007, p.331). Ethical implications also arise in relation to evaluation methodologies. The invasive and time-consuming nature of evaluation procedures can be seen as a violation of participants' autonomy (Newsinger and Green 2016). The use of oversimplified classifications and decontextualized analyses may undermine the validity of

evaluation outcomes while also perpetuating existing power dynamics and disempower participants (Clements 2007, p.328). As Newsinger and Green note,

> It's about needing a definitive outcome and a definitive end and we work on things that are generally speaking time restrictive to a particular funding stream or organisation requiring particular outcomes which completely belies the fact that human experience is ongoing (2016, p.390).

In the context of arts management research, evaluation methodologies play a crucial role in assessing the effectiveness of interventions (Chiaravolloti and Piber 2011). The use of interpretative methods and techniques has been suggested as potentially recognising ongoing experience, the co-construction of experiences and challenging the normative positivist approaches taken by arts organisations (Chiaravolloti and Piber 2011, p.241). However, the effectiveness of evaluation practices also depends on factors such as internal motivation, common goals, open communication, and genuine trust and respect among staff and participants of arts projects (Butterworth 2020, p.37). Luke and Ancelet highlight how in art museums, evaluation serves multiple roles. It helps clarify institutional intuitions and ground them in evidence, fostering a focus on community service, openness to new ideas, and creativity (2014 p.198). Evaluation can also aid in building internal understanding and trust among staff, defining program success and value, and guiding the development of new programs. Similar to Butterworth, Luke and Ancelet identify that the success of institution-wide evaluation initiatives depends on factors such as staff motivation, communication, and investment in building trust and respect (2014).

In the context of instrumental cultural policies and social impact studies, Belfiore (2002, p.100) has also identified that evaluation methodologies often focus on short-term outputs rather than long-term outcomes. This approach may undermine the assessment of life-changing effects and community development from arts engagement (ibid.). She argues that the consideration of outcomes that emerge over time is crucial for a comprehensive evaluation of arts projects (2002, p.104). This argument has been a key driver within this thesis.

Overall, evaluation methodologies in the arts sector are complex and multifaceted. Balancing the need for evidence-based research with participant empowerment and self-management is difficult. Jancovich and Stevenson re-state Belfiore's prior concerns around the *quick* nature of arts evaluation and further emphasise that current evaluation methods focus on discussing stories of success and should allow for "failures" (ibid.):

> Failing to openly acknowledge failures in favour of creating feel-good evaluations may be good politics in that the organisations and artists producing these evaluations are bolstering their reputations… however… these voluntary omissions fuel bad policy in that, finite resources continue to be committed towards activities that do not make a significant or sustainable contribution… (2022, p.46).

Alarmingly, Jancovich and Stevenson's work also highlights how organisations are not learning from failures and therefore not changing or responding to the needs and wants of all the people (including participants) involved in projects.

3.4.2 Measuring cultural value

Measuring cultural value is another complex task. Literature exploring concepts of cultural value highlights the challenges and tensions inherent in this process, particularly in the context of publicly funded arts and cultural organisations in England. There are fewer pieces of literature exploring publicly funded arts and cultural organisations in Scotland.

Butterworth highlights that cultural value is socially constructed and cannot, and should not, be reduced to simple economic measures (2020, p.38). However, instrumental value, which encompasses economic and social values, has become a prevalent lens through which the impact of cultural activities is measured (ibid.). This focus on instrumental value is driven by the need for arts and cultural organisations to demonstrate their contribution to socio-economic goals to secure funding (Butterworth 2020; Jancovich and Stevenson 2022). Existing cultural and public value frameworks may provide useful lenses for exploring concepts of cultural value. However, these frameworks have limitations and have been challenged for their subjective nature and potential for political manipulation (Belfiore 2002; Butterworth 2020; Oman 2021). Furthermore, the measurement of cultural value often relies on qualitative assessments, personal testimony, and critical reviews, which can be difficult to quantify (Butterworth 2020, p.243).

Butterworth also highlights, however, how the introduction of data-centric policies and practices has brought new possibilities and challenges to the measurement and assessment of cultural value. Big data offers opportunities for data-driven decision making, audience engagement, and development. But, the complexity of data innovations, the lack of in-house skills, and fears of crude measurement and assessment pose barriers to the adoption of these practices in the cultural sector (2020, p.243). One example of a data-centric approach is the Culture Counts evaluation system and digital platform, which aims to measure and evaluate the quality, value, impact, and reach of arts and cultural activities (Gilmore, Glow and Johanson 2017, p.283). This system uses standardised metrics and question forms to collect data on various dimensions of cultural value, such as relevance, captivation, originality, and distinctiveness (ibid.). While Culture Counts provides opportunities for networking and storytelling, its implementation can be resource-intensive and challenging for organisations with limited capacity (Gilmore, Glow and Johanson 2017, p.290).

In analysing the relationship between participation in culture and social stratification, evaluation methodologies such as the Taking Part Survey[5] in England also provide valuable insights (Taylor 2008, p.173). These methodologies involve the collection of data through surveys and the analysis of variables to identify trends and frameworks. However, the

[5] The Taking Part survey was DCMS' flagship survey for many years, collecting data on how adults and children engage with a variety of sectors, including the cultural sector.

"slippery"[6] nature of the data generated makes it difficult to draw specific conclusions of the impacts of engaging with culture (Oman 2021). Of course, it is important to note that the use of metrics and quantitative data in measuring cultural value has, at best, limitations. Metrics-based approaches can oversimplify artistic purpose, invite political manipulation, and demand resources without proven benefits (Phiddian et al. 2017, p.175). The focus on quantification and economic valuation can overlook the subjective and phenomenological aspects of cultural value (Newsinger and Green, 2016, p.384). It is important to recognize that evaluation methodologies and methodologies are discursive constructions that reflect and constitute power relationships within cultural institutions and the wider political economy (ibid.).

It is therefore crucial to approach the measurement of cultural value critically and consider the diverse perspectives and experiences of cultural practitioners (including those often seen as 'non-participants', or as Howard's study in the first literature review highlighted "dis-engaged" people).

3.4.3 Discrepancies and critiques of evaluation within the culture sector

The literature explored also provides insights into the critiques surrounding the evaluation of arts projects and the methodology used to assess their social impact. One major difficulty highlighted in the documents is the challenge of proving social impact over short time periods (Clements 2007; Belfiore 2002). Evaluators often rely on evidence (such as registers and feedback forms) which may not highlight meaningful social impact related to the project itself. However, there is a tension between the desire for a disinterested, neutral, and distanced evaluation or "hard data" and the reality that evaluation is inherently subjective and influenced by the values and biases of the evaluators (Jancovich and Stevenson 2022, p.46). Furthermore, the use of metrics and measures can impose a predetermined structure on the evaluation process, leaving little room for diverging or unexpected voices (Butterworth 2020, p.157). Clements suggests longitudinal methodologies as a more rigorous approach but recognises they can be costly and time-consuming (2007). Additionally, there may be opposition from project facilitators and participants towards on-site observation and external evaluators (Clements 2007, p.327).

One clear issue with current evaluation methods, as highlighted by Jancovich and Stevenson, is that organisations often neglect to evaluate failure within projects and may be tempted to lie to retain funding (2022, p.45). These authors suggest that instead of being used as evidence for further funding, the process of evaluation should explore concepts of failure to develop opportunities for learning.

[6] Oman identifies culture and wellbeing as "slippery" terms in their lack of definition, being generally opaque in nature and encompassing large, and at times, contradictory elements. Oman highlights how the benefits of everyday culture have been used to justify funding for artforms considered anything but "everyday" in nature (Oman, 2021, p. 23). Indeed, the Creative Scotland document explored in the first literature review identified "standards and types of evidence" (Lonie, 2016, p. 12) found across literature made it complex to design a literature review which would be both rigorous whilst reflecting on these varying research standards and the discourses they create. This is an example of the slippery nature of culture and evidence gathered on cultural impacts.

The ethical implications of arts project settings are explored by Chiaravalloti and Piber (2011). Their analysis suggests that oversimplified classifications and narrow perspectives can limit the richness and variety of expertise from key stakeholders. The context of the art world is often overlooked, and evaluation instruments may not capture the complexity of artistic endeavours. Another critique which ties Chiaravalloti and Piber's concerns is the exclusion of aesthetic considerations from the analysis of social impact. Evaluation reports often focus on quantitative data and bureaucratic language, neglecting the participants' perspectives and corresponding stories (Clements 2007, p.332). For Clements, this emphasis on social outcomes can overshadow the artistic quality and experience of the project.

Finally, the literature discusses the prevalence of "bullshitting" in cultural policy practice and research (Belfiore 2009, p.343). Bullshitting refers to the use of persuasive language and selective data to build a case or make an argument (ibid.). Stevenson and Janovich provide evidence of such bullshitting in their work, supporting claims to the presentation of inadequate or biassed evidence in policy-making and funding allocation (Belfiore 2009, p.355). As Belfiore highlights:

> Despite the current rhetorical emphasis on evidence-based policy, the set of assumptions outlined above, which has so far inspired cultural policy-making, find no firm support in actual evidence (2009, p.353).

Overall, the literature highlights the need for a more democratic and inclusive approach to evaluation, one that considers the perspectives of participants, embraces the complexity of the art world, embraces concepts of failure, and acknowledges the subjective nature of evaluation.

3.5 Chapter Summary

There are several themes and discourses that emerge from this literature which are important to reflect on. The first literature review, which explores research projects like my own, focusing on visual art practices working with 11-25 year olds highlights how a lot of the literature relies heavily on studies of multi-artform practices and not solely visual art to develop their narratives. Whilst the research explored within this review largely suggests the possibility of positive impacts for young people who engage with art activities, many of these impacts appear tied to disciplinary institutions, reinforcing problematic concepts of cultural capital, and discourses of difference. However, whilst many of the impacts were critiqued for their potential *vagueness* it is also worth noting that this may be due to the nature of arts interventions themselves. Perhaps one of the key issues with attempting to capture clear and precise impacts and outcomes from art interventions, is that the nature of art itself is vague, opaque and complex to capture.

The second literature review which examined critiques of current evaluation methods, practices and the resulting problematic policy implications suggests there is a need for cultural organisations to approach evaluating their work differently. As discussed above there is a need for a balanced approach to evaluation that considers adopting rigorous and inclusive research methodologies but also acknowledges the multifaceted nature of social impact in the arts. There is also a need for the cultural sector to recognise how politicised evaluation

has become, and to open evaluation to concepts of failure to develop genuine learning and reflection. The review also highlights the gaps which this research project tried to fill, such as longitudinal and qualitative research which returns to participants after projects have completed to explore the long-term impacts of projects, rather than the short-term gains so often championed within evaluation.

The two literature reviews together highlight that there is a clear need for further research that looks specifically at visual art, and its impacts on young people. Much of the evidence relies on grey literature in the forms of project reports and evaluations by arts organisations themselves, and, as Jancovich and Stevenson (2022) highlight, leans heavily on telling stories of success, rather than exploring project's failures. This suggests that a lot of the current research is informed by biased literature. My research project was therefore informed by the gaps left by previous literature such as the need for specific exploration of impacts of visual arts on young people; an age range and sample which is specific to young people; a critical reflection of the institutions in which research is taking place; a centring of young people's experiences; assessing potential long term impacts rather than gathering their experiences in 'snapshots'; exploring and potentially celebrating the *opacity* of art interventions impacts.

The following chapter identifies, justifies, and outlines the methodological approaches underpinning my research.

4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I outline and justify the methodological approaches adopted in this study. The research is qualitative in nature and epistemologically situated broadly within constructivism. A mixed methodology reflecting Law's concepts of "method assemblage" (2004, p.14), was used. The concept of method assemblage emphasises the situated and contextual nature of research methods and challenges the idea of a rigid, objective, and detached scientific methodology. The methods used included documentary and policy analysis, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, young people interviewing other young people, visual methods, and observations.

It is important to note that the methodology and data produced was also informed by own experiences, particularly as a previous NGS employee, practising artist and facilitator. My previous employment also encouraged the longitudinal design of the research, as I had prior knowledge of the limitations of short-term evaluations (as detailed within the literature review).

4.2 Epistemology and Ontology: Qualitative Research and Constructivism

The project is informed by constructivism. This epistemology informs the theoretical perspective, methodology and methods adopted (Crotty 1998). I acknowledge that my understanding of the phenomena under investigation is mediated through my own experiences and insights. This knowledge is viewed as being constructed by individuals and groups, rather than being 'discovered' in an objective reality (Law 2004, p.22). My approach is closer to Law's understanding of the complexity, vagueness, and multiplicity of realities which challenge simplistic or reductionist approaches. This approach recognizes the complexity of knowledge construction and the social, historical, and cultural context in which learning occurs, but offers a new epistemological lens to explore, namely one of *enactment* (Law 2004, p.140). Law's concept of enactment reflects the understanding that methods are not just neutral tools. Instead, they play a role in "enacting" or bringing into being certain realities. Law suggests that there is a vast, perhaps implicit, or unrecognised, backdrop against which methods operate. Through the "bundle of ramifying relations" (ibid.) Law hints at the interconnectedness and complexity of the realities that methods interact with or create.

This study explores outreach programmes delivering visual art projects. Art can share knowledge in non-verbal and non-numerical terms, and how we define knowledge and how knowledge is shared needs to deal with these complexities. It "must include the idea that knowledge is itself often unstable, ambiguous and multidimensional, can be emotionally or affectively charged, and cannot necessarily be conveyed with the precision of mathematical proof" (Smith and Dean 2009, p.3).

4.3 Mixed Methodology

4.3.1 Mixed methodology: reflective of a method assemblage

Since the project explores the work of the NGS, there was limited capacity for methods to emerge in the same way Law would encourage without impacting the work of the NGS team. There was also a need to respond to both the young artists taking part in NGS activities, as well as project staff, artists, project partners expectations and the NGS wider staff team. Methods needed to be designed in advance and ethical approval sought so that everyone involved in the research had clarity on the processes. As the work was a collaborative study with the NGS, some of the expectations of the research were set within my original application.

As a result, the fieldwork was initially designed in a linear way. I attempted to plan out the steps of fieldwork to both be practically manageable and to reflect the timelines of the NGS projects I was researching. However, much of the fieldwork, such as interviewing young people during NGS outreach projects, took place when it suited the people involved in the project. Considerations of whether my interviewing young people would distract from the outreach project activities on a particular day, which artists were delivering activities, the complexity of the activities proposed, and what had happened in previous sessions or even just how the young people felt that day were all determining factors. Considering my own capabilities as a researcher was another important factor in these decisions. For example, if I had interviewed two young people in a day, interviewing a third became complex because I wanted future interviews to be informed by the emerging data. I also did not have the energy to hold space for complex interviews and reflections more than twice in a day. However, the need to gather data when it was appropriate, and possible to, resulted in a far more iterative and considered research project than the linear one initially planned. Similarly, interviews with partner organisations of the NGS projects were initially intended to inform some of the interview questions asked to the young people involved in the project. However, staff of partner organisations often had incredibly demanding schedules meaning that when I began to interview staff of partner organisations, I had already interviewed some of the young people taking part in outreach projects.

The initially planned linear approach could have reinforced the hierarchies of power and knowledge which are critiqued within the theoretical framework of this research project. For example, it is significant that the themes and insights from young artists' interviews informed the lines of inquiry in later interviews and surveys with staff of partner organisations and the NGS staff. However, my initial fieldwork plan would have had these young people's insights existing as siloed snapshots. The iterative nature of the research became crucial to exploring the many different areas of the research and to exploring potential hierarchies.

A mixed methods approach to the project was adopted because of the iterative nature to the research. I encountered Law's work after the fieldwork had taken place and recognised how Law's concepts of method assemblage spoke to the methods I utilised. As in this project, Law (as influenced by Deleuze and Guattari) suggests that methods emerge and evolve through the connections and relationships between these elements, rather than being pre-defined or prescribed. In an assemblage, different elements work together to achieve outcomes. These elements are not considered as separate entities, but rather as interconnected components that influence and shape one another (2004, p.13). Clark identifies researchers' need to

"develop sensitivities to elements/people that are not part of the status quo (deterritorialization)" (2013, p.30). I recognise these points in my work with young artists and the way I allowed methods to emerge over time through the developing relationships.

4.3.2 Mixed methodology: an iterative process

The iterative nature of this work can also be framed through the work of Kerssens-van Drongelen (2001, p.504) who highlights:

> Many methodology sources suggest that a researcher should in advance frame the research project and... subsequently stick to his or her frame and choice… [Here] a different, more natural, research trajectory design is presented… that research questions may be changed over time based on material collected and that research strategies, data collection and analysis methods and tactics should fit the (changing) research questions and process phases.

This process is not limited to just fieldwork and the generation of data, but also to its analysis and works to avoid flattening the experiences discussed.

It is worth noting that the iterative nature of gathering data also reflected the outreach teams' practice. The outreach team had to often adapt or change their plans for projects based on emerging situations. An example of this would be the expansion of Project A's partners during the project, as many of the youth workers who had been involved with the project and supported its work moved on to other projects or left their positions. As both the funding applications of Project A and B will highlight, there is also an inherent sense of iterative practices within collaborative projects which emphasise young people's perspectives as these two projects did.

4.4 Fieldwork: Overview

The diagram below highlights the fieldwork undertaken and the importance of the two outreach projects which were delivered by the NGS during 2021 and 2022. An overview of these two projects can be found within this chapter from page 62 onwards. The two projects (Project A and B) differed in scale, outreach approaches, artists used, locations, partner organisations, working with youth workers (or not) and demographics of young people taking part.

Table 6: Non-chronological fieldwork overview

Policy Analysis 2 Cultural Policy documents (August 2021 – December 2022)
Policy Analysis 4 NGS policy documents (September 2021 – December 2022)
Documentary Analysis 44 internal documents (reports, evaluations, audience feedback, participant feedback etc.) and NGS website (September 2021 – December 2022)

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">Observation
300 hours across outreach projects (Project A and Project B) captured in fieldnotes and young people, NGS staff, youth workers, artists and some partner staff interviews (May 2021 – August 2022)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Project A: 10-month project, initially delivered online due to Covid-19 (8 online sessions, a further 28 online sessions throughout project), 51 in person sessions across 8 sites (parks, schools, public spaces, community centres), 200 young people (est.) engaged with sessions (majority were in short-term engagements), 12 “core” young people attended sessions regularly, 21 artists worked with across project, 6 youth workers worked with 12 partner organisations (est.) associated with project

190 hours of project observation: predominantly sessions involving “core” group of young people
(March 2021 – December 2021)</td><td>Project B: 12-month project, delivered in person across 6 sites (school, community centres, youth centres, football parks, public spaces), 100 young people (est.) engaged with sessions, 15 “core” young people attended sessions regularly, 5 artists worked across project, 2 youth workers, 8 partner organisations (est.) associated with project, 19 adults worked with the participants across project

110 hours of project observation: only of sessions involving “core” group of young people
(July 2021 - July 2022)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Semi-structured interviews during outreach project A: 10 x interviews with “core” young people, 2 x interviews with NGS Outreach Officer, 4 x interviews with artists, 2 x interviews with partner organisations, 3 x interviews with youth workers

All interviews in person
(May 2021 – October 2021)</td><td>Semi-structured interviews during outreach project B: 15 x interviews with “core” young people, 2 x interviews with NGS Outreach Officer, 1 x interview with artist, 3 x interviews with partner organisations, 1 x interviews with youth workers

All interviews in person
(August 2021 – June 2022)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Young people interviewing other young people during outreach project B: 6 interviews undertaken by a young person interviewing other young people about their experiences of the project (in person)
(July 2022)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Semi-structured interviews after outreach project A: 9 x interviews with “core” young people (6 interviews online, 3 in person)

(3-4 months after project had ended January 2022 – February 2022)</td><td>Semi-structured interviews after outreach project B: 10 x interviews with “core” young people (2 interviews online, 8 in person)

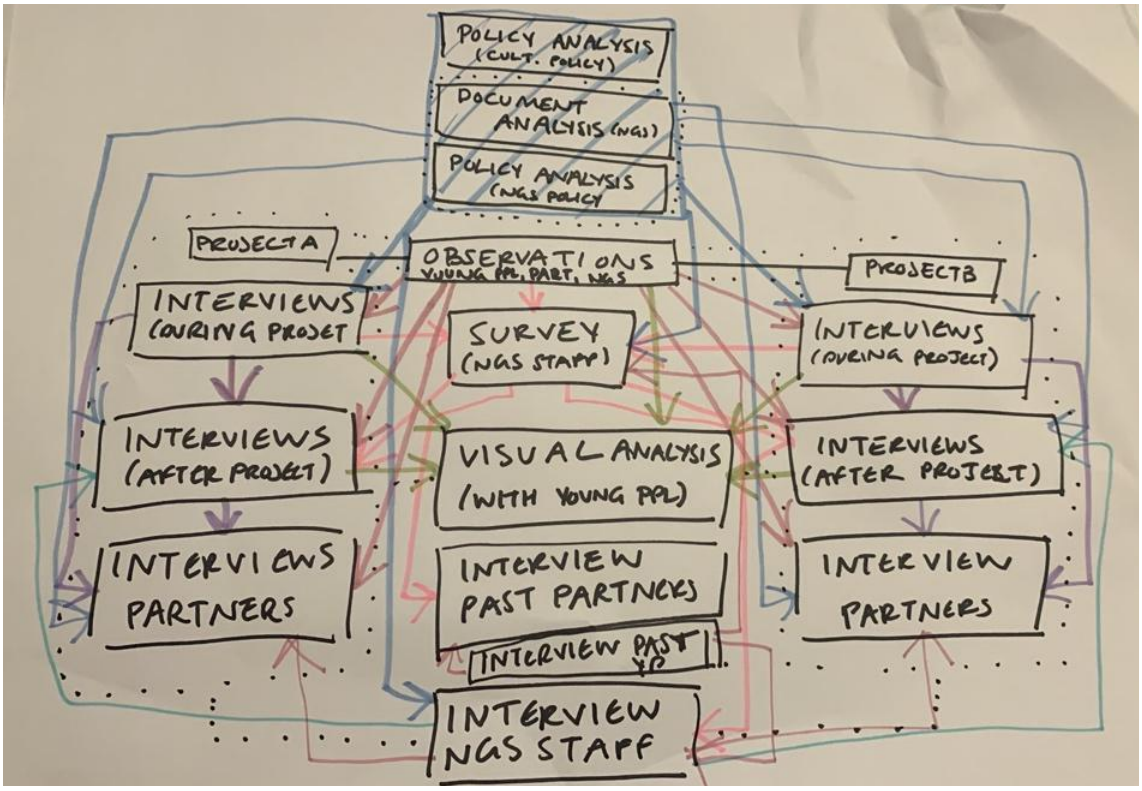
(3-5 months after project had ended September 2022 – December 2022)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Visual analysis project A: 36 artworks made by young people during outreach sessions analysed – explored and analysed with young people (December 2021)</td><td>Visual analysis project B: 64 artworks made by young people during outreach sessions analysed – explored and analysed with young people (August 2022)</td></tr>
</table>

Survey questions: open-ended survey sent to all NGS staff (300 est.) with 42 responses received (June 2021 – December 2021)
Semi-structured interviews with previous participants of outreach projects: 6 x interviews with young people who have taken part in previous NGS outreach projects (4 interviews online, 2 in person October 2021 – December 2022)
Semi-structured interviews with previous partner organisations of outreach projects: 6 x interviews with partner organisations who have taken part in previous NGS outreach projects. 3 x youth workers/teachers/social workers and 3 x administrative/operational organisation staff e.g. project managers (3 interviews online, 3 in person October 2021 – December 2022)

The above diagram relates to the extent of the fieldwork but does not capture the iterativeness and complexity of the work which was undertaken and generated significant amounts of data and insights.

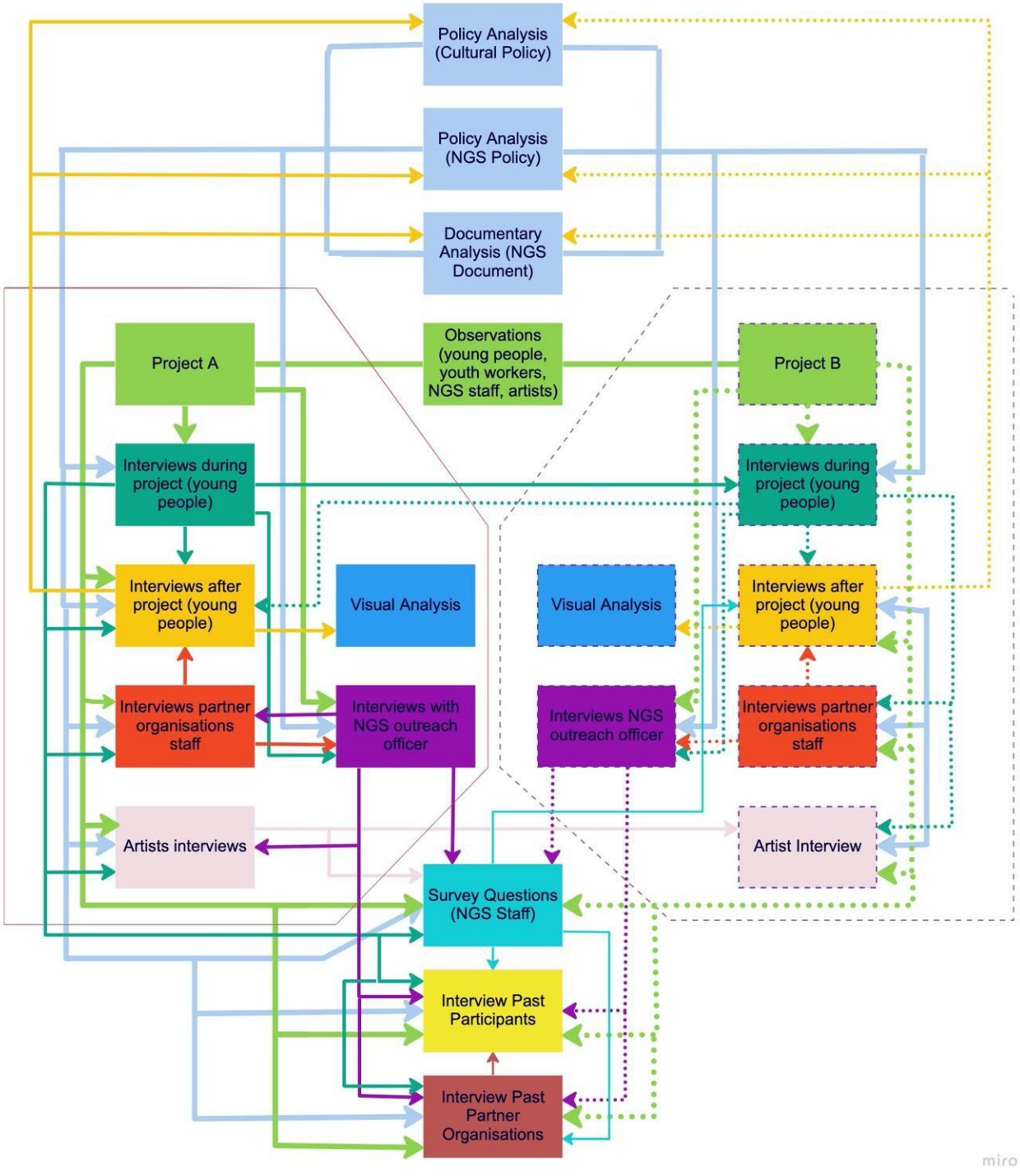
The scale of the fieldwork undertaken sometimes felt immense, as a result I found it difficult to trace themes across fieldwork. Below is an initial diagram to show how lines of enquiry travelled across and between elements of the fieldwork.

Figure 2: The messy iterative process



The iterative process captured here proved vital in developing an understanding of the research data which were emerging from my fieldwork, as well as data analysis. Data was being created after having been informed by other data. The messy and complex nature of the above diagram mirrors the iterative process itself. A more formal diagram of the iterative nature of fieldwork, and analysis can be found below:

Figure 3: Iterative fieldwork diagram



How the iterative fieldwork process was utilised within the methods will be further explored when this chapter moves on to consider the specific methods adopted.

4.4.1 Overview of the two key NGS outreach projects (Projects A and B)

The following provides an outline of the two NGS outreach projects, Projects A and B, which were the sites of 300 hours of observations; interviews with young artists, artists, NGS outreach staff, youth workers and other partner organisation staff; and where I explored the art many young artists had made. These outreach projects were the vital core of the research project overall.

Project A

Whilst it is recognised that initial project plans sent to funders may change and develop over time, the application for funding provides some insights into the initial aims and ambitions of Project A:

> We propose to work with 9 groups of young people, approx 200 individuals, to create artworks, outdoor and indoor events and exhibitions in [local park] and [local town]. The creative activities will be fun, exciting and unusual… Young people will be referred to the project by social and youth workers. Individuals who may require more support will be given increased contact time and 1 to 1 or smaller groups sessions where required... The issues participants decide to address will be decided on by the young people themselves but specific workshops will be geared toward an 'issue menu' - mental health and wellbeing, drugs and alcohol, LGBTQ issues, suicide, work, and built around campaigns such as the [local mental health campaign] and the work of [local support group] The project will initially take place online… (NGS, 2020c).

Project A was later described on the NGS website as follows:

> The premise was simple, make some life affirming artwork with young people in [local area]. The artwork would be made for public spaces and involve young people from across the region. It would be fun. It would have their interests and ideas at the heart of the project and be facilitated by with professional artists. The artwork created would be exhibited (NGS, 2023c).

The Outreach Officer running Project A encouraged a participant observation method, telling me "if you're here, you're taking part". The project worked with an estimate of 200 young people, with a core group of 12 young artists[7] returning to sessions regularly both online and in person. These young artists came from a variety of backgrounds, but all lived in or around the same small post-industrial town in Scotland and many of the young artists had been signposted to Project A via youth support services or family support services. The core group of 12 was made up of young people aged 11-20 years old, some of whom were living in kinship care, some in supported living services, some participants had disabilities, and one young artist described the group as having "complicated and chaotic" lived experiences.

I did not engage with activities initially but was able to observe the outreach activities from a distance during this phase. This approach also allowed for a much-needed slow introduction

[7] These young artists were regular attendees to the workshops available through the outreach project, both online and offline, with most young artists attending 40-70 hours of activities during this time and as a group identified one another as "core", as opposed to one off attendees or those taking part in school activities who did not 'opt in' to the project.

into fieldwork, as well as the opportunity to observe the young people's social dynamics and become conscious of these before engaging in a more "participant as observer" way in digital sessions.

After two months of online activities Project A began to work in person. In person activities took place during school holidays and in weekly drop-in sessions, both during and out of school terms. The project involved a changing rota of artists and youth workers, which resulted in me being one of the most regular adults associated with the project, aiding the development of trust between myself and some of the young artists. This relationship was reflected on by a young artist during interviews:

> Karl A: I see you and it's just like, Rosie's going to chat about any old shit, but that's what I like… it's easy, like this isn't serious, or it's not school we can just chat about things, and we always end up making something and talking about it but it's easy. You always manage to get us to chat shit but then important shit.
> Rosie[8]: So would you say I'm easy to talk to?
> Karl A: Well I don't want to give you an ego.
> (Karl A Interview 1, 2021)

The Outreach Officer would attend most sessions, but not all, as would at least one youth worker. Activities included, but were not limited to, creating wire sculptures, building a shared seated space in a local park, illustrating sounds of birds, creating huge ribbon sculptures in public places, taping phrases on buildings and walls, drawing, and collaging imagined changes to the young people's community, and painting and printing from plants. Whilst the themes and approaches of the sessions changed depending on the artists, there was a broad understanding that the outreach project was to encourage young people to experiment and develop their art in collaboration with, rather than directed by, the artists. Much of the work involved considering ways their local community could change, and how young people might creatively envisage that change.

Project A did not just work with the core group of young people but also made 'art packs'; boxes containing art materials and images of the local community and handed them out to partner organisations. It also hosted open sessions for larger groups of young people and community groups, as well as working with three groups in local schools. As the project developed and grew, new project partners were developed and shorter engagements with other young people occurred. I observed four of the shorter activities but made a conscious decision to focus my fieldwork on the activities involving the young artists who were engaging with the project over a longer period (to explore impact over time). I was also aware that as Project A began to expand its partners and practices, Project B was starting up and my ability to undertake fieldwork at all activities happening across the NGS team was limited.

Project B

Project A's funding application does not capture the depth, breadth, or liveliness of the project, and nor does Project B's. However, it again offers an overview of the initial intentions and aims of the project:

[8] In interviews "Rosie" refers to the researcher conducting the interviews.

> This is a learner-led, alternative art school in [local area] that will empower its young people to represent themselves via the regeneration of the local landscape. They will create their own landscape art interventions and document these artworks to build a photographic image bank for use by [local heritage partner] as part of their public communications. The project will involve local school students (after-school) and young unemployed people working with both professional artists and National Galleries of Scotland staff to make their mark on their local environment. They will be able to tap into the NGS contemporary art and photography collections, including photographer Milton Rogovin's 1982 series on Scottish mining families featuring [local area]. The project will reconnect the young people with the area's heritage, as a jumping off point to explore their present-day lives in the area and their hopes for their futures (NGS, 2020b).

Project B worked with over 70 young people over 11 months in and around a small post-industrial Scottish town. Like the town in Project A it is listed on the Scottish Government's website under The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation[9] as a "highly deprived areas". Project B's core group of young people changed significantly over time because of changes in partner organisations, community group developments, social shifts, and school obligations of older participants. Project B also had several strands including, but not limited to: workshops with families supporting young people with additional access needs; photography sessions and discussions with former miners; workshops with primary schools; and sessions at the local football club. For this study, only the work focussing on young artists was explored.

The initial idea behind the project was an "alternative art school" and offered several full days of art activities to young people in the local area. As the project developed, the aim was to host an event labelled the *Town Take Over*, which happened on June 11th, 2022. Initially six young women engaged during the school summer holidays at the local high school in 2021. The young women who attended were all studying art at school and either working towards their Highers[10] in Art or intending to.

When school began after the summer holidays, the project engaged with a further group of four young people, three men and one woman aged 12-14 years old, supported by a local youth worker. Some of these young people had learning disabilities, others lived in care, and some struggled with social anxieties. They took part in activities for five weeks at a local youth centre, during which time the group also worked with the young women who had taken part in summer school activities. The latter group acted as unofficial facilitators, supporting, and sharing creative ideas with the group of four.

[9] SIMD is a tool used by the Scottish Government to measure and analyse levels of deprivation across different geographical areas in Scotland. Deprivation (according to the Scottish Government) refers to the lack of access to resources and opportunities that are considered essential for a decent standard of living, such as income, education, employment, health, and housing. Geographical areas are provided with a SIMD score, which indicates the relation to other areas in Scotland. Scores are on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is within '10% most deprived areas' and 10 is within '10% least deprived areas'.

[10] Scottish Highers are the Scottish equivalent to A-levels. They are courses that students aged 16-18 in Scotland sit that can lead to university.

Project B then experienced a large influx of young people attending the weekly sessions, in the autumn of 2021. An estimated 21 young people began attending the weekly sessions at the youth centre alongside the young people supported by the youth worker. A core group of 15 young artists, 12 women and three men aged 12-15 years old, emerged over the following months, all of whom worked towards the *Town Take Over* in which their art works, music and manifestos would "take over" their local town. They were offered twice weekly one and a half hour sessions over a seven-month period. The core group often attended in bursts; some weeks eight or nine young artists attended sessions, other weeks just one or two. Some had learning disabilities such as dyslexia, some were LGBTQIA+, one was a young Muslim woman, two were young trans men, many of the group came from single-parent households, others lived in kinship care, and all lived within the same area.

Project B worked with several artists, with the Senior Outreach Officer being at all outreach sessions delivered with the core group of young artists. One lead artist worked with the core group of young artists throughout the project (Artist M), with other artists visiting the group. There was a clear connection between the lead artist, the Senior Outreach Officer, and the young artists in Project B because of this consistency of engagement. The young artists had the opportunity to explore diverse art activities including but not limited to, block printing, screen printing, designing and creating costumes, building sculptures, developing manifestos, photography, creating a town anthem, and exploring the NGS photography collection, specifically the work of Milton Rogovin to connect with the heritage of their local community through creative interventions.

Observing Project B was a little less "hands on" than with project A and my interviews with participants a little more formal. 12 young artists from the core group of 15 were interviewed during outreach sessions in a separate room to the outreach activities. I found that after being interviewed young people were often warmer and more talkative with me, as I was not considered a teacher, youth worker, or a facilitator. The young artists had not interacted with a researcher before, and their expectations were bound to their experiences of other adults. However, after interviews and protected time together, young artists had better knowledge of my role and were more eager to share their experiences with me. When I returned three to five months after the project had ended and the *Town Take Over* had acted as a celebratory climactic end to the project, I found young artists eager to reflect and share about their experiences. In many ways, by not being fully immersed in Project B I was able to offer the young artists a freer sounding board for their experiences as someone intent on listening to their experiences without judgement.

Six months after Project B had finished, the Senior Outreach Officer hosted an exhibition of the young artists' work in a local gallery. Three of the young artists who had taken part in Project B supported the Senior Outreach Officer in writing some descriptions of artworks, with one young artist giving a short speech about the outreach project and their experiences of it. This gave me another opportunity to engage with some of the young artists.

4.5 Methods

The methods (and data analysis) should also be considered within an iterative framework.

> The role of iteration, not as a repetitive mechanical task but as a deeply reflexive process, is key to sparking insight and developing meaning. Reflexive iteration is at the heart of visiting and revisiting the data and connecting them with emerging insights, progressively leading to refined focus and understandings (Srivastava, 2009, p.76).

The following exploration of the methods used within the research project should not, therefore, be considered a list of methods which worked independently of one another. For example, interview questions changed and developed dependent on other emerging data from policy analysis, and questionnaires for NGS staff were developed in response to observations of young people and their interviews. The methods utilised are therefore informed by one another, speaking to the interconnected approach of a method assemblage.

4.5.1 Documentary data: document, policy, and artwork analysis

Policy analysis was undertaken on; *A Cultural Strategy for Scotland* (2020) and the *Culture White Paper* (2016), to explore the discourses created by policies and their underlying assumptions. This policy analysis employed the *What's the Problem Represented to Be* (WPR) method (Bacchi 2016) which is a poststructuralist method of analysis. Just as Law emphasised that methods often *produce* as well as describe realities (2014, p.13), Bacchi's method reflects that "realities are created by, rather than reflected in, social practices, including policy and research practices" (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016, p.6). The WPR approach seeks to critically examine policies and how "the *problem* is represented within them and to subject this problem representation to critical scrutiny" (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016, p.2). The WPR method was therefore used to illuminate how young people, and those young artists typical within NGS outreach work, are described and understood within cultural policy and NGS policy. This analysis further explored the expected impacts of cultural policy and of working with young people in outreach projects.

I also analysed three different groups of NGS documents. The first were NGS policy documents, which I also used a WPR approach to analyse. These included the Annual Review (2020); Scottish Government Framework (2019); Corporate Plan (2019); Equality Outcomes and Mainstreaming Report (2021). The data which emerged from this policy and document analysis directly informed questions asked during semi-structured interviews with NGS staff, young artists, and partner organisations.

The second group of NGS documents analysed (using critical discourse analysis (CDA) explored later in the chapter) were internal documents. These included NGS funding agreements, project plans, partner agreements, and other documents not intended for public consumption. These provided insight into the organisational discourses underpinning outreach work. I do not believe the NGS should be viewed as a uniform, unvarying entity; as will be explored, the official statements and narratives of the organisation do not always accurately reflect the activities and efforts of the outreach team (or of the young artists they work with). These official narratives do not precisely capture the impacts of the outreach projects on young people. However, exploring and engaging in these organisational discourses allows for a robust understanding of the divergences, crossovers, and potential

conflicts between the organisational discourses and those of the outreach practitioners, as well as the young people taking part in outreach activities.

The third group of NGS documents analysed (also through CDA) were those generated from public and participant involvement such as feedback forms. The NGS outreach team have collected feedback from outreach participants over many of their projects. Since the outreach work began at the NGS, there have been over ten major outreach projects with young people. This feedback, along with the writing from the outreach team reflecting on and discussing these projects, as well as audience feedback to outreach exhibitions provide insights into previous NGS outreach work.

44 documents from the NGS, including but not limited to funding applications, project plans, evaluations, policies, participant feedback and NGS reflections were analysed in total.

I also analysed 100 images of artworks that were created during Projects A and B using a visual discourse analysis. These images also acted as visual prompts to explore ideas and questions with young artists during their semi-structured interviews and were also utilised in the open-ended questionnaire for NGS staff. This visual analysis allowed for me to reflect on the outreach projects meaningfully once they had finished, to explore themes emerging from the young artists' artworks and to provide points of reference for developing interview questions for the young artists themselves. It was also useful in the process of reflecting back Project A and B once they had finished with those that took part.

4.5.2 Observation

The iterative nature of the mixed methodology used aligns well with observation as a method. Observation encourages learning and reflecting on phenomena over a longer period, allowing more information, data, and phenomenon to emerge and inform the project (Lofland and Lofland 1995, p.19). Observations took place online and in person over 300 hours of outreach project delivery.

Observations can be considered an important part of the research project in that they allow researchers to gain a greater variety and richness of data. They offer an opportunity for "interweaving looking, listening and watching" (Lofland and Lofland 1995, p.19). I found that observations helped to develop and guide the interview questions I would later ask, not just of the young artists taking part in the outreach projects, but all those I interviewed.

> What people do may differ from what they say they do, and observation provides a reality check; observation also enables a researcher to look afresh at everyday behaviour that otherwise might be taken for granted, expected or go unnoticed (Cooper and Schindler 2001, p.374).

Observing helped identify how young people engaged throughout the projects, their emotional reactions to workshops and processes, subtle changes in their behaviour, as well as moments of social cohesion and social clashes.

My different positionality between Project A and B whilst observing added a further depth to the data produced. Project A involved participant observation. I immersed myself in the environment and actively participated in activities, rather than remaining an external observer. This again was linked to my previous position as an NGS employee and the trust the Outreach Officer had in me. Key features of participant observation, such as the researcher's immersion within the group they are studying, allowed me to experience the environment first hand and develop rapport with participants (Hoque 2017, p.324). Indeed, participant observation often aims to provide an "emic" perspective (Hoare et al. 2013, p.720), which means understanding the culture and experiences from the viewpoint of the participants themselves. This can lead to insights that might not be apparent through traditional outsider perspectives. By immersing myself in the context, I could better understand certain behaviours, decisions, and social interactions. This ultimately also helped in interpreting the data.

It would not be accurate to describe my role within Project B as a complete observer, that is a researcher observing without participating (Creswell 2003, p.186), but it would also not be accurate to describe my role as a participant observer as described above. My position sat between these two, and whilst I conversed with the young artists in Project B as they were creating artworks, the immersion and rapport was often lesser than in Project A.

4.5.3 Semi-structured interviews

Wengraf (2001) highlights how semi-structured interviews require preparation, more discipline than structured interviews, the ability to be creative and require more time for analysis and interpretation than fully structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews require intensive listening, note-taking, and require "a respect for and curiosity about what people say, and a systematic effort to really hear and understand what people tell you" (Rubin and Rubin 1995, p.17). They allow an interviewer to develop richer and deeper insights, as well as relying on the researcher's personality to help draw out and reflect on interviewees' responses.

Kvale (1996) and Rubin and Rubin (1995) view interviews as conversations. This signifies a shift from attempting to explore objective reality mirrored in a scientific model, towards discourse and negotiating the meaning of the lived world. Kvale (1996, p.42) discusses the research interview as a "construction site of knowledge" focusing on what is said during the dyadic interplay between interviewer and interviewee. The varying positions I had within outreach projects allowed for a greater breadth of interview styles and data to emerge. It is important to reflect on figure three, the iterative fieldwork diagram, to highlight how the varying interviews were shaped by other data emerging from fieldwork. The varying power dynamics between interviewing peers, young artists, partner organisations and NGS freelance artists led to some interviews being more conversational and relaxed in nature to others. Often young artists would be more conversational and relaxed in their second interviews with me, whilst artists were more comfortable and at ease within interviews from the start.

Interview samples

Interviews with young artists

25 young artists were interviewed in semi-structured ways about their experiences of NGS projects during Project A and B. 19 of these young artists were interviewed again, three to five months after the outreach projects had finished to explore potential longitudinal impacts, recognising that perceptions, experiences and even the language used to describe experiences changes over time (Crossick and Kaszynska 2017). These second interviews allowed insight into the potential way the impacts of outreach projects develop, change, or remain the same throughout their lifespan. The aim of these second interviews was specifically to deliver insights to the knowledge gaps identified by the Arts and Humanities Research Council's review (2017) which highlighted a significant need for in-depth and longitudinal studies exploring the processes and outcomes of participatory and outreach projects. Eight of these 19 interviews were completed online. A further six interviews with young artists involved in outreach projects other than Project A and B were also completed.

The 19 second interviews were informed by the young people's original interviews during the project. I brought along transcripts of their previous interviews and highlighted key moments I was interested in exploring with them. We were able to reflect on their transcripts and develop deeper and more insightful responses, as well as to explore some tensions between their original answers and the answers given in second interviews. As has been mentioned, I referred to young people as "artists" within interviews to validate their art and role as artists. One young person involved in Project B exclaimed "I can't believe you read that [interview transcript]!" which suggested that they were not expecting me to take them seriously. As a researcher returning to young artists, however I treated their artworks with care and consideration. I intentionally attempted to legitimise and validate the young people's art and identity as artists, in contrast to the deficit model discussed in the literature review. This small, but possibly political, act could be understood as a reflection on my positionality within the research. These acts further links to Law's concept of method assemblages, and the role researchers take in producing realities. The reality I wanted to create was one where young artists are legitimised and validated. I think that this 'recognition' resulted in young artists providing me with greater insights than they might otherwise have done.

Interviews were also arranged with six young artists who had engaged with outreach projects previously (not during Project A or B) about their experiences. Three of these young artists had taken part in more than one NGS outreach project. All these young people were suggested by partner organisations staff. It may be that they were considered suitable to be interviewed because of their closeness to the projects and personalities. Whilst these interviews provided additional insights into the impacts of NGS outreach projects, the young people interviewed cannot be considered representative of the other young people within their projects.

All the young artists interviewed as part of Project A and B lived in areas rated between one to three on the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD). The young artists interviewed from Project A and B all took part in a minimum of 20 hours of NGS outreach activities, and a maximum of 75 hours. The average length of time young artists engaged with Project A and B was 45 hours. Further contextualising information about the outreach projects the 6 young artists were involved in other than Project A and B can be found in appendices 10.5. The young artists are all anonymised throughout this thesis, and their names have been changed using

a random name generator[11]. As will be highlighted, it was the young artists' varying identities which the groups valued, and they often pushed against being easily categorised. Furthermore, some of the young artists' identities changed and developed during our time together (such as initially identifying as non-binary, and later trans). Many of the artworks created by the young artists reflected on their identities and will provide readers with insights into the young artists' identities. In recognition of the young artists' preference for collaborative endeavours that embrace a diverse range of identities, I have chosen to honour their collective approach. I do not delve into detailed individual descriptions of the young artists and their individual lives, instead below highlight some key aspects of the groups:

Project A Young Artists

All but one of the 12 (core) Project A young artists, had been signposted to the project by youth work services. The group were between 12 and 20 years old, with most being between the ages of 12 and 15 years old. As a group most of the young artists did not know one another before taking part, apart from three sisters. Within the group there were; LGBTQIA+ members; a variety of genders including non-binary and trans (although most of the young artists at the time of research identified as women); Muslim young artists; young artists with experience of the asylum system; young artists with experience of care; and young artists with negative experiences of mental health (such as depression and anxiety). All the young artists engaged in creative and cultural opportunities outside of Project A, including activities like horse riding; painting; photography; film; and writing.

Project B Young Artists

All the 15 (core) Project B young artists were between 12 and 16 years old, with most being between the ages of 13 and 15 years old. All the young artists, except one, attended the same school. The young artists were connected to different social groups within school, and only some could be considered friends before Project B. Within the group there were; LGBTQIA+ members; a variety of genders including non-binary and trans; a young Muslim artist; young artists with experience of care; and young artists with negative experiences of mental health (such as depression and anxiety). As with Project A, the young artists all engaged with creative activities outside of the project such as writing; drawing; costume making; sewing; and music making.

Young people interviewing other young people

In the spring of 2022 one young artist from Project B, Claricia B, expressed an interest in interviewing other young people about their experiences of the project. Claricia B informally took on the role of project evaluator and monitor. She would regularly note attendance of other young people, and host conversations about their experiences of the project and her interest in changing their town. Unfortunately, by the time ethical approval had been received for young people to interview one another, Claricia B was no longer interested in interviewing other young people and was attending sessions irregularly. However, on the final day of the project another young person, Charlie B, expressed an interest in my voice recorder. Charlie

[11] The names given to the young artists have been chosen using a 'random name generator', with the initial 'A' or 'B' used to signify which outreach project they took part in. For the 6 young artists not involved in Project A or Project B, they have been given the initial 'C'.

B interviewed six other young people about their experiences. Some interviews were only 30 seconds long, others 15 minutes. The young people talked to one another openly about their experiences of the project and how exciting the *Town Take Over* day was.

Interviews with NGS outreach staff

Four semi-structured interviews took place with the NGS employees leading Projects A and B. Both the Senior Outreach Officer and Outreach Officer were interviewed twice about their experiences, expectations and understanding of the NGS outreach projects and their positions within the NGS itself. Interviews were often complex and informed by my privileged position as an ex-NGS employee with a pre-existing relationship with the outreach team.

Interviews with artists

Five artists were interviewed during the outreach project observations. The lead artist from Project B was interviewed as they provided an important role within that project, working closely and regularly with the core group of young people. Their insights also helped to form the concept of "core" groups of young people. The different degrees of involvement of artists in Project A allowed for interesting and divergent insights as to the complexity of different approaches to working, even within two outreach projects from the same organisation, as well as differing approaches and understandings of outreach projects. Details of the artists interviewed can be found in appendices 10.4.

Interviewees with employees of partner organisations

14 employees of partner organisations were interviewed about their experiences and understandings of NGS outreach projects including teachers, youth workers, community organisation managers, charity managers and support workers. Some of the partners worked closely with young people during projects, whilst others held more administrative and operational positions. The variety of people interviewed led to interesting differences of opinions and experiences. These interviews took place with partner organisation staff involved with Project A and B as well as those partners who had previously been involved in other outreach projects. Details of the partners interviewed can be found in appendices 10.4.

4.5.4 Open-ended questionnaire for NGS staff

An open-ended questionnaire was sent to all NGS staff to explore their perspectives of the organisation's outreach work. The use of open-ended questions allowed respondents to explore and share information which they consider important or pertinent (Popping 2015, p.24). The survey questions developed iteratively from analysis of interviews, policy analysis and participant observation.

Further to the text-based questions, two images of work created by young artists during the outreach projects were used as visual prompts to explore the "value" of these artworks. This approach was directly informed by what young people had articulated as valuable when considering artworks. The questionnaire was shared across NGS through their digital news boards and circulated via emails. A total of 42 responses were received from employees across the organisation, out of 350 (estimate) employees. All but two of the responses provided a level of detail and depth.

4.6 Analysis of the Data

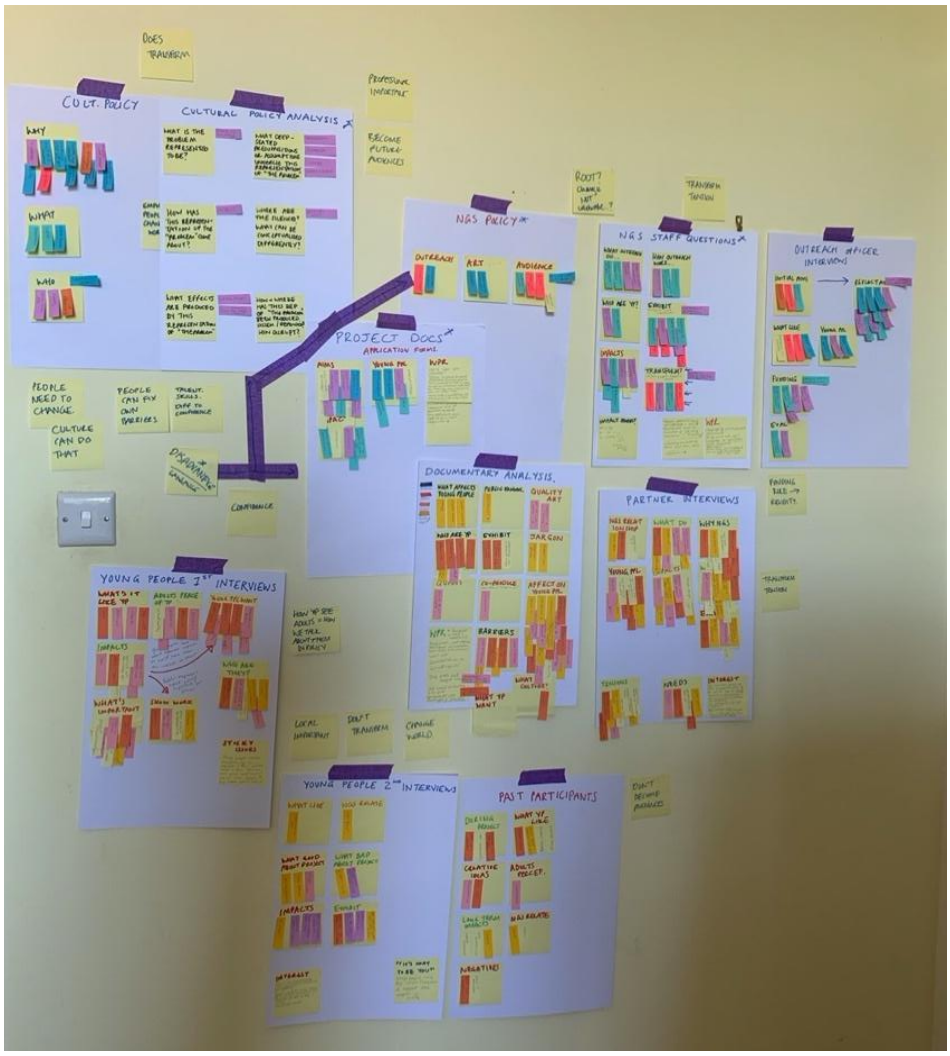
4.6.1 Utilising situational maps

It became clear early on in the fieldwork (during Project A) navigating the vast quantities of themes and insights from the large amount of data produced was going to be difficult. I began to rely on messy situational maps as a continuously growing and informative process in managing and reflecting on data.

> A situational map should include all the analytically pertinent human and nonhuman, material, and symbolic/discursive elements of a particular situation as framed by those in it and by the analyst… It is likely that, over time, not all will remain of interest, but all should be specified (Clarke 2005, p.87).

Data, including my own fieldnotes, were roughly coded before being included within a messy situational map, so an initial exploration had occurred before the mapping process started. These maps were physical and made up of post it notes detailing the "pertinent human and nonhuman, material, and symbolic/discursive elements" (ibid.) of data. The maps grew and changed and acted as an easy way for me to navigate such large quantities of data. As the image below highlights, post it notes with themes, lines of inquiry or potential tensions were scattered across the wall. Having these situational maps physically on my walls throughout the months I undertook fieldwork, allowed for the themes emerging in the data to be grasped.

Figure 4: Situational maps in situ



As Clarke notes "it is far too easy to become analytically caught up in a few stories and lose sight of the big picture" (2005, p.95). I found this within my own research project, and I would often reflect and consider the events I observed in outreach projects in granular ways through my fieldnotes. The situational maps facilitated some distance from the data and provided a much-needed overview so that interconnecting themes and an iterative research process could happen.

4.6.2 WPR analysis

The WPR approach "starts from a simple idea: that what we propose to do about something indicates what we think needs to change and hence what we think the "problem" is" (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016, p.16). Bacchi further explains:

> The analytic task becomes teasing out the conceptual premises underpinning problem representations, tracing their genealogy, reflecting on the practices that

> sustain them and considering their effects. The objective is to examine critically… the politics involved in its making (2016, p.17).

Bacchi (2016, p.20) identifies six questions to apply to policy documents:

- What is the problem represented to be in a specific policy or policies?
- What deep-seated presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the "problem"?
- How has this representation of the "problem" come about?
- What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the "problem" be conceptualised differently?
- What effects (discursive, subjectification, lived) are produced by this representation of the "problem"?
- How and where has this representation of the "problem" been produced, disseminated and defended? How has it been and/or how can it be disrupted and replaced?

Bacchi's approach draws on the work of Foucault and his notion that power is relational and productive, as she argues: "…the WPR approach focus[es] on the practices and relations that produce "problems" … Policies also produce "subjects" (2016, p.29). In so doing, policies involve relations of power".

This research explored not only what the "problems" within cultural policies are highlighted as, but the power dynamic hidden within those problematizations through Bacchi's WPR approach. Practically, I began the WPR process by coding the policies within the software Nvivo, and then by applying the six questions to each document (*A Culture Strategy for Scotland, The Culture White Paper* and NGS policies). By coding the documents beforehand, flashes of themes and ideas could begin to emerge, as well as informed my closeness and familiarity with the policies themselves. This also led to information being shared on situational maps and informing the iterative research process described above.

The WPR method was utilised as it recognises the hierarchical nature of power, and how policy may enact power in complex ways. As discussed in chapter three, much of the literature on young people encountering art activities paints these young people in deficit terms, and the WPR analysis attempts to trace potentially similar problematizations of young people.

4.6.3 Critical discourse analysis

The analysis of NGS documents, questionnaire data, fieldnotes and interview data utilised Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) and explores two main structures in discourse: external and internal relations (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016, p.7). Whilst the WPR focuses heavily on social knowledge and discourses, CDA focuses more on the linguistic content of documents. For Fairclough (2013, p.19) critical discourse analysis:

> …is partly analysis of discourse, of dialectical relations between discourse and other elements … It can particularly bring such a specifically semiotic focus to analysis of the proliferation of strategies, strategic struggle, the dominance of certain strategies, and their implementation in social transformations.

Furthermore CDA "…is committed to producing and deepening certain forms of knowledge and understanding" (2013, p.21) and "can unlock the ideologies and recover the social meanings expressed in discourse" (Teo 2000, p.11). Using CDA allowed me to explore the ideological power embedded in the language within NGS documents, as well as within accounts of the people being interviewed. It highlighted that what some policies, documents and people would consider "valuable" could also be considered as ideological power enactments by others.

Whilst Fairclough highlights there are two main structures in discourse, the internal and external, he also focuses on different "types of meaning" (2003, p.27) "to bring a social perspective into the heart and fine detail of the text" (ibid.). As such, he acknowledges that texts are multifunctional and by identifying these different functions/meanings, text can be analysed from a rhetorical, logical, and dialectical perspective.

Fairclough's CDA approach can be used alongside Halliday's development of theories on intertextuality; that is the relationship between one text and others in the world (Jones 2019, p.7). Halliday argues that "… language is a medium through which interactional meaning (such as attitudes, judgements, and feelings) is expressed" (Teo 2000, p.18). Again, the situational maps created offered an opportunity to explore the potential "relationship between one text and other texts in the world" (ibid.). These relationships were not always comfortable and the concepts of value emerging in situational maps allowed opportunities to reflect on potential tensions within the data, and notably the different value assigned to the artwork created through outreach projects by the NGS and the young artists themselves.

4.6.4 Visual discourse analysis

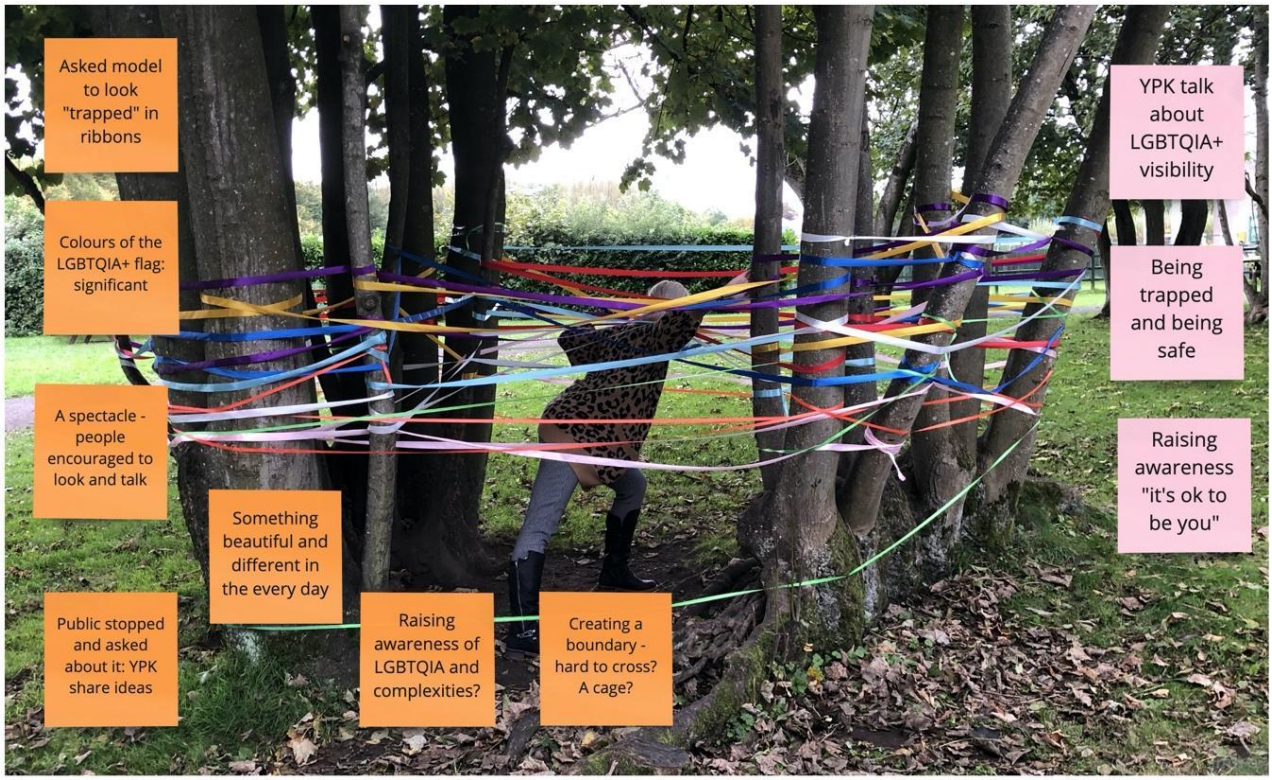
Some of the artworks created during outreach projects underwent a visual discourse analysis (VDA). This form of analysis "entails paying attention to certain aspects of the social context of discourse production" (Rose 2012, p.215). In many ways, VDA treats visual art as a form of language, which can be analysed as such.

It is argued that VDA and visual methods "enhance the richness of data by discovering additional layers of meaning, adding… depth, and creating knowledge. They add to traditional methods by capturing more detail and a different kind of data than verbal and written methods" (Glax 2017, p.1). By recognising visual images as important sites of meaning, VDA suggests images contain as much, if not more, information as text-based interventions such as interviews and questionnaires. Just as with text, images can be analysed from a rhetorical, logical, and dialectical perspective. It is worth noting that the images explored through the VDA were created as part of the outreach projects and not in direct responses to interview questions. This provided an additional and exciting layer of data which was not created in response to me as a researcher.

This analysis of visual messages was then further explored with young people who created them in interviews. This provided unique insight into points of difference in the views of the NGS and partner organisations discussed the art works produced. As Albers argues "Visual language is reflexive; it both has the capacity to create and reflect the context in which it is created… images are created that create visual messages…" (2019, p.14).

The image below highlights the first step of the VDA process, with orange notes (on the left) reflecting the initial analysis of images I undertook, and pink ones (on the right) the responses from the young person who made the artwork as explored in subsequent interviews.

Figure 5: VDA example (from Project A)



'Ribbon of Pride': Ribbon and tree, Karl A 2022.
Photograph showing a sculpture made of colourful ribbons wrapped amongst trees, with space between in which an adult pose with their back to the camera, leaning against the ribbons.

4.6.5 Thematic analysis

Having developed a mixed methodology, which utilises iterative processes and a variety of analysis such as CDA and WPR, I used a thematic analysis to weave these explorations together. A thematic analysis was best suited to exploring the vast quantities and diverse range of data produced. A thematic analysis can be used for several purposes:

1. A way of seeing
2. A way of making sense out of seemingly unrelated material
3. A way of analysing qualitative material
4. A way of systematically observing a person, an interaction, a group situation, an organization or culture
5. A way of converting qualitative information into quantitative information

(Boyatzis 1998, p.4).

This iterative process involved not only an initial reading but also a thorough re-reading of the data several times, which allowed for a deeper understanding and interpretation of the underlying themes and patterns. A significant portion of this data was organised and coded using NVivo, a tool that facilitated a more structured and nuanced analysis. Additionally, I engaged in a critical discussion of the emerging themes with my supervisors and peers, further exploring and contextualising them within the broader scope of my study. To visually represent and explore the relationships and dynamics within the data, I utilised situational maps (previously explored in this chapter), which served as an effective tool for mapping out the complex interconnections and perspectives that emerged from my thematic analysis.

4.7 Researcher Positionality

Whilst positionality is a critical aspect of research, “discussions about researchers' positionality… lack insight about personality” (Moser 2008, p.385). What occurred during my research was that my researcher positionality emerged relationally to the young artists I was working with, and that my personality played a crucial role in developing these relationships. This choice of celebrating, rather than muting, my researcher positionality was inspired by the words of Sikes (2013). Sikes focusses on autoethnography, which I did not undertake myself, but provides a useful reflection on researcher positionality. She argues that “for many, especially for women being educated as researchers, voice is an acknowledgement that they have something to say… to make my own special contribution” (2013, p.23). The ability to reflect on my own positionality, through field notes was useful in recognising my positionality and to explore knots and tensions within the research project in open ways.

As a previous NGS employee and an interdisciplinary artist myself, observing the NGS projects was an opportunity to reflect on my own perceptions and preconceptions. I resigned from a previous position at the NGS as a Community Development Officer in 2019 predominantly due to an increasing urgency to interrogate arts and cultural practices with communities of people underrepresented in subsidised arts and cultural programmes. I felt some frustration towards, what I considered to be, a lack of criticality in approaches by the arts and cultural sector. This background strongly influenced my decision to not only undertake the following research, but the critical approach I have adopted. This tendency towards criticality was substantially influenced by the debate on participatory art between Bishop and Kester, that I explored within the theoretical framework. I was studying an undergraduate degree in History of Art, with a focus on contemporary practices at the time of their original debates and their discussions. Kester’s enthusiasm for troubling artistic authorship was formative during my early higher education.

Importantly, one previous colleague at NGS was not only my PhD supervisor within the project for the first two years but was also the Senior Outreach Officer delivering Project B. This also greatly influenced my relationship to the fieldwork. At times, it was complex balancing his needs and expectations of the research as a PhD supervisor, and as a partner on the study. He steered the research relationship I had with the young artists, encouraging me to act as a silent observer at times. This position within the research was a marked departure from Project A in which the Outreach Officer encouraged me to engage, work alongside, and create

with the young artists. However, these differing positions within the projects greatly benefitted the data generated.

Of course, it has been impossible to completely unwind my own artistic identity from the research project. My practice as an artist is a large contributing factor to my motivation to undertake this research project, and I actively sought to legitimise the young artists' work because of my experiences as an artist. This decision was also informed by my lack of formal artistic training (with a background predominantly in History of Art). The value my practice has, for myself and other people, is not linked to legitimate institutions in Bourdieun terms (1986, p.26). Therefore, I resisted attempts to describe their artworks as "good" but instead expressed enthusiasm for them drawn from the young artists' intentions (such as wanting to positively impact their social worlds). I actively sought to value the young artists' artworks on their terms, just as I hope others do my artworks.

My experience growing up also intersects with the "complicated and chaotic" (as one young artist stated) experiences of the young artists in Projects A and B. Of course, this self-assessment directly influenced the design, execution, and interpretation of the research. I was the first of my family to go to university and grew up in what could be described as a working-class household (although my parents did not always 'work'). Developing trust with young artists who may have experienced instances of frustration and disappointment due to their identities takes time, care, and consideration as I know from my own lived experiences. As such I dedicated a huge amount of time to the young artists in Projects A and B.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval from the General University Ethics Panel was received for the above methods. The iterative process meant several returns to the ethics committee. Below is an overview of most of the ethical implications engaged within this project.

4.8.1 Consent

There is a necessity of ensuring young people's understanding of the meaning of consent, assent, and confidentiality. Consent forms were sought from all young artists involved with the research accompanied by information sheets. Young artists' guardians (parents and carers) signed consent forms to confirm that both the young artists and their guardians understood the project and gave consent for the research to happen. Informal conversations throughout the outreach sessions also informed the young artists' ongoing understanding of consenting to the research. Videos were also made to explain the project, which mimicked the videos young artists had received from artists involved in Project A.

NGS staff who completed the questionnaire were all provided with robust information sheets and invited to chat to me about the research if they wished. All staff indicated that they had read and understood the information sheets before answering the questionnaire. Whilst a memorandum of understanding exists between the University of Stirling and the NGS which contains such information, staff were concerned about how the information would be used. Staff, like all participants, were given the option to be anonymised and the ability to withdraw from the research at any point, as well as not taking part at all if preferred.

Some staff members were not fully anonymise-able (for example the outreach department is made up of just three members of staff), however, as the NGS are a partner in the collaborative studentship the outreach team have been heavily involved with the design of the PhD and the expected research lines of inquiry and are aware of the content of the thesis. They therefore have had extensive prior insights into the research aims and objectives and agreed as individuals to take part.

Partner organisations similarly were provided with robust information sheets, with consent forms being returned before interviews were undertaken. Before the interviews, interviewees were asked to confirm they had read and understood the information sheet sent prior to interview and were given the opportunity to chat through their responses once the interview had finished. They were also offered the opportunity to withdraw from the research at any point.

4.8.2 Power hierarchies

Power hierarchies and relations between researchers and research participants may have potential ethical implications, as often highlighted by feminist researchers:

> Ann Oakley (1992) takes us further into relational territory. She explains why as a feminist she… did not regard it as reasonable to adopt a purely exploitative attitude to interviewees as a source of data… Breaking down conventional researched and researcher boundaries and seeking to build more equal partnerships, is one kind of ethical practice (Merrill and West 2009, p.173).

This approach informed mine, and the relational nature of research itself. The varying positions I took whilst observing outreach projects, and the resulting different researcher relationships that developed between myself and the young artists as well as outreach staff and freelance artists highlight an attempt to reject the “exploitative attitude to interviewees” (ibid.). When I intentionally used the term “artist” to refer to young artists during interviews, treating their artworks with the care I would artwork created by another artist, or returning to them with transcripts of their previous interviews, I was actively attempting to break down the “conventional researched and researcher boundaries” (ibid.). In many respects the power balance of a researcher asking questions of research participants did seem to shift to some extent. Many of the interviews with young people reflecting on the outreach projects I had observed them take part in, were characterised by more narrative and very open responses. There were three interviews with young artists exploring their artworks where they asked me more questions than I did of them.

At the same time, I experienced complex power hierarchies. In a specific instance during my research, I observed young artists participating in a workshop. One young artist became visibly distressed and upset. In this scenario, my role was that of an observer, not the facilitator, which was a position being held by a youth worker. This situation placed me in a less powerful position, which I found both upsetting and challenging, especially as I perceived the youth worker's approach to the distressed young artist as inadequate. Feeling a moral urge to support the young artist, I grappled with the boundaries of my role. It was a delicate

situation where intervening could overstep my position as a researcher. This experience led to a complex internal dialogue and subsequent discussions with the workshop organiser, NGS and my academic supervisors, about how such situations should be handled. It highlighted the nuances of power dynamics in research settings, especially when dealing with groups of young artists, many of whom have “complicated and chaotic” lives (Euan A Interview 1, 2021).

4.8.3 Participatory work but non-participatory research

While this research project explores the NGS outreach projects which are themselves participatory, the research project itself is not. The concepts of participation, collaboration, agency, competence, and co-creation recognised as underpinning the practices of the NGS outreach team were not always echoed within the research methods. The very hierarchies of power critiqued within the literature reviews and theoretical framework, may be therefore mirrored within the research. It is worth noting that the project title and overview were constructed without insight from the very young artists the project attempts to explore as part of a collaborative studentship. The term “disadvantaged”, for example, within the original research title is a descriptor that was not agreed with the young artists. Indeed, the language of “disadvantage” was explored with young artists and is a key focus in following chapters.

The project may have benefitted from the opportunity for the research to be more participatory. However, its size and scale, the need for the NGS outreach team to manage what activities took place during outreach projects, and the aims and objectives of NGS outreach projects being tied to external funding steered what could happen during projects and the ability to undertake participatory research was limited.

However, opportunities to inject a greater degree of collaboration into the project were developed. The young artists who were more involved in the 'active' forms of research (in person workshops and interviews) and in the co-construction of the outreach interventions, also took a researcher’s role within those interventions.

4.9 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have identified and justified the methodological position chosen and identified the importance of iterative processes to the research and how these were adopted as far as possible.

Emphasis was placed on the importance of observing and exploring Project A and B within this chapter. Their ‘liveness’ and the connections made with young artists, artists, partner organisations staff and NGS staff, shared through semi-structured interviews and observations, highlight a depth of experiences and data. As I wrote in my fieldnotes, “this is where the good stuff happens''. The extensive amount of data generated during outreach project activities reflected the iterative research process and highlighted multiple insights and tensions.

I used WPR and CDA as tools for analysing documentary data as well as a process of visual mapping that also informed thematic analysis of the interviews and fieldnotes. Finally, I

discussed my researcher positionality and the ethical considerations of the research project highlighting the attempts made during the research project to navigate complex power dynamics through recognising and valuing the work that young people had undertaken within outreach projects and how I negotiated complex relationships with former colleagues.

Overall this chapter has highlighted the large and diverse dataset generated within the study, which aims to provide an in-depth exploration of NGS outreach practices and of attitudes towards these among other members of the institution. The next chapter (the first of three findings chapters) explores the value of art to young artists in outreach projects as they expressed as well as within cultural policy, the NGS and its partner organisations, drawing on documentary analysis, survey analysis, interview analysis and policy analysis.

5. What is Visual Art and Why Do We Value it?

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores cultural policies, National Galleries of Scotland (NGS) policies and documents, and young artists, freelance artists and NGS partner organisations understandings of visual art and what makes it of value. It briefly explores different definitions of visual art, as well as culture more broadly, to develop the understanding of visual art that will be used throughout this thesis based on what the young artists defined art to be, and not (as was found within NGS policies) based on the 'quality' of the artwork. The exploration of these varying definitions is vital as it illuminates that there are contrasting and conflicting understandings of the value of visual art professed in cultural policies, by NGS staff, NGS policies, NGS partner organisations and by the young artists within Projects A and B.

I begin by examining the underlying power dynamics and notions of cultural and social capital and habitus (Bourdieu) which may feed into the values and definitions of visual art within this chapter. After exploring differing definitions of visual art, the chapter then examines three key themes that emerged throughout the research and analysis. The first theme relates to concepts of quality of artworks. The important role different conceptualisations of quality have within disciplinary institutions, and the potential negative impacts that current conceptualisations of quality may have on the young artists engaging with outreach activities at the NGS are discussed. These conceptualisations are explored through the concepts of respectability (Skeggs) and cultural capital (Bourdieu). The second theme discusses the predominant cultural and NGS policy conceptualisations of visual art as a tool to positively impact those it engages with, especially in terms of health and wellbeing. These impacts align with those claimed by much of the UK literature explored in the previous chapter. The third and final theme relates to visual art's ability to open audiences up to new social worlds. This theme highlights the NGS' emphasis on the role of process as being the most significant part of working with young artists through outreach activities; and how this understanding conflicts with those of young artists, and partner organisations.

Cultural policy analysis, NGS documentary and policy analysis and surveys of NGS staff revealed complex, and multifaceted understandings of visual art within the institution. Similarly, the young artists and NGS partner organisations all expressed complex and at times contradictory ideas around the value of visual art. The chapter therefore highlights varying understandings of the value of visual art; and the need for cultural policy, and in turn for the NGS, to address the contradictions and tensions identified.

5.2 Definitions of Visual Art

This section explores differing definitions of visual art and discusses the lack of explicit definitions in cultural policy and within the NGS. In contrast to young artists' and NGS freelance artists' confident understandings of what visual art is. Drawing on these findings I will then introduce my own understanding of visual art, and how it will be discussed throughout this thesis.

5.2.2 Cultural policy and the NGS' understanding of visual art and culture

My analysis of *A Culture Strategy for Scotland* (2020) and *The Culture White Paper* (2016) revealed that there is an under-developed understanding specifically of what visual art, and culture, are within these documents. This under-development reflects a deep-seated presupposition or assumptions underlying the understanding of visual art (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016). The Scottish Government has previously pushed against providing a statutory definition of culture:

> even if it were possible to agree a definition of "culture" in the Parliament; it seems inevitable that it would very quickly become redundant. Ministers therefore consider a statutory definition of the "arts and culture" inappropriate and generally undesirable (Herbert 2008, p.6).

However, the analysis of these documents suggests an implicit bias in cultural policy towards forms of culture deemed worthy of public subsidy. This bias is rooted in deep-seated assumptions that inadvertently prioritise certain forms of cultural expression (such as those found within subsidised cultural organisations) over others, echoing Bacchi and Goodwin's critique of policy assumptions. The reluctance of the Scottish Government to codify culture into a statutory definition, as highlighted above, suggests a flexible approach to cultural policy. However, this flexibility does not necessarily translate into inclusivity.

The process undertaken to develop *A Culture Strategy for Scotland*, particularly the consultation process taken to develop the policy, exemplifies this issue. Despite being publicly accessible, these events were primarily conducted in partnership with organisations already benefiting from public subsidies. Individuals within these subsidised sectors (387 respondents) predominantly suggesting a consultation scope that inherently leans towards established, subsidised cultural forms. This methodology raises questions about the inclusivity of the consultation process and, by extension, the policies it informs. Drawing from Raymond Williams' assertion that culture is a fundamental aspect of social life requiring protection from marginalisation (1976), the consultation's design potentially sidelines non-subsidized, and perhaps more grassroots, cultural expressions. Such an approach not only risks neglecting diverse cultural practices but also reinforces a hierarchical view of culture where only certain forms are recognized and valued. This situation contributes to the "othering" of non-subsidized cultural practices, which remain outside the mainstream policy discourse and support mechanisms.

In addition, these major policies do not distinguish between visual art and other cultural offerings. There are no specific policies or understandings of visual art, but all cultural activities are considered potentially "transformative" (Scottish Government 2020, p.3), as having "potential to transform" (DCMS 2016, p.9), or for people to "see their lives transformed by it" (ibid.). The main difference between *The Culture White Paper* and *A Culture Strategy for Scotland* is the former's lack of concern for "everyday" cultural activities and experiences. However, both focus exclusively on publicly-subsidised arts and cultural activities and privilege these organisations and institutions by focussing on them in case studies, discussing their work throughout the documents and utilising images of their practices.

The NGS emphasises its adherence to *A Cultural Strategy for Scotland*, stating "we are closely aligned with the Scottish Government's purpose, priorities and National Performance Framework" (NGS 2021, p.5). This is to be expected of a nationally-funded organisation. The NGS Strategic Plan goes on to detail how it aligns with the Scottish Government's priorities, but similarly to *A Cultural Strategy for Scotland* provides no explicit definition of visual art. The deep-rooted connections to *A Cultural Strategy for Scotland* suggest that the NGS itself experiences a disciplining relationship with the Scottish Government.

5.2.2 "Anything you make is art": non-disciplinary definitions of visual art by young artists

In contrast, the young artists involved with NGS projects often expressed clearer understandings of the nature of visual art. Throughout interviews we discussed this issue: "Anything you make is art. It doesn't have to be good just to be art… it's more than what is on the walls of a gallery" (Karl A Interview 1, 2022); "the artist decides what is art, not people looking at it" (Sammy B Interview 1, 2022). Several young artists expressed the view that it is the person making visual art that determines what visual art is.

The young artists generally rejected concepts of quality (which is explored later in this chapter). For example, Karl A and Sammy B's (quoted above) definition of art is not based on notions of quality or "good" art. It is notable that the interviews containing the quotes above were carried out during the outreach projects themselves, when the young artists were highly engaged in art projects. As one of the young artists, Alex B, commented, art is - "what we've been able to do here and figure out…" - there is a sense therefore that the space provided by NGS outreach projects has been one in which these ideas and notions can begin to be formulated within the groups. Therefore, whilst the NGS policies share much of their conceptualisation of culture and visual art with the Scottish Government as evidenced in their claimed alignment within documents, the young artists taking part in their outreach projects formulated alternative understandings of what defines visual art. Some of these latter understandings were shared by the freelance artists working on NGS outreach projects:

> Artist M: A lot of what I do and make, it's not exhibited, it's not even photographed, it just exists because I made it.
> Rosie: Can you give me an example of something like that? Of some art you make like that?
> Artist M: Well… when I was travelling, I'd make small collections of found objects and leave them places, and they would exist just there, I don't know if anyone saw them, and I didn't take pictures of them, but they are still there in the world as an extension of me and are my artworks (Artist M 2022).

Similar definitions of visual art as something that is created, somewhat purposefully, and defined as a piece of visual art by its maker, were also shared by partner organisations; and especially by those partners who worked closely with young people such as youth workers and social workers: "Well of course, everything these young folk make here is art and whether it's on the walls of the [NGS] or just a doodle they throw away it's important" (Partner E 2021). This concept of visual art as objects, sounds, and images created by someone, whether in an institution such as a gallery or during their *everyday* activities - a concept which will be

discussed below - and defined by its maker as a piece of visual art, is one that I will adopt throughout this thesis.

This definition does not rely therefore on cultural institution's legitimisation of what is or is not visual art and emphasises a human-centred approach to visual art over values such as *quality.* If artworks are valued, even if not seen by an audience, other than the group of young artists, the emphasis shifts from external to internal validation. Furthermore, artworks that are never exhibited inherently reject the potential commodification of art, avoiding any capitalistic drive to shape the value of art. In this sense, the artist retains more autonomy over their work, aligning with the autonomist principles that Raunig discusses (2013, p.49). In the following section I focus more on the different concepts of quality employed.

5.3 Conceptualisations of Quality

Varying understandings of the role of quality within visual art are expressed in *A Culture Strategy for Scotland* and *The Culture White Paper*, the NGS policies, NGS documents, and by NGS staff, freelance artists, NGS partners, and the young artists. The following section explores these different understandings and highlights the tensions emerging between them and their potential impact on the young artists.

5.3.1 Concepts of quality art within cultural policy

A Culture Strategy for Scotland states that there is a need to "extend the view of culture to include the everyday and emerging… [and to] extend opportunities that enable people to take part in culture throughout their lives" (Scottish Government 2020, p.3). This statement seems to both recognise that culture is not limited to just those subsidised organisations but exists in everyday life (similar to Williams' conceptualisation of culture), whilst also suggesting that more people need to engage with more cultural opportunities. Despite the term "everyday" being mentioned 8 times within *A Culture Strategy for Scotland,* there is no clarification of what could be considered everyday culture other than its ties to "local, community-led culture" (2020, p.43) and "grassroots culture and creativity" (2020, p.47). The strategy does not therefore explore what "everyday" culture is or what it looks like, and this nod to the everyday aspects of culture could be considered tokenistic. By emphasising the work of only subsidised organisations, the strategy may in fact undermine the role of everyday culture and its claims to positive, and transformative impacts. As Oman highlights, in cultural policies:

> … articulations of cultural participation slip between everyday and elite activities, arguably confusing claims to social impact and understanding of what I call the culture-well-being relationship (2021, p.253).

A Culture Strategy for Scotland implicitly suggests therefore that whilst culture can exist in many spaces and places, it is only culture within publicly subsidised organisations that will provide quality experiences and be valuable. It could further be suggested that the conceptualisation of quality as tied to subsidised arts organisations leads to a legitimisation of their subsidisation, and de-legitimisation of everyday culture. Bourdieu's idea of legitimate culture, explored in previous chapters, underscores how certain cultural forms, tastes, and practices are sanctioned and elevated in society, often reflecting and perpetuating the

preferences and values of the dominant social classes (1984). *A Culture Strategy for Scotland's* emphasis on quality could be understood as a mechanism of creating *legitimate* culture. Moreover, Foucault's concept of discursive formations (1972, p.38) can be applied to understand how certain discourses around quality in art come to dominate and shape what is valued and what is not. These discourses are not just passive reflections but active forces that shape the field of artistic practice, determining what is seen as good or bad art.

The notion of quality is discussed explicitly within *A Culture Strategy for Scotland*; "we recognise the importance of producing excellent work and ensuring everyone has an equal opportunity to access culture of the highest quality across Scotland" (2020, p.16). Quality is associated only with publicly subsidised cultural organisations throughout this document which therefore pushes against the notion of quality culture being accessible outside of these spaces and places. The value of art is therefore linked to notions of quality and as Oman highlights, "elite" culture (2021, p.249). A tension between "elite" culture, representative of quality, and the everyday emerges. A *What's the Problem Represented to Be?* (WPR) analysis highlights this tension as something "left unproblematic" (Bletsas and Beasley 2012, p.21) and a potential "silence" (ibid.). This analysis suggests that the problem can be reimagined, not as a lack of quality cultural opportunities in everyday culture, but instead to highlight that the concept of quality itself may be problematic.

Unlike *A Culture Strategy for Scotland*, *The Culture White Paper* does not include the everyday in its assertion of what culture is. Instead, it firmly roots culture within subsidised institutions such as museums, galleries, and theatres. *The Culture White Paper* also discusses concepts of quality in far more overt terms. For example:

> In this White Paper we propose a new Cultural Citizens programme to increase the number of children and young people from disadvantaged backgrounds having high quality cultural experiences… Indicators measured could include level of educational attainment, level of engagement with culture, intended destination after completing education (2016, p.62).

The Culture White Paper therefore explicitly links quality cultural experiences with publicly subsidised places and spaces, and asserts that these are valuable as they result in individual developments, such as "growing confidence" (p.30), "mental and physical development" (p.21) and "improved social skills" (p.15), in those experiencing them. Quality emerges as a tool of definition by "elite" culture. Low-quality culture is associated with those not engaging with publicly subsidised culture. A divide between non-participation and participation therefore also emerges from the narrative of what is considered quality.

The WPR method of analysis highlights the construction of non-participants as problematic within both *A Culture Strategy for Scotland*, and *The Culture White Paper.* It further highlights how concepts of quality have become "presuppositions or assumptions under[lying] this representation of the problem" (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016, p.20).

5.3.2 Concepts of quality art within the NGS, the NGS partner organisations and the NGS freelance artists

Many of the NGS staff survey responses discussed the important role of quality within the NGS. Many of their answers connect the value of visual art to its quality, and this quality is associated with "professional" artists and not always with those that the NGS worked with through their outreach projects. NGS staff stated: "We show work which is of certain standards, the quality of the collections is what makes them important" (Survey 2022, Response 25) and "we can't just include everything, not everything will be good enough" (Survey 2022, Response 28). These responses support Bishop's concern that art should be created, top down, by professional artists, and that not everyone who participates in art activities will produce quality artistic outputs (2012). It is clear therefore many NGS employees consider the art collection within their care as quality, and that not all art created is of the same quality. This notion of the importance of professionalism, which is threaded throughout many of the NGS staff responses to the survey, is also reflected in *A Culture Strategy for Scotland*.

The NGS employees' responses also reflect Bourdieu's concepts of legitimate rather than high culture (Stewart 2013, p.3). Bourdieu highlighted how valued cultural objects are those that have been "consecrated by powerful institutions and people" (ibid.). The responses from NGS staff speak to the legitimisation of artworks through the quality imbued in them by the institution, and the professionalisation of that quality. The artworks deemed of quality by the NGS may become symbols of cultural distinction. The NGS, as gatekeepers, play a pivotal role in the process of legitimisation, influencing and reflecting the tastes and values of the dominant class. Indeed, the notion of some artworks being of quality, and others not, is also linked to Foucauldian theories: what societies accept as "truth", such as an artwork being of quality or not, is deeply entwined with who has the power to define and control knowledge.

Interestingly, some of the partner organisations, potentially less informed by cultural policies such as *A Culture Strategy for Scotland,* reiterated similar concepts of quality and the importance of professionalism. These partners, most of whom did not work closely with young people, included council workers who managed programmes of work, charity workers and those who managed other staff. For these partners there was an emphasis on the importance of young people being exposed to professional artists, implying that the young artists were not artists themselves, but instead could become artists through development with professional artists. In one interview with a partner, we discussed what made someone an artist:

> Rosie: So would you say the young people taking part become artists? Or are artists?
> Partner S: Umm… I think they make art but I wouldn't say are artists, no.
> Rosie: Can you tell me more about that… what would make someone an artist?
> Partner S: I think it goes back to what we were saying about making something someone would want to see…
> Rosie: Something of quality do you mean?
> Partner S: Yes exactly, artists and the folk from the galleries they make quality stuff, but that's not what our kids are doing here. Obviously it's amazing, the impacts are amazing, [the Outreach Officers] are amazing, but it's different (Partner S 2022).

Partner E however expressed a different view:

> We keep finding students that are artists. They have incredible minds, and I think yes you can argue everyone is an artist, but students who really get great pleasure out of it, but perhaps they've never perceived themselves like that at all, and so I think it [NGS outreach project] helped them perceive themselves in a different way (Partner E 2021).

Partner E therefore highlights how not all the young artists who took part in NGS outreach projects are artists, but that the NGS outreach project has helped some of them recognise themselves as such. Unlike Partner S, who suggested that the young artists were not artists, the emphasis here from Partner E is not on the quality of the artworks defining who is or is not an artist, but instead the individual's pleasure and creative playfulness whilst creating art.

In contrast, many of the partners who worked closely with the young people described (some of) the young people as artists themselves, and were more subtle and young-people focussed in their responses: "… one student well, they'd say I'm a young artist, but quite a lot of young people wouldn't use that label" (Partner M 2021); "you know [Gerard C] is an artist, they would use that word and I don't think they all would you know 'oh I'm an artist' but seeing someone their age or a bit older be called an artist and them too, could be big" (Partner E 2022). These partners, by recognising the artistic identity and contributions of young artists, push against Bishop's notion as repeated by many NGS staff, that art is predominantly the realm of professional artists (2012), and move towards a more experiential understanding of art. This shift aligns more closely with Bell's (2017) perspective, suggesting that art's value extends beyond the traditional boundaries set by professional status.

How the young artists were described and conceptualised in the projects studied will be explored further in following chapters, but the partners working closely with young people were clearly navigating language most appropriate to each young person and recognising the issue as multifaceted. As one partner highlighted, many young people are sceptical about visual art:

> I'm trying to sell it to a young person, I say, "It's an art group." And then it's like, "Art? I can't do that. I'm rubbish at art. I'm not doing that." But there's loads of different ways to skin a cat, if you like. There's loads of different ways to express yourself. So it's not just about your ability to draw or create things that are appealing to other people. It's about engaging with the stuff in your community (Partner B 2022).

From the perspectives of those that work closely with them, the young artists are a group that cannot be described definitively as not-artists or artists. Whilst the NGS may use concepts of quality to define if someone is an artist or not, the partners and young artists themselves, do not understand the identity of an artist in those terms. The artist/non-artist binary suggested by the NGS staff survey responses and in the NGS policy documents, is somewhat opposed by these partners and young artists.

The notion of "appealing to other people" (from Partner B's interview) seems akin to the notions of quality. When reflecting on Partner S statement "… artists and the folk from the galleries they make quality stuff, but that's not what our kids are doing here" (2022), quality begins to become embroiled in appealing to people other than the artist that has created the artwork. Again, Bourdieu's concepts of legitimate culture are echoed within this response; it affirms a hierarchy of artistic value leading to the creation of legitimate forms of art (i.e., not those created by the young artists). At the same time, there is also an interesting sentiment that "there's loads of different ways to express yourself" (Partner B 2022) within visual art, emphasising that the medium itself is multifaceted and unfixed. The partners' emphasis on the young artists' involvement with projects as important speak to art's role in experimentation and autonomy outside of disciplinary institutions, potentially reflecting Raunig's concept of autonomous free spaces (2013, p.23).

Just as the partners who worked closely with young artists occasionally referred to them as artists, so did the NGS artists. The NGS artists also expressed that the quality of art made by young artists did not determine their identity as an artist, and that each young artist would identify differently: "I think if I called [young person] an artist she'd be confused, right? Or probably tell me to go away" (Artist M 2022). Like the partners who worked closely with young artists, the NGS artists recognise young people as multifaceted and with different needs to one another. Not only would some of the young artists potentially not identify themselves as being artists, but the act of doing so might become a barrier to working with them: "Some won't ever think about being artists or art, but I think for some it might just be an opening, a new way of doing things" (Artist K 2021).

5.3.3 Alternative concepts of quality, moving away from a cultural policy perspective to more expansive understandings of visual art's value

Several of the young artists suggested that if their artworks were not seen that the experience of making the artworks was still of value however. Artworks being exhibited did not determine if a young artist was determined as an artist, or if the artwork was important, as one young artist articulated:

> Alex B: Of course… people seeing it is different and makes it different but… the doing and making even without that. If I say I'm an artist then I'm an artist even if my artworks don't get chosen to be shown in Edinburgh.
> Rosie: So what makes you an artist if people don't see your artworks?
> Alex B: I think… that's up to me as the person who makes art, even just silly doodles or like the Billy TV [a cardboard sculpture] I made… *you* don't decide if I'm an artist or what I make is art.
> Rosie: Do you think when you make things, like the Billy Box TV, that it makes you feel certain ways, or like we were talking about, impacts you maybe in some way?
> Alex B: I don't know, I said before it's just art and good to make and I might feel good one day, but… I put that into it not the other way around, does that make sense?
> Rosie: Are you saying you impact the art?
> Alex B: Yes (Alex B Interview 1, 2022).

This is a very different understanding of the artist to that implied by *A Culture Strategy for Scotland* and in turn the NGS. Furthermore, Alex B highlights a different understanding of the process of making art, and that it is artists themselves that define what art is.

Many of the young artists mirrored Partner B's responses and ideas surrounding concepts of quality. The young artists were often asked during interviews if they enjoyed art at school, with all but one of them saying they did not. When asked to elaborate, they would often respond with school being a space overly concerned with quality: "I don't enjoy art in school really because I prefer to make my own thing, and not how to draw these different types of things" (Karl A Interview 1, 2021); "More creative freedom here, at school we have to make in strict ways" (Violet B Interview 1, 2021); "The art that we do in school is boring" (Ariel B Interview 1, 2022); "We have to draw or paint... even if I liked something a teacher would say it's not good enough… Here I decide" (Euan A Interview 1, 2022). A tension is revealed between the understanding of quality artworks in schools (a disciplinary institution), and what the young artists value. It could be suggested that concepts of quality are understood as a tool for disciplining institutions, to control and maintain hierarchies impacting the young artists. There is a clear push against artworks being judged and understood through the lens of quality by the young artists themselves.

Some of the young artists from Project B were interviewed after a trip to the NGS to see their work exhibited there. In these interviews we explored their impressions of the artworks displayed and why the young artists thought they were exhibited. Some interviewees emphasised that the NGS could be elitist and exclusive. For example: "I feel like the art world is very much like… it's very exclusive... I don't think that the art world puts on art really based on anything real" (Ariel B Interview 1, 2022); "I think the museum [NGS] is like… how much money something is… who the artist is… I don't think it's necessarily based on what's like important these days" (Reilly B Interview 1, 2022). The tension surrounding what makes an artwork of quality and relevance to the young artists compared to the NGS and potentially cultural policy is exemplified in one interview:

> Ariel B: Well… we had some more control here [within Project B] and the stuff in the museum [NGS] we saw, it's someone else… it's clearly what old people think is important you know? And I know our things were there too and that was great but… we're not there forever I don't think?
> Rosie: No, I think your artworks will be in the space for a little longer but not forever, no.
> Ariel B: Yeah and… I don't want to sound mean I know I always sound mean but we were round a corner hidden away and… I don't know, I don't know how I felt about that.
> Rosie: Okay, cool. Well maybe let's go back to the other art in the gallery, can you tell me more about that?
> Ariel B: There's… okay this might not make sense but at my gran's house she has all things, like little things, in a glass sort of thing… she clearly thinks they are really nice but I think not. It's not, you know what I mean?
> Rosie: They're not important to you? And also can I ask, this is complex and I'm sorry if it's confusing, I suppose I'm still thinking… but there's this idea of what

> makes artworks “quality”—do you think yours, or like the stuff at the gallery is “quality”? Does that make sense?
> Ariel B: Well… I think that obviously the paintings we saw they were, like you said quality, because they are painted very, like very really well. But quality, like… what we do is totally crazy, totally different it’s not about that, it’s about saying “we think this is important” and that’s… is that quality? I don’t know… but I think it’s more important than just really amazingly painted pictures on a wall somewhere someone looks at for like, I was like 5 seconds and done (Ariel B Interview 2, 2022).

Ariel B’s interview highlighted the tension between what the NGS may consider of quality and what quality means to the young artists. They likened the artworks at the NGS to trinkets an older person considers of value. At face value, this analogy might seem dismissive or irreverent. However, it offers an insight that resonates with Bourdieu's theory of habitus. Bourdieu’s concept of habitus states that our tastes, preferences, and inclinations are not merely personal choices but are deeply ingrained habits shaped by our social upbringing, education, and class (Stewart 2013). Just as an older person accumulates trinkets that resonate with their life experiences, memories, and socio-cultural background, so too do art galleries curate artworks that reflect the tastes and values of the dominant class, serving as markers of legitimate culture. Ariel B’s analogy underscores the idea that what is displayed in a gallery is not just about aesthetic value but is a manifestation of collective social habits and the reproduction of cultural capital, a cultural capital that Ariel B does not have, nor is she interested in having. When considering the concept of quality, Ariel B highlights that the artworks on display within NGS reflect a quality which is not of importance to them personally. Ariel B’s interview suggests a disinterest in the forms of cultural capital on display at the NGS, and they further mentioned the separation of their artworks from the other artworks on display at NGS, acknowledging that their artworks were “hidden away”. They therefore indicated a tacit understanding that the artworks young artists are producing are not recognised as legitimate culture by the NGS.

Reflecting on the partner who discussed “it wasn’t good in like… what I think the galleries think is good, but it is way more powerful than a picture on a wall” (Partner B 2022), there appears to be a shared distinction amongst the young artists and some partners as to which artworks are considered important, and of quality, by the NGS. There is a shared understanding that what the young artists are producing is different to what the NGS typically display, but rather than this being taken as a reason to devalue these artworks this constitutes the very reasons they are valuable to the young artists and some partners. As reflected in Ariel B’s interview, there is a confusion around concerns for quality and for the creation of artworks which are “about saying ‘we think this is important’”.

5.3.4 NGS staff responses and policies relate to and producing the concept of quality

Young artists’ and partners’ ability to identify these differences perhaps represents a gap in NGS knowledge around what makes artworks of value to young artists. Furthermore, it signifies that concepts of quality currently held by the NGS are of no interest to the young artists. As indicated, many of the NGS staff survey responses suggest that quality art is not created by young artists. One survey question asked staff: “Do you think work created by young people and exhibited at NGS should be cared for as part of the NGS collections?,” with

14 responses of ‘Maybe’, 14 ‘no’, and 14 ‘yes’. Of those that stated ‘maybe’, most expressed a concern for the quality of artworks created: “Only if it merits it… There is no point collecting it just for its own sake as we can't show everything… However, where it relates to work in our collection and/or is strong enough on its own merit it could be interesting context for those national collection artworks” (Survey 2022, Response 6); “It costs money to conserve and store these artworks, but maybe exceptional works could be?” (Survey 2022, Response 16); “Not all of the art created will be of NGS quality, but perhaps the artworks which meet a certain standard could” (Survey 2022, Response 33). Among these responders who said ‘no’ there was an even greater concern for the quality of artworks:

> For artists and professionals who have studied and devoted their entire lives to art, to show or have a work in the national collection is still as good as it gets, the ultimate accolade and validation. We should not jeopardise this standard of quality, which are based on a number of criteria, that although themselves are subject to constant change, still operate to set us above our other collecting peers. Whilst there are many works that we respond to by young people, I'm not sure ultimately what value they possess beyond themselves as products of a particular time and place (a fate which I admit many works in the collection also shares!) (Survey 2022, Response 13).

This response overtly ties concepts of quality, and even value of that quality, to “professional” artists and not to the young artists themselves. The above response also begins to contradict itself however, bringing the artworks of young artists closer to the artworks the NGS collects “as products of a particular time and place”, indicating problems with a strict quality/not quality distinction. The response also highlights that concerns for quality are somewhat tied to the institution and not the artworks themselves; with a tacit suggestion that the NGS is in competition with other collecting organisations.

After requesting clarification from the NGS as to the requirements for collecting artworks, a senior member of the NGS Curatorial team shared section v. of the NGS Collection Development Framework (2019-2024), which details Collection Development Principles and Criteria. This document is not publicly available, but states the following:

> The development of the collection is guided by the following general principles and criteria:
>
> - The collection remains the basis and provides the context for all acquisitions;
> - We remain committed to building the most significant collection of historical, modern, and contemporary Scottish art, both in depth and quality;
> - We are inclusive in approach intellectually, and challenge traditional and official narratives of art history to include work previously neglected or marginalized;
> - We will aim to make the best use of the internal and external funding sources available to us to maximize our acquisition ambitions and to use mechanisms including Export deferral and Acceptance in Lieu of the same ends.
>
> The key criteria for proposing acquisitions to NGS Collection Committee and the Board of Trustees are:

- Does the artistic quality or research and learning potential of the work merit its inclusion in the collection of the National Galleries of Scotland?
- Does the work support the vision and aims of the National Galleries of Scotland and address the acquisition priorities of the Collection Development Policy?
- Does the work address the interests and concerns of contemporary and future audiences?
- Is the work in a good and authentic condition?
- Does the work represent reasonable value and is its cost in line with the current market for similar works?
- Has due diligence been done with regard to the work's provenance?
- Is the work compatible with storage and display constraints and our sustainability policies? (Gibbon 2023, n.p.)

The responses from NGS staff who were concerned about the quality of young artists' work appear to undermine many of the general principles and requirements of the NGS collection (as detailed above). The NGS framework states "we are inclusive in approach... include work previously neglected [...] we will work with our audiences and actively address the under-representation of artists..." (ibid.), which would apply to the work of the young artists involved with the outreach projects. The key criterion for acquisitions also highlights that it is not quality alone that merits an artworks collection, but also artworks' "research and learning potential" and the need to reflect the "depth" of Scottish art. It could be suggested that this criterion has not been applied to the artworks being created by young artists, despite their artworks providing immense opportunity for research and learning. It is notable that the NGS staff are tied to concerns for quality above all else, whilst quality itself remains undefined by the NGS both in their responses to the survey and even within their own internal document. Despite the NGS recognising a need to "work with our audiences" (ibid.), the young artists taking part in NGS outreach activities remain othered and separated from the NGS through this deployment of the term quality. The NGS are creating a hierarchy of artistic value, based on their creation of legitimate culture (Bourdieu 1984).

By not providing a clear and overt example of what makes some visual art quality, the young artists do not have the opportunity to interrogate or reflect on the NGS definition. Indeed, the lack of clarity around quality could be understood as a singular intellectuality (Raunig, Derieg, and Negri 2013, p.63), one that is legitimised as a tool by the disciplinary institution of the NGS and that relegates young artists outside of the collections and therefore outside of the art canon. The cultural capital associated with quality art reflects the tastes and preferences of dominant groups or institutions (Bourdieu 1986, p.26), here cultural policy and the NGS, which can marginalise and undervalue the works of artists outside of these groups, such as the young artists involved in NGS outreach projects. I would also argue that art that aligns with middle-class or dominant cultural values and aesthetics, such as those established within the art canon and championed by cultural policy, are more likely to be deemed high-quality. Indeed, the survey response explored previously likened quality to an institutionalised competitiveness, and I would suggest that the institutionalised nature of quality speaks to it being representative of cultural capital, a capital that the young artists do not have access to.

5.4 Visual Art as a Tool for Developing Young People and Participants: Process vs Quality

This section explores the concepts of visual art as a tool for development, and its value being tied to the transformation of people and growth in their social capital (Bourdieu 1986). It draws on the exploration of concepts surrounding quality within visual art above to develop insights into how disciplining institutions expect different kinds of people to engage in different ways with visual art. This section again reflects on *A Culture Strategy for Scotland* and its directly disciplinary relationship to the NGS and their practices.

5.4.1 Visual art as a tool for positive impacts: individualising the arts' impacts

A Culture Strategy for Scotland does not define what visual art specifically is, but ties it to publicly subsidised disciplinary institutions, and where its values are linked to those of other cultural offerings. These values are predominantly focussed on the impacts cultural offers can have on people. Typically, it is claimed that "culture can improve the life chances of all people, at every stage in life, in Scotland and it is an important element of action to reduce poverty and mitigate its impacts" (Scottish Government 2020, p.43). The value of visual art is presented in terms of the impacts it can have on people and communities; art as a valuable tool for change, art as having the ability to increase individuals' social capital. However, unlike other public policies such as health and social policies, there is a significant lack of guidance for cultural organisations as to how to produce these impacts. If, as *A Culture Strategy for Scotland* suggests, culture is of value because it provides a "transformative opportunity across society" (Scottish Government 2020, p.3), there are few definitions of what this transformative opportunity is, what transformative means, or how culture can deliver that transformation. Furthermore, the anticipated impacts whilst potentially reaching "across society" are often individualised, for example: "It plays a key role in maintaining good mental health and wellbeing… and increase[ing] self-confidence and resilience. It can support good health and wellbeing for all ages" (2020, p.35). There is a continuous push towards individuals changing and developing, increasing individual social capital, and thereby communities also changing due to: "culture [being] the life force that energises individuals and communities to grow" (2020, p.6) and "everyone should have the opportunity to participate in, develop and enjoy culture which, in turn, helps individuals and communities to thrive in Scotland" (2020, p.8). The policy implicitly suggests that the onus is on individuals to engage with culture to change, rather than the world around them changing.

The Culture White Paper highlights three core values which are; intrinsic (culture is an "enriching" force); social (culture can improve educational attainment and support better health); and economic (culture supports job creations and economic growth). *The Culture White Paper* moves on to detail these values in more depth:

> Culture creates inspiration, enriches lives and improves our outlook on life. Evidence suggests that culture has an intrinsic value through the positive impact on personal wellbeing… health, education and community cohesion… There is considerable evidence of the beneficial effects of the arts on both physical and mental health. This includes improvements such as positive physiological and psychological changes in clinical outcomes; decreasing the amount of time spent in hospital; and improving mental health… engaging in culture can increase the

> likelihood of a young person going on to further and higher education… cultural participation can contribute to social relationships, community cohesion, and/or make communities feel safer and stronger… culture can play a role in tackling crime (2016, p.15).

Noticeably *The Culture White Paper* slips between the terms "culture" and "arts" suggesting the two are interchangeable. It further removes understanding of what culture is from the everyday. But, just as *A Culture Strategy for Scotland* highlights it is the impacts of culture which make it valuable, so does *The Culture White Paper*. Again, there is a reiteration of individualised impacts, here based on education and mental and physical health, whilst concepts of larger more societal impacts such as "community cohesion" are also associated with individuals making changes and increasing their social capital. These two cultural policies may be creating a discourse that societal issues, such as poverty, can be solved through individual change rather than any wider societal one since, the problem is, again, represented as individualised.

Within both documents, there is a continuous link made between the value of visual art and young people's educational attainment and health and wellbeing; "the Scottish Attainment Challenge[12] is seeking to ensure that all of Scotland's children and young people reach their full potential. Culture and the arts have a big part to play in making this a reality" (Scottish Government, 2020, p.38); "we can see the difference that culture has on children's education and wellbeing" (UK Government, 2016, p.13). Both policies also suggest that art is of value as it can "have an impact on behaviour" (UK Government, 2016, p.34), and there is a continuous individualisation of impacts of the arts occurring through anticipated behaviour changes.

In addition, both *A Culture Strategy for Scotland* and *The Culture White Paper*, create a tacit divide between young people. In *The Culture White Paper* young people associated with "disadvantaged backgrounds" (UK Government 2016, p.8) are considered to have a different relationship to culture than young people who are not. There is an underlying tension which suggests that young people from "disadvantaged backgrounds" do not have a sustained relationship with culture:

> While the government considers that many of the elements needed to provide quality cultural opportunities for children and young people already exist, the network of provision remains patchy, with geographical and social barriers stacking the odds against those from the most disadvantaged backgrounds (DCMS 2016, p.22)

In contrast, young people already engaging with culture (publicly subsidised arts organisations) are considered "culturally ambitious young people" who "can take their passions further" (ibid.). Throughout *The Culture White Paper* two groups of young people emerge: those who are from "disadvantaged" backgrounds who can be inspired by culture, and those young people who are not from "disadvantaged" backgrounds and can pursue

[12] The Scottish Attainment Challenge (2015) aims to raise the attainment of children and young people living in deprived areas, in order to close the equity gap. It attempts to drive forward improvements in educational outcomes to ensure that everyone is encouraged "to be the best they can be" (Education Scotland 2017).

careers within arts and culture. The impacts of culture for young people, then, according to *The Culture White Paper*, depend on whether a young person comes from a "disadvantaged" background or not. In both *A Culture Strategy for Scotland* and *The Culture White Paper* those that do not partake in publicly subsidised arts practices are problematised. The focus of cultural policy on forms of recognition (Fraser and Honneth 2003), that different young people engage with subsidised culture in different ways, contributes to the problematization of young people deemed "disadvantaged".

Applying Bourdieu's theory of social capital to this context highlights how cultural policies may unintentionally perpetuate social inequalities. Young people identified as from "disadvantaged" backgrounds may have limited access to the social and cultural capital necessary for engaging deeply with subsidised cultural opportunities. Bourdieu might argue that the approach to cultural provision found within these policies reinforces existing social hierarchies by privileging those who already possess cultural capital (e.g. those engaging with publicly subsidised arts and legitimate culture). This division between young people underscores the role of social capital in determining access to cultural resources and opportunities (Bourdieu 1984, p.64). The notion of social capital is used in these policy documents to reinforce those lacking in social and cultural capital will not only face barriers to participation within the subsidised arts, but has also been utilised in a way within cultural policy resulting in the reinforcement of barriers.

As Eriksson et al. highlight, an institutional discourse has emerged which enshrines the cultural non-participant as a key target and component of creating legitimate culture*:*

> The existence of the discursive identity of the cultural non-participant ensures that while some may not participate with any of the physical manifestations of the arts, they have no choice but to participate in the institutional discourses of the arts and the logics that they reproduce (2019, p.178).

This complexity has been recognised by other researchers such as Oman, she writes:

> When culture is categorised as a solution for society, the idea is then developed and operationalised, and presented as a way to restore some form of social balance… Identifying problematic aspects of society and their associated pastimes has been long entwined with ideas that certain activities, and therefore the people that do them, are deficient, and lacking in the right sort of culture, or are 'uncultured'. People may lack a link to masterpieces of the past, but that does not mean that they lack culture, are 'cut off from it' or are indeed less happy as a result (2021, p.239).

Young people deemed "disadvantaged" or "experiencing barriers" are embroiled within this discourse creation and potential othering. It is important to note that the young artists who took part in Projects A and B with the NGS would be conceptualised in cultural policy documents as "non-participants" and are described in the funding application for Project A as "disadvantaged young people" (NGS 2020c, p.4). The WPR method of analysis highlights the problem creation of young people associated with "disadvantaged backgrounds" (UK

Government 2016, p.8), and allowed me to use alternative descriptions for young people in cultural policy (and in turn the NGS), such as "young artists" as I have done. Indeed, the distinction amongst young people found within cultural policy reflects the work of Howard, previously explored. A pedagogy of poverty is exposed by Howard's study as existing within art activities working with "dis-engaged" (Howard 2020, p.679) young people. Howard recognised that those described as "dis-engaged" were offered "lower quality programmes, low-level work and over-regulated teaching" (p.672). The separation of young people as found within cultural policy documents, with differing expected impacts (with those described as talented being associated with young people engaged in subsidised culture) exemplifies the pedagogy of poverty exposed by Howard's study.

This inclination in cultural policy documents to link concepts of quality art with subsidised places and spaces can also be seen as a manifestation of objectified cultural capital. This creates further barriers for those who lack the resources or the 'right' kind of cultural capital to access these spaces. The notion that those from "disadvantaged backgrounds" are less likely to experience quality cultural experiences suggests that their habitus, the learned set of tendencies, inclinations, and ways of behaving through their life experiences and social upbringing (Edgerton and Roberts 2014) are of low/no quality. It is unlikely for people to change or develop a different habitus through exposure to different forms of cultural capital, as *The Culture White Paper* suggests is possible. Instead, those from "disadvantaged backgrounds" are seen as requiring direct interventions into their objectified states (Bourdieu 1986) to develop habitus that aligns with the concept of quality as presented by *The Culture White Paper*. *The Culture White Paper*, as it stands, perpetuates a dominant habitus, and reinforces societal hierarchies and power dynamics. This narrative privileges certain groups while alienating others, thereby perpetuating societal divisions based on cultural capital.

Fraser's theory on the politics of recognition and redistribution provides another layer of critique to the focus on individual participation in cultural policies. Fraser argues for the importance of addressing both recognition and redistribution to achieve social justice (2003, p.94). In the context of cultural policy, focusing solely on individual participation without addressing the structural inequalities that limit access to cultural capital for certain groups fails to recognise the full scope of social injustice. Fraser would likely critique these documents for not adequately addressing the systemic barriers that prevent equal participation in cultural activities. Applying Fraser's theories, a just cultural policy would need to not only recognise the diverse cultural practices of different communities (recognition) but also actively work to redistribute resources and opportunities to ensure all individuals and groups have equitable access to cultural participation (redistribution).

As explored in previous chapters, Levitas critiques the tendency to see cultural capital as something that resides in individuals rather than groups, leading to its commodification and the symbolic erasure of class relations, rather than illuminating how class domination is sustained (2004). Whilst both *The Culture White Paper* and *A Cultural Strategy for Scotland* state that arts and culture are vital for communities of people, both focus on individual participation, and individual impacts rather than collective aspects and structural inequalities (Levitas 2010, p.53). Similarly, Skeggs (1997) suggests that cultural capital, and the participation in cultural activities, are markers of social positioning that reflect and reproduce class distinctions. From her perspective, the focus on individual participation within cultural

policy could inadvertently reinforce existing class hierarchies by valorising certain forms of cultural capital over other cultural values. Those forms of cultural engagement deemed 'respectable' or worthy of recognition are often those associated with middle-class tastes and practices, thereby marginalising and rendering invisible other cultural expressions and participations. Skeggs' analysis could encourage a re-evaluation of cultural policies to ensure they do not perpetuate class domination by neglecting the collective, communal aspects of cultural participation that are crucial for working-class communities.

5.4.3 Processes of making visual art and experiencing positive impacts

As discussed previously, for NGS policies and some survey respondents, quality was tied to the NGS collection and exhibitions and never associated with the work of young artists taking part in outreach activities according to the NGS' website, documents, policies and many of the survey responses, the value of visual art emerges when young artists engage with the arts either as audiences or through engagement activities. It is these processes which are considered of value, not the artworks created by the young artists. This implicit divide highlights an important aspect of cultural policy which has been critiqued within the literature reviews and policy analysis in previous chapters, for example by Bishop. Bishop asserted that high culture (as found in art galleries) is produced for the ruling classes, suggesting "'the people' (the marginalised, the excluded) can only be emancipated by direct inclusion in the production of a work" (2012, p.38). Bishop sees this rhetoric as common amongst arts funders and policies of social inclusion. "The poor," for Bishop, are seen as only capable of engaging physically whilst the middle classes can think and critically reflect (2012, p.38). The NGS may be suggesting that because of their background young artists can only engage physically with art, as Bishop asserts.

I undertook analysis of 50 NGS-related documents[13], including the Strategic Plan explored at the beginning of this chapter as well as the NGS website, mirrored much of cultural policy. The importance of health and wellbeing dominates the NGS Strategic Plan, and the value of NGS outreach work is tied tightly to these impacts and to developing social capital within individuals. Cultural policy and NGS documents share similar discourses that art is good for you, and valuable because of this: "We aim to add a visual art dimension to support the achievement of their [young artists] objectives for wellbeing, confidence, skills development and creativity" (NGS 2021, p.1); "Both making art and looking at art can be good for you… Making art can help us emotionally… art can reduce stress, increase immunity and help our heart function" (NGS 2023b, n.p.). The NGS website ties its work to the WHO report, which is used as the only evidence as to how art supports health and wellbeing (NGS 2023b, n.p.). As highlighted, the WHO report is criticised by Clift et al. who state: "the main conclusion to be drawn from this paper, is that the wide-ranging, uncritical, scoping reviews of arts and health research, undertaken for the WHO and DCMS, are misleading" (2021, p.13). Whilst many of the NGS documents' state that art can improve individual's health and wellbeing, they provide no direct evidence of these impacts within external documentation.

[13] The documents provided by NGS and analysed in this thesis are segmented into three areas: those that are public facing and produced by NGS, such as newspaper articles, exhibition catalogues, and information; those that are internal and not intended for public consumption, such as evaluation reports that are written by NGS for funders; and those that are internal and written by partners, participants, and audiences, such as feedback forms.

The specific impacts anticipated by the NGS on the young artists will be explored in future chapters. However, it is of note that the six young artists who were interviewed from previous outreach projects, and not involved with Projects A or B, all discussed that whilst the process of engagement was important, it was the resulting artworks that were of most value to them. One young artist even commented, "I don't actually know what happened to it all, or how I can access videos… which is hard because I made something I think is amazing and I don't know how to share [it]" (Gerard C 2021). The final artworks created are obviously incredibly important and of value to many of the young artists involved in outreach projects. Such views directly challenge the onus placed on process by the NGS and cultural policy more generally. Similarly, most of the young artists interviewed both during and after NGS outreach projects emphasised that whilst art activities may have had some form of impact on their health and wellbeing, these were often secondary to the aims and ambitions they had within projects.

What is clear is that the internal NGS documents suggest that the value of visual art comes from young people developing in confidence, building social capital, and developing themselves through visual art activities and that it is the NGS who provide the "aspirational" space in which to do that. The internal NGS documents analysed suggest that the value of visual art projects is both linked to a sense of quality and to the impacts that visual art can have on people: "Our group of young participants… staged an interactive performance… highlighting young peoples' need for support with mental health issues" (NGS 2018b, p.1); "… one of the most deprived areas in Scotland… but we moved the workshop sessions into the Scottish National Portrait Gallery… to provide the young people with a more aspirational context. This produced better results, as it opened their horizons to a different world on a weekly basis… discipline grew" (NGS 2017a, p.2); "This national conversation addresses themes and issues, including challenging topics, which directly affect young people's life chances in Scotland today. The reworked boxes, and their depiction of the lives of their makers, will be at the heart of the exhibition" (NGS 2017a, p.1); "to develop confidence in their origin and identity" (NGS 2017b, p.3). The internal documents also employ the language of "deprived" (ibid.) highlighted within NGS policy and reflecting the potentially problematic language of cultural policy explored in the previous chapter.

The importance placed on *process* in these documents does not interrogate the paternalistic power dynamics emerging from the NGS policies and documents. Applying Fraser's theories of recognition and redistribution to the NGS documentary analysis, highlights how the declared NGS' approach to working with young people may not consider the important role of redistribution in tackling injustices. Instead, the focus is on delivering interventions to young people with "challenging behaviours" (NGS 2017a, p.3), in the anticipation these interventions will change these behaviours. The paternalism of this approach is clear. As one young artist stated during an interview exploring the language used within cultural policy, "Why do I have to become resilient?" (Erin B Interview 1, 2021), in their view it was the world around them that should change. The anticipation that young people's behaviour will change through NGS outreach projects again speaks to the disciplinary nature of the NGS and echoes the problematisation of young people within cultural policy.

By strongly linking the young artists who take part in outreach activities to "deprived" or "disadvantaged" communities, characterised by ill health and poor wellbeing, the NGS further

contributes to the problematic discourses of disadvantage found within cultural policy. These discourses were directly challenged by some of the young artists taking part in NGS outreach projects. As two young artists stated, “I’m more than someone living in this town, I fit into lots of categories and none all at once” (Euan A Interview 1, 2021); “being from [local town] doesn’t define me, I know for some people it might but I’m more than the place I was born” (Ariel B Interview 1, 2022). These tensions and misrecognitions are explored further in the following chapter; however, it is worth highlighting how Bourdieu’s concept of misrecognition may apply to NGS policies and documents. For Bourdieu, misrecognition referred to social agents accepting and internalising the arbitrary social structures and power relations as natural and legitimate (Stewart 2013, p.72). It may be seen that the NGS is not challenging the power dynamics and social constructs that result in some young people experiencing deprivation or disadvantage, and that recognition alone is not enough.

In contrast to the NGS’ policies and documents, only four out of 42 NGS survey responses discussed the role visual art plays in health and wellbeing and how that makes it of value. The most enthusiastic response about the value of art for young people as being linked to its ability to impact health, wellbeing, and employability, was:

> It's about building confidence, inspiring young people, showing them what might be possible, opening up new avenues of creativity and potentially seeing how they can introduce creativity into their everyday lives: this has implications for health and wellbeing as well as creative problem solving and applications within schoolwork / preparing for further / higher education or entering vocational training and/or the job market (Survey 2022, Response 7).

The above quote highlights the idea of “introducing creativity into their everyday lives,” and aligns closely to the UK Government's *The Culture White Paper* in its lack of acknowledgement of everyday culture. It potentially reinforces notions of culture belonging to disciplining institutions and tied to professionals championed by Bishop, cultural policy, and the NGS policies. The otherization within this statement is tacit, but clear, for example in the use of “their”. The response suggests that young people, rather than the world around them, need to change. However, it is notable such responses were among the minority of NGS staff.

The problematization of young people described as being from “disadvantaged backgrounds” (UK Government 2016, p.8) as explored above is somewhat present within the above survey response and throughout the NGS policies and documents. Such attitudes recall Skeggs, who wrote “the representations of working-class women (historically and contemporary) are more likely to be products of fear, desire and projection than of knowledge and understanding” (1997, p.161), to consider how young people associated with “disadvantaged backgrounds” (UK Government 2016, p.8) are being formulated through projection, rather than “knowledge and understanding” (1997, p.161). Her work suggests that the issue at hand is not merely one of economic or social disadvantage but also of how respectability is constructed and assigned. Skeggs explores the concept of respectability as a form of cultural capital that is not readily accessible to individuals from working-class backgrounds. Respectability, in this context, becomes a marker of social value, which is often denied to the working-class due to prevalent stereotypes and prejudices that frame them as inherently less respectable or worthy (1997, p.12). The notion of respectability is intertwined with recognition in the public sphere, where

the lack of respectability attributed to young people from "disadvantaged backgrounds" affects not only their representation in cultural policies but also their access to opportunities and resources. This dynamic further entrenches social inequalities, as it reinforces a system where respectability, and consequently social recognition, is unequally distributed based on class background.

5.5 Visual Art as a Tool for Exploring the World and Experiencing Different Social Worlds

The final section in this chapter explores visual art as a means for exploring other people's social worlds, as well as potentially changing them. It is a significant shift away from the previous sections of this chapter which focus on artworks, on processes of making and the potential health and wellbeing impacts on young artists. It explores the role that artworks can have in creating connections and developing understandings among viewers and audiences. This section highlights the important role artworks have for the young artists taking part in NGS outreach activities and the artworks potential value as objects.

5.5.1 Sharing lived experiences through visual art

Internal NGS documents created by people outside of NGS, such as audience and visitor feedback and teacher feedback and evaluations, contain further suggestions as to the value of visual art. Some mirror concepts of quality as important. Most however emphasise exposure to different social worlds and experiences: "I think it's really good, very insightful into [the life of participants], and has produced work of a high standard" (NGS 2011 p.4); "I found it very interesting to get some insights... this way they can communicate to an audience who would probably never listen otherwise" (NGS 2018a p.1); "it's interesting what young people talk about" (NGS 2019a, p.2). There is a shift here from an emphasis on impacts, to potentially more complex notions of communication and connection. Many of these comments suggest that those external to NGS value art because it is a tool for communicating lived experiences and being exposed to different social worlds. It is notable that none of these documents discuss impacts such as health and wellbeing. This could be due to the documents capturing other people's experiences of artworks created during outreach interventions and being primarily interpretative in nature, or it could be due to audiences being somewhat disconnected from instrumental cultural policy narratives of the health and wellbeing impacts of the arts.

Just as the feedback from audiences highlighted the role of art made in outreach projects as a tool for communicating lived experiences, some partners discussed the role of young artists' works in sharing young artists' perspectives. The partners that work closely with young people typically discussed art being a useful and valuable tool, among others, to explore young people's social worlds, to amplify their experiences, and the potential positive impacts of this increased understanding. These partners also recognised these artworks as potentially interesting for audiences. As some partners explained: "I think it [young artists' art] definitely can be more inspiring. You know it's a fresh voice and a fresh angle and a fresh approach of doing things" (Partner S 2021); "I think it's a lot about young people seeing people value what they do, having their art on the walls or in front of people and seeing people discuss it… adults learning from the kids" (Partner C 2021); "They get the chance to share their stories with folk… for folk to see and maybe engage in those stories" (Partner B 2022). The partners mirror the

audience feedback in recognising the value in art made by young artists in communicating lived experiences, resulting in audiences being exposed to different social worlds.

The value of visual art in telling stories is exemplified in an interview with a teacher:

> I think their personal experiences have been the artwork that has been taken forward. I think that's been really positive for them to actually use that as a way of expressing some of the experiences that they've had in their life. It's been quite cathartic for them to do that (Partner E 2022).

Partner E's response can be related to the idea of habitus (Bourdieu 1986, p.27). The young artist's artwork reflects their internalised experiences, values, and perceptions. By expressing these experiences through art, they are externalising their habitus, making it tangible and observable. It is a manifestation of their lived experiences, beliefs, and dispositions. By sharing personal narratives, especially those rooted in specific cultural or social contexts, young artists could challenge dominant cultural narratives, or support developing recognition (Fraser 1998) for the young artists in their communities. These personal stories, when resonating with broader audiences, as the audience and visitor feedback suggests they do, could shift perceptions and challenge previously accepted cultural narratives.

There were many similarities between the opinions of visual artists that work for NGS and the partners who worked closely with young people as to why visual art is of value and why it is of value to young people. The role of visual art in being able to share stories and be a space for expression was also considered vital by the artists, for example in highlighting stories of alienation:

> … some of them really enjoyed that, a lot of the cathartic parts of it… They didn't feel like they were part of society. Then they didn't feel that they're part of their communities. They never feel that they were engaged in it, and stuff like that. So there was a lot of powerful stuff that came out the back of that (Artist B 2021).

The ability for visual art to tell cathartic stories is a core value according to Artist B. Many of the NGS artists recalled the value that art had for them when they were young, in explanations as to why art could be of value to young artists. Like the partners who worked closely with young people, they emphasised that what would be of value to one young person, would not always be of value to another: "Art was a place I could escape and play, the impacts of that for me were defining, but I know that a lot of young people won't feel that way" (Artist M 2022); "I have experienced displacement and art has always been a way to explore that and share that, children can have similar experiences" (Artist I 2021). The cathartic element of creating artworks could be suggested as intertwined with the artworks themselves; the process of making may lead to a cathartic feeling, so too may the act of sharing lived experiences in the artworks. These responses suggest that both the artworks and act of creating them are of importance. In this light, the NGS emphasises process rather than product in why visual art is of value to the young artists and could then be understood as an act of misrecognition (Fraser 1998).

Further impacts discussed by young artists during Projects A and B will be explored in depth in following chapters. However, broadly the value of visual art for the young artists themselves is not its ability to impact them as individuals through making art (as cultural policy, the NGS policies and documents, and some NGS staff and partner organisations suggest), but their ability to reach others through art. The young artists highlighted a desire to change understandings and combat prejudices. The value many of the young artists placed on artworks' ability to result in recognition of their lived experiences ties closely to Fraser's understanding of the role of recognition in social justice (1998) and is an aspect absent from cultural policy and NGS documents.

The value for most of the young artists lay in audiences engaging with their work and recognising young people's social worlds. This perspective was echoed in the production of a "manifesto," a conscious act towards making social change as a group, by the young artists who took part in Project B. The manifesto asserted:

> Our idea is to change the town's atmosphere emotionally and reduce environmental downfall. We are responsible and organise ourselves. We hope our art and re-branding of the town will change adults' opinions and help them see it from a young person's view. We are not aliens and we want more space to be free. Our slogans are: 'Don't let yesterday bring you down', 'Being perfect is being yourself!'… (Town Take Over Manifesto 2022, n.p.).

5.5.2 Examples of artworks created by young artists, and their role in sharing young artists' lived experiences

Even the modalities through which the artworks were shared by the young artists highlights the important role the young artists placed on their artworks changing the world around them.

Figure 6 'Billy in the Town': photograph, 2021.
Photograph of 'Billy the Bunny' and young artists, holding placards in their local town square.

In figure six a group of young artists from Project B take to the streets of their local town, midway through the project, to share the character of *Billy the Bunny.* This character and their links to utopian thinking (Levitas 2001) will be explored in depth in future chapters, but they were created as a mascot with the intention of bringing about positive change within the local artists' hometown. The young artists shared their artworks through placards and walking through their hometown central square. There was an urgency to the work in figure six, albeit through the comical lens of *Billy the Bunny.* It mimicked protests, and it actively sought to engage with the local community, to share the young artists' lived experiences, needs and expectations. Karl A's determination to raise trans representation within the town was also clear:

Figure 7 'Trans the Town': pen on printed image, Karl A 2022.
Image of the trans pride flag coloured on to an abandoned building in the local town by KARL A, which he believed would raise awareness and better representation for trans people in the town, encouraging acceptance.

> Rosie: Can you tell me a bit about the picture you just coloured in, the [image above] photograph and the colours?
> Karl A: Sure, I mean, you know what they are?
> Rosie: The trans flag right?
> Karl A: Absolutely
> Rosie: And can you tell me why you chose them for that picture?
> Karl A: Imagine everyone, anyone, kids, old folk, folk at my school or those at college, folk who lives here or visits [hometown] see that. I think it would get people talking.
> Rosie: What do you think… what do you think it could do?
> Karl A: Change, or maybe not… I'm not daft it wouldn't change anything straight away, but it could like…
> Rosie: Help change?
> Karl A: Yes, help (Karl A Interview 1, 2021)

The interview exploring figure seven highlights the urgency young artists placed on having their artworks seen by others. Karl A emphasises that his artwork may positively impact audiences and encourage them to reflect on what the artwork means, and their artworks could encourage positive social impacts, which in his case, intersect with his lived experiences as a trans man.

These artworks serve as examples as to how the young artists want their social worlds to change. Once again, Bourdieu's theory of habitus (1984) connects to the young artists' understandings. Young artists are potentially displaying their habitus and how they want it to change for the outside world, challenging audiences by engaging in new perspectives and lived experiences. Karl A's interview above, strongly reflects this urgency to challenge audiences. Moreover, Karl A's emphasis on the visibility of his artworks can be seen as a means of accumulating social capital, where the art becomes a tool for social exchange and influence. His artwork not only showcases his habitus but also seeks to alter the social fields of the audience by introducing new perspectives and lived experiences. This act of displaying art to challenge and inspire reflects a strategic use of cultural production to gain recognition and potentially shift the social dynamics within his community.

In de Certeau's framework, institutions and structures of power employ strategies to assert control and determine the value or quality of something (2011, p.xx). By giving more care and attention to artworks deemed of higher quality and less care to those from outreach interventions, the NGS asserts its strategic power, defining what should be valued and what should not. However, de Certeau posits that individuals employ tactics in their everyday lives to subvert these strategies (ibid.). In the context of the NGS, visitors might engage with the 'lesser' quality artworks in personal, meaningful ways, finding resonance or significance in them despite the NGS's strategic devaluation. Indeed, feedback from audiences often praises the work of young artists as providing insights into other social worlds. This act of engaging with and assigning personal value to these artworks might constitute a form of resistance against the NGS's hierarchy of value. Furthermore, the very act of the NGS displaying young artists' artworks can be seen as a tactic in itself. By giving a platform to artists who might not traditionally be represented in such spaces, the NGS may be subverting the traditional norms of the art world, even if it does not give these artworks the same level of care as those in its collection. The young artists, by creating and displaying their work, are also employing tactics. They are asserting their perspectives in a space that might not traditionally value them. Even if their artworks are deemed of lesser quality by institutional standards, their presence, and the narratives they convey could potentially challenge visitors to question these imposed standards and hierarchies.

Karl A's interview above emphasises the role of locality within the aims and ambitions of his artworks. Applying Skeggs' notion of respectability and the role of the local provides useful reflections on why the local could be so important for Karl A: local culture and community play a significant role in shaping norms of respectability, and individuals navigate and negotiate their identities and behaviours in relation to these locally established norms. For Karl A, his aims to "help change" local perspectives on trans rights, could be considered as an attempted act of recognition on the local level. The important role locality played for young artists, will be explored further in the following chapters.

5.6 Chapter Summary

What makes visual art of value, and even what visual art itself is, is a complex question. What emerged throughout the current exploration was overlapping perspectives amongst cultural policies, NGS policies, NGS documents, NGS staff, and some of the partners who were

interviewed. A lot of what made visual art of value for this group was rooted in its quality, and its ability to impact and develop those that encountered it. However, the emphasis on quality was not recognised by partners who worked more closely with young artists, freelance artists, or the young artists themselves. Concepts of quality emerged as opaque and unclear, with young artists and some partners identifying that whilst the artworks they made were not of quality they were of value for different reasons.

Quality can be theorised as a tool used by disciplinary institutions. By ensuring quality is not associated with young artists, or with those deemed "disadvantaged" (DCMS 2016, p.22) or from "deprived" areas (NGS 2017b, p.3), quality becomes associated only with places and spaces that are publicly subsidised. As a result, young artists remain outside of the NGS and otherized by the disciplinary institutions' ability to determine quality. For young artists, there was a concern that when their artwork was displayed within the NGS, then it was segregated and treated differently to other artworks. Furthermore, there was an understanding by the young artists that the artworks on display at NGS more permanently were not linked to their interests or lives, despite being recognised as quality by some in technique.

Most of the young artists value art not because they are impacted during its making, but instead for arts' potential to impact audiences and the people who engage with it. The young artists also recognised that art has value out with audiences, and that it did not need to be seen by audiences to be of value. Some young artists recognised that to be an artist was to be defined as one by yourself, and that whether your work was exhibited or not did not diminish or impact this artistic identity if you chose it. The young artists recognised the importance in freedom and agency within making art and defining yourself as an artist. Many of the freelance artists working with the NGS shared this definition with the young artists.

Finally, the discourses emerging from the findings suggest an otherization of the young artists, as well as of those deemed "deprived" or "disadvantaged," and that the young artists recognise these discourses in how their artworks are treated differently. Indeed, as one young artist noted of the terminology surrounding "disadvantage," "it's shit" (Erin B Interview 2, 2021). The language used within cultural policy and therefore by the NGS is not language the young artists would use to describe themselves. In fact, for some the impacts of language such as "deprived" and "disadvantaged" could potentially be damaging to the very confidence and wellbeing cultural policy and the NGS claim to bolster.

In the next chapter, I explore the impacts the NGS, partners to the NGS, the NGS artists and the young artists associated with visual art interventions further. It focuses on the impacts anticipated to happen within outreach interventions, that is during the processes.

6. What Impacts Occur During Art Interventions, Who Might Experience these Impacts and What Environments are Needed for Them to Happen?

6.1 Introduction

Previous chapters have explored how cultural policy documents emphasise the value of visual art in terms of its impacts on individuals' social capital leading to improvement in their health and wellbeing. This chapter will further explore the impacts the National Galleries of Scotland (NGS), partners to the NGS, the NGS artists and the young artists identify as coming from visual art interventions. The chapter first explores the conceptualisation of the young artists in NGS policy and documents and highlights tensions between how young artists are discussed in policy documents and by disciplinary institutions and how they talk about themselves. This discussion highlights that young artists were often described in deficit-laden terms by NGS policies, documents and within the staff survey, which the young artists themselves rejected. Furthermore, whilst cultural policies and in turn the NGS policies, documents and responses to the staff survey identify the young artists as having limited opportunity and experience with the arts, the young artists all discussed their regular engagement in both everyday and more unique cultural activities, which were not recognised in the policy literature.

The chapter then explores the impacts that NGS policies and documents anticipate will occur during outreach interventions. These were very similar to the impacts claimed in cultural policy documents in the previous chapter, with a focus on positively impacting the health and wellbeing of young artists. However, the responses from the Outreach Officers delivering the NGS outreach projects suggest a more complex understanding of impacts in projects, focusing on the role of developing respect and recognition and on creating agency and autonomy within the young artists. The young artists themselves reiterated the importance of developing autonomy and agency but broadly, were less concerned with the impacts the outreach projects could have on them. Instead, young artists emphasised the role of making art on positively impacting their communities.

Finally, the mechanisms and environment required for these impacts to occur are identified. This exploration discusses different understandings of collaboration as expressed by the NGS through their policies and those of the Outreach Officers and young artists. This exploration highlights how the NGS cannot be considered a monolith, due to the differing understandings of collaboration within its organisation across documents, policies, and staff.

This chapter focuses on the impacts associated with outreach interventions while they are happening, that is during the project’s lifespan. The following chapter will identify longer term impacts the young artists experienced, thus providing insight into whether impacts explored in this chapter change or develop in some way over time.

6.2 Young People as Participants and Non-Participants: Who is, and Who is not, Engaging with Visual Art and Culture?

The following section builds on preceding chapters' considerations of the problematization of young people described as "disadvantaged" in cultural and NGS policies, and explores who is engaging with subsidised visual art. Specifically it examines how the young artists in Projects A and B are defined by the NGS and most importantly by themselves, highlighting (potential) tensions and the resulting complexity of trying to undertake targeted interventions such as the outreach activities of the NGS.

The complex discourses surrounding young people and their participation in cultural policy are again reflected in NGS documents, policy and NGS staff survey responses. The NGS' overt interest in "promoting access" for "deprived communities" (NGS 2019b, p.6) within their policies creates a clear distinction between participants in NGS activities, and non-participants, with non-participants being linked to deprivation. As previously explored, the language in cultural policy documents, of "disadvantage" and "barriers", is echoed throughout NGS policy, for example in their aim to; "break down barriers to attendance and participation, whether perceived or physical" (NGS 2019b, p.15).

There is an understanding throughout the NGS documents analysed and the staff survey responses that the young people are targeted for outreach interventions because they are non-participants. Survey responses also indicated that they are primarily characterised as disadvantaged. When I asked staff "What can you tell me about the young people the outreach team target?", responses included but were not limited to: "young people who are perceived to have less access to culture than others" (Survey 2022, Response 2); "they work with kids from disadvantaged backgrounds I think" (Survey 2022, Response 4); "there is an emphasis around socially disadvantaged groups, and families… both areas are of high social deprivation and complex community structures" (Survey 2022, Response 8); "not NGS's main target audiences. Some have left education early, others doing community service, often young people with challenging backgrounds and from deprived communities" (Survey 2022, Response 15); "it seems like these are young people that would not have visited the galleries before" (Survey 2022, Response 22). There are clear ties within these responses therefore between non-participation, being "disadvantaged", and young artists coming from "deprived" areas. There is a further subtle underlying suggestion that those that are targeted do not have access to high culture and are not the NGS' main priority, which again downgrades the potential importance of everyday culture (as explored in the preceding chapter).

The documents detailing the plans for Projects A and B characterise the targeted young artists as: "primarily disadvantaged or vulnerable people" (NGS 2020c, p.5); "from disadvantaged backgrounds" (NGS 2020c, p.6); "young unemployed people" (NGS 2020b, p.2); "from deprived areas" (NGS 2020b, p.4); "poverty and disadvantage which exist in the area [from which they come] and the lack of visual art opportunities" (NGS 2020c, p.11). Projects A and B, in their inceptions at least, can be considered to share the discourses found within cultural policy.

6.2.1 How young artists define themselves and how they perceive they are identified by others

In the preceding chapter some quotes from the young artists who took part in Projects A and B show that they reject these characterisations and the language used to describe them in policy (and in turn by the NGS documents) as Erin B explained:

> Rosie: Can I ask you what you think about another term, something that comes up a lot? It's the term "those from disadvantaged backgrounds"?
> Erin B: they mean people who are poor – it's so… it's also shit
> Rosie: Does it make you feel uncomfortable?
> Erin B: Well if someone said it about me, yes. It feels… Can I say shit again? Shit. It sounds shit.
> Rosie: And one last word... what do you think about the word "vulnerable" to describe young people
> Erin B: I think you know what I think (Erin B Interview 1, August 2022).

Skeggs' analysis of respectability is particularly useful here, as it deals with how certain groups are ascribed value and status within social hierarchies, often based on moral judgments tied to class and economic status (1997, p.9). Erin B's rejection of terms like "those from disadvantaged backgrounds" and "vulnerable" echoes Skeggs' insights on how individuals resist being categorised in ways that diminish their social value and self-perception. Erin B's discomfort and outright rejection of these labels reflect a refusal to be confined by societal narratives that equate economic disadvantage with a lack of agency. This resistance can be seen as an assertion of Erin B's own respectability, not as defined by external socioeconomic markers, but by their own sense of self-worth and identity.

There was a widespread reluctance by the young artists to be defined in such negative terms. Instead they pushed towards positive representations, understandings, and language. For example, one young artist stated "[Partner M] said *sexuality issues* one time and I was like, err no sexuality isn't an issue unless you have an issue with it, I'm not a hetero that's not an issue" (Ellie A Interview 1, 2021). Many of the young artists spoke insightfully about having aspects of their identities (such as their gender, race and sexuality) problematised by adults and within disciplinary institutions such as school; "troublemakers is what they think" (Reilly B Interview 1, 2022); "adults have this opinion, they have this, *Oh, they look like such a roaster. They'll never be successful* and all that, and if they think we misbehave a lot when sometimes it's actually we're quite smart" (Claire B Interview 1, 2022);

> Honestly you [Rosie], right now you're an adult talking to me like a normal person. This teacher, most teachers actually most adults, but her [teacher] in particular she treats me like a child… I feel like because of my looks [as a young Muslim woman from the global Majority]… I think they speak to me more slowly because they think I don't understand (Martha A Interview 1, 2021).

Feeling othered and experiencing forms of misrecognition (Fraser and Honneth, 2003) was common amongst the young artists interviewed. They identified how adults' perceptions often lead to paternalistic power being enacted on them, as highlighted by Martha A above. These experiences of misrecognition result in feelings of resentment, anger, and frustration.

For many of the young artists then, there is an awareness of the negative perceptions the external world has of them. Their insights into how they are perceived by adults and institutions reflect a form of misrecognition that denies them the status of full partners in social interaction. This form of misrecognition, aligns with Fraser's concerns, as not only does it impact young artists' self-perception but also limits their opportunities for participation on an equal footing within various social spheres (2003, p.36). The language found within cultural policy could be understood as furthering this negativity and sustaining problematic discourses.

During Projects A and B, I asked the young artists how they would describe themselves. Some talked about their sexuality and gender identity, others about their mental health, but none of the responses from the young artists could be easily understood as referring to a collective identity, apart from by where they lived. When I asked the young artists "how would you describe yourself?" and "how would you like to be described in my research?" they gave rich and varied answers; "I'd say, umm, I'm a young woman who also happens to be Muslim and with anxiety living in [local town]" (Ariel B Interview 1, 2022); "you know, I'm [Karl A] I don't know…you know I'm trans, but I also love animals" (Karl A Interview 1, 2021); "silly, happy… excited" (Claricia B Interview 1, 2022); "I'm autistic and that, I think people see that first and I actually think it's very powerful and I am an artist" (Kath A Interview 1, 2021); "can I say… you know, I'm clearly gay" (Erin B Interview 1, 2021). The ways in which young artists described themselves highlight a diverse mix of young people working within the outreach projects. Through "an awareness of intersectionality, we can better acknowledge and ground the differences among us and negotiate the means by which these differences will find expression in constructing group politics" (Crenshaw 1991, p.1299). Applying Crenshaw's theories to the statements by young artists it becomes evident that the young artists' self-descriptions cannot be fully understood or appreciated without considering the intersectional nature of their identities. This "complex and messy" collection of young artists from different backgrounds and with different lived experiences was considered vital by many of the young artists and will be explored further within this chapter.

Unsurprisingly none of the young artists described themselves as living in "disadvantaged" or "deprived" areas. However, there were varied understandings of whether their communities were positive or negative environments. Asked what it was like living in their local area, responses included; "I think it's really nice and really calm" (Claire B Interview 1, 2022); "it depends on where you are, who you are with, people the town I don't know, I wouldn't say I love it but it's no bad" (David B Interview 1, 2022); "I do not want to live here forever" (Alana A Interview 1, 2021). During an early outreach session in Project B, the group of young women taking part had an open conversation around how their local town was perceived and how this perception was transferred onto them. As my field notes detail:

> [Senior Outreach Officer] asks do you like being from a small town? All the young people said yes and the [Senior Outreach Officer] talks about going to university and [Artist M] talks about university and art college as well. [Erin B] talks about wanting to stay within the local area. This is really interesting, when I think about how we talk about young people and giving them opportunities, the emphasis is often on getting them out into opportunities (becoming future audiences, students going to college etc. even outreach as reaching OUT from somewhere,

not rooting and growing from a place) rather than creating opportunities in their area for them now.

> [Artist M] asks if the group could get the work they want whilst living in [local town], Jen B says when you're here you like it, talks positively about the area. [Senior Outreach Officer] says that the NGS is there because there's a lack of opportunities in the area what do you think about that? The artist asks, do you think that you are deprived, are you disadvantaged? [Erin B] says "I've been described as severely deprived" and talks about the area but says they do not identify as being deprived even though there's no opportunities and they live in a "low economic area". They talk about it having negative connotations "even if you say deprived area, that includes us in that" [Erin B]. [Jen B] says there's not a lot of jobs and there's a need for young people to be able to get bus passes so they can go to and from work. They say there's no jobs for them and everybody wants you to have work experience how can you get work experience when there's no jobs in the area? [Senior Outreach Officer] asks so what's the next steps? All of the young people talk about college and all of the young people talk about university, only one of them talks about going to art college… these young people don't identify as disadvantaged even though they live in an area where there's no opportunities, which they say has no opportunities, and that this lack of opportunities impacts them… they don't identify *themselves* as being disadvantaged. When asked they say other young people in the area are disadvantaged. Disadvantage as a concept feels to be always punching down perhaps (not as strong as that), someone somewhere, but no one wears it as a badge or uses it as a descriptor, it's in the distance (Fieldnotes 2021, n.p.).

The above excerpt highlights the complexity of using terminology, like "deprived areas", as the young artists do not identify with living in such places unambiguously. Their emphasis on staying in their local area, despite recognising a lack of opportunities, illustrates a nuanced understanding of social capital (Bourdieu 1984; 1986). They acknowledge the limitations imposed by their geographic and economic context, which limits access to resources and networks typically associated with more affluent areas. Yet, their desire to remain local and the distinction between self-identification and external labels of deprivation reflect a complex negotiation with their social capital. They recognise value in their local connections and community, challenging the assumption that value only exists in more traditionally recognised opportunities or places.

Considering Skeggs' understanding of respectability, the young artists' identification of other young people around them as "disadvantaged" while pushing against the descriptor themselves could be considered as reflecting respectability in motion. As Skeggs' writes "respectability is usually the concern of those who are not seen to have it" (1997, p.1). The young artists are reclaiming respectability within their statements and positioning themselves as respectable. Respectability (or lack of it) and disadvantage are therefore tied, and here we see young artists potentially othering young people to secure their respectability, or lack of "disadvantage". Again, Skeggs' writes "It [respectability] is rarely recognized as an issue by those who are positioned with it, who are normalized by it, and who do not have to prove it"

(1997, p.1). I would suggest that the young artists here are attempting to "prove" their respectability, whilst acknowledging that others would not recognise them as respectable.

I asked the young artists what they did in their spare time or outside of school, and all of them discussed engaging in cultural activities of some sort; "I do art and gymnastics, I have a lot of art stuff at home" (Claricia B Interview 1, 2022); "I enjoy writing stories and creating people, and of course I watch lots of TV... I cook with my mum too" (Ariel B Interview 1, 2022); "[I] play music, guitar mainly but still learning, and I draw animals… pet portraits" (Euan A Interview 1, 2022); "I want to become a games designer so I design a lot" (Alex B Interview 1, 2022); "I read, basically at the moment a book a week, and I also make comics too... I tell a lot of stories" (Kath A Interview 1, 2021). These responses, and others, suggest that the young artists live rich and varied cultural lives. Of course, these excerpts raise an important question around cultural participation and non-participation. Young artists are problematised for their non-participation within cultural policy, and in turn NGS policies. It is clear these characterisations are linked to young artists' non-participation within subsidised culture. The funding application for Project B claims that "this project will demystify art and creativity" (NGS 2020b, p.9), however the young artists taking part already have rich and varied artistic and creative lives. The young artists who took part in both projects discussed engaging with cultural activities at home, or in their local community. As explored above, young artists discussed the forms of cultural activity recognised by de Certeau as everyday in nature (2013), such as cooking and storytelling.

Furthermore, Skeggs' understanding of respectability (1997) and Bourdieu's theory of legitimate culture (1984, p.16) may also point to what is considered of value due to its quality. The NGS, within their documents, is enforcing forms of cultural value, based on quality, which may be different to those recognised by the young artists. Quality here becomes a tool for legitimising certain art; as was mentioned, Bourdieu recognised how legitimised culture was recognised as moral and superior compared to popular culture (1984, p.17). Quality art as recognised by the NGS becomes a marker of respectability and legitimate culture. As such, the young artists are being problematised and their lack of engagement with quality art can be conceptualised as the NGS encouraging an understanding of what would be considered legitimate art, as the funding application for Project B states: "NGS will work in [local area] to engage young people in a high-quality arts project which would not otherwise take place" (NGS 2020b, p.10).

6.3 Impacts During Outreach Projects: Health, Wellbeing and Education.

The following section explores the claims about the positive impacts of health, wellbeing, and education that are used to justify outreach projects in greater depth than the preceding chapter. The section interrogates the discourses created due to the emphasis placed on these anticipated impacts by cultural policy makers and in turn the NGS through the young artists' interviews, as well as analysis of their artworks.

6.3.1 Health, wellbeing, and educational impacts of projects, moving from vague policy to more specific conceptualisations through recognition

The preceding chapters explored cultural policy and in turn the NGS' anticipated impacts of visual art interventions, including statements such as "both making art and looking at art can be good for you… Making art can help us emotionally… art can reduce stress, increase immunity and help our heart function" (NGS, 2023b, n.p.); "we can see the difference that culture has on children's education and wellbeing" (DCMS 2016, p.13); "[art] helps individuals and communities to thrive in Scotland" (Scottish Government, 2020, p.8). Within Projects A and B, the anticipated impacts (as drawn from their funding applications) were: "help[ing] to build confidence and resilience" (NGS 2020c, p.4); "addressing mental health and wellbeing" (NGS 2020b, p.5); "improved health and wellbeing" (NGS 2020b, p.8); "increase the young people's confidence" (NGS 2020b, p.9); "gain pride" (NGS 2020b, p.11). These anticipated impacts are clearly tied to wider cultural policy health and wellbeing aims, and the value placed on visual art in cultural policy to develop and change young artists, through increasing their social capital. They also mirror the impacts claimed by the literature based within the UK explored within chapter three. The initial conceptions of Projects A and B therefore closely reflect cultural policy concerns, and wider NGS, aims and objectives.

However, the interviews with the Outreach Officers who wrote the funding applications for Projects A and B highlighted potential impacts in less vague terms than the NGS staff survey responses, cultural policy and NGS policies. As such, it is important to recognise that what is captured through organisational documents does not meaningfully reflect the knowledge or practice of those writing them (Jancovich and Stevenson 2022, p.44).

Both Outreach Officers, and similarly partners working closely with young artists, emphasised that impacts are dependent on the young artists themselves. When discussing Project B, the Senior Outreach Officer noted "that was the mental health and wellbeing there, creative ambition, their sense of self confidence in terms of their own abilities and intelligence and talents" (Senior Outreach Officer 2022). We explored this further:

> Senior Outreach Officer: They obviously want their families to respect them and recognize their talents, and maybe the opportunities aren't there… especially for the ones not achieving in school… You know that idea of what is success? So maybe we just provided a platform that allowed them to be seen… that's the achievement… we would hope being themselves, but also being more than themselves at the same time… it's spectacle it's certainly… They said that it [*Town Take Over*] was more important to them than the Portrait Gallery, you know, even though a member of the public came up and told them how important and great they were… they got more out of the [local town]… it meant more to them… And I think that that's quite noteworthy, isn't it? And I suppose that's the whole point… establishing terms of reference and recognition value that can come from their own area.

The Senior Outreach Officer's response suggests that the young artists' cultural values are different to those emphasised at the NGS. The confidence and wellbeing that the Senior Outreach Officer is discussing, as created through participation in the project, comes from forms of recognition (Fraser 1998), highlighting the important role recognition plays within outreach projects. The Senior Outreach Officer further suggests that this recognition does not happen within the physical space of the NGS, or that the young artists do not understand it

as happening within the NGS. Perhaps this suggests that the recognition that the NGS as an institution has to offer, is not of interest to these young artists. Instead, recognition occurs within young artists' local communities and this kind of recognition is of value to the young artists. The Senior Outreach Officer is also moving away from the perception of the NGS as a disciplinary institution which provides corrective forms of knowledge (as suggested in the responses from the NGS staff survey) and towards one which can enable recognition for the young artists outside of the NGS. However, when exploring the work of the outreach team as framed by cultural policy the Senior Outreach Officer (2021) did still consider his work to be connected to policy:

> Senior Outreach Officer: [cultural policy] certainly frame it... We're having discussions around this question about do we speak for the young people, are we actually misinterpreting what they are saying and what they want, even though they try to make Time to Shine led by young people?... we all struggle to implement this… the autonomous direction of the young people themselves in any cultural form… all that cultural policy stuff about access to quality… quality of opportunity, development of creative potential. And all the supposed outcomes that come from that are possible… but you know, based on what we've been seeing today, I think we've proved quite a lot of their cultural policies to be correct.

The Senior Outreach Officer is therefore stating that cultural policy aims, and outcomes, are achievable through these interventions but also that the young artists' autonomy needs to be emphasised. He suggests that whilst there may be misunderstandings or a lack of understanding of what is happening "on the ground", the desired impacts of cultural policy are possible and do happen. At the same time, there is a shift from the deficit-laden focus of young artists as explored from the NGS survey responses, NGS and cultural policy documents, to one which emphasises the autonomy and agency of young artists. In his view, it is only through respecting that autonomy that these impacts can occur. As such there is a move here from the idea that engaging in visual art in general will result in positive impacts (as suggested within cultural and NGS policy), towards a notion that these impacts can only occur through autonomy and agency of the young artists. Concepts of autonomy and agency will be explored further in this chapter.

The tension between NGS policy and the Outreach Officers' understandings of impacts was replicated within the partner organisations. Partners that did not work as closely with young people often identified the impacts of visual art as: "engag[ing] with young people, build[ing] their confidence, build[ing] their self-esteem" (Partner R 2021). They reiterated many of the slippery (Oman 2021, p.231) anticipated impacts inherent within cultural policy and NGS policy. In contrast, partners who worked closely with young people identified impacts as "different for different young folk" (Partner M 2021) and as boosting "pride and self-esteem" through taking "pleasure out of what they had created" (Partner E 2021). This emphasis on "what they had created" (ibid.) is of note, when considering the emphasis NGS policies place on the value of taking part rather than the creation of artworks for the young artists. Furthermore, there is a shared rhetoric with these partners and the NGS Outreach Officers that recognition by the young artists' families and communities play an important role in creating positive impacts:

> I think from talking to [Outreach Officer] over the years, we were one of the few local authorities who worked with the galleries. Over the last few years, they have taken every exhibition back to [local community], to the home of our young people and families so that we can exhibit on a smaller scale with their work at a local level, to make it much more accessible for their families, for their friends, and for them to be able to go in and take family members and friends, and show them the work that they've done within a local setting (Partner R 2021).

As suggested, partners and the Senior Outreach Officer identify the important role locality (that is associated with young artists' friends, peers, families, and communities and not a national institution) has in developing a sense of respectability and recognition among the young artists. As Skeggs identified, the local environment is where individuals strive to achieve a form of respect, "to show they were worthy, they have value and that they should not be written off" (1997, p.161). Partners have identified the role of exhibiting young artists art locally as important for developing their sense of recognition, just as the Senior Outreach Officer does when he discussed "establishing terms of reference and recognition value that can come from their own area" (Senior Outreach Officer 2022). Locality functions as a critical arena for both the struggle for respectability and the pursuit of recognition among young artists. It highlights the importance of local cultures and communities in shaping norms of respectability, where young artists navigate and negotiate their identities in relation to these locally established norms. Furthermore, it showcases the potential of local recognition in affirming the worth and contributions of the young artists who might otherwise be marginalised or undervalued in broader societal contexts.

6.3.2 Impacts such as wellbeing from the perspectives of young artists; their interest in changing their social worlds to tackle misrecognition

For most of the young artists the locality of the outreach projects and their ability to have an impact on their local communities were highly significant. When asked "what impacts, or effects, do you think this project can have on you or on others?" 22 of the 25 young artists interviewed during outreach projects responded focussing on their local environments; "they [local community] need to see what we think and to think about it too. To like...know that we want to change things or, to just, for them to change by accepting us" (Ellie A Interview 1, 2021); "I want to make a positive change to people's mental health" (Ariel B Interview 1, 2022); "I think it raises awareness, so other people feel comfortable going to things they might not, or that people accept them too as well, because you know, people don't treat me the same and this could help people understand disability" (Claricia B Interview 1, 2021). The young artists' intentions to foster understanding, acceptance, and positive change within their communities highlight a more complex understanding of social capital than found within cultural and NGS policies, in that social capital can be mobilised to effect social transformation. By leveraging their art as a medium for communication and change, the young artists aimed to impact their local environments, illustrating Bourdieu's notion that social capital involves the networks and relationships through which individuals can exert influence and achieve collective goals (1986, p.21). Young artists' responses suggest a desire to change the social world around them from a variety of different perspectives.

For some young artists the desire to change the world around them came from experiencing forms of misrecognition and hostility, such as in Ellie A's and Ariel B's responses. Ellie A's response emphasises that it is the responsibility of others to change for her recognition and acceptance to be possible. Whilst Ariel B's response also discusses changing the world around her to improve people's mental health. These responses also articulated a sense of not feeling accepted. The young artists understood their external social worlds needing to change, to allow the young artists themselves to be accepted and to experience recognition. This understanding stands in contrast to the emphasis within cultural and NGS policies and documents on changing young artists themselves. Erin B highlighted this:

> Rosie: Can I read you some words and statements and you tell me what you think about them? They're about what people think the impacts are of art, like what we were just talking about.
> Erin B: Sure…
> Rosie: Okay, I have a few: *grow confidently as citizens… reach their full potential… produce positive outcomes… maintaining good mental health and wellbeing ... increase self-confidence and resilience.* What do you think about these statements?
> Erin B: I don't know they sound…like… I don't like the one about being a citizen, or what was the others?
> Rosie: reach their full potential? increase resilience?
> Erin B: yeah, what is this from? It sounds like how teachers speak to you when they think you're bad, is it from school?
> Rosie: It's from a government policy, the cultural strategy, it's what the government expect to happen when you, and other young people work with the arts like the project you've been doing with [Senior Outreach Officer] and [artist M]… what do you think about that?
> Erin B: well that's shit
> Rosie: How do you mean?
> Erin B: like… who are they to say what happens? And why do I have to be resilient? (Erin B Interview 1, 2022).

Erin B clearly identifies how the language within policy documents and the expectation of young artists to change, rather than the world around them, is problematic. Her comments point to how forms of disciplinary power (such as those associated with school) are enacted through cultural policy. This was further emphasised by Alex B, who identified the paternalistic nature of cultural policy when stating "I'm not a baby, I know what I want to do with art… make people think… [encourage] change" (Alex B Interview 2, 2022) after exploring the impacts of arts interventions described within cultural policies. For the young artists in Projects A and B, the importance of local recognition and developing forms of respectability were all associated with the local world around young artists changing in some form, not the young artists themselves.

It is interesting to note that these responses connect to the literature explored in chapter three, which met initial exclusion criteria but with research based outside of disciplinary institutions. For example, one study stated, "social capital operates in association with economic and cultural capital, and cannot be understood in isolation from the wider

constraints of people's lives" (Hampshire and Matthijsse 2010, p.714), while another noted the "ethical concerns regarding mental health promotion in the absence of improved social circumstances" (Dyer and Hunter 2009, p.149). The young artists' engagement with the local world around them, and the pursuit of recognition within it suggests they are navigating the constraints and opportunities of their social circumstances. These young artists are expressing the complex dynamics of capital interaction highlighted by Hampshire and Matthijsse, as well as the ethical considerations underscored by Dyer and Hunter.

When I asked "how does taking part in this project make you feel? Do you think it has impacted you in any way?" some of the young artists responded in ways which could be understood as positively impacting their wellbeing:

> Ariel B: Definitely.
> Rosie: In what ways?
> Ariel B: I mean, I'm more confident.
> Rosie: Can you tell me more about that?
> Ariel B: Because in school I'm not the kind of person that will scream things I scream at [Senior Outreach Officer]. I'm not the kind of person that will go up and just say, oh, right, so that's bullshit. That's shit. But here I do.
> Rosie: So, are you saying you can express yourself, maybe freely?
> Ariel B: Freely exactly, freely (Ariel B Interview 1, 2022)

Three young artists responded directly with the impact art can have on them, reporting: "it makes you calm and whatever is bothering you, you can get it out in your head on the paper" (Violet B Interview 1, 2021); "I mean, I'm more confident" (Ariel B Interview 1, 2022); "Yeah maybe I feel more confident" (Claire B Interview 1, 2022). There is an anticipation by most of the young artists that their artworks will impact and affect the world and people around them in positive ways, with some suggesting it can impact them positively also. These responses all reflect the important role of the outreach project's environment which encouraged respecting the autonomy of the young artists as the Outreach Officers emphasised.

Ariel B's response highlights the autonomy and agency she experienced within Project B, the importance of which was also discussed by the Senior Outreach Officer above (on page 114). This supportive freer space within Project B (as opposed to the disciplinary institution of school), is what leads to the development of Ariel B's confidence. This understanding of the association between the creation of positive wellbeing impacts and environments allowing for autonomy and agency, is the kind of information missing within cultural policy.

Other young artists shared that Projects A and B helped them to increase their confidence, happiness, and connectivity with the world around them. One young artist even described the project as having supported them to become "a better person" (Reilly B Interview 1, 2022). "When you're with people, not in school… I think I'm nicer here than there" (ibid.). Reilly B's response, like Ariel B's, identifies the difference between the spaces being created for outreach projects and their importance to positively impact on young artists, as compared to more formal forms of disciplinary institutions such as school. The mechanisms and environment needed for these kinds of impacts to occur, will be explored further in this chapter. However, it is important to note that these impacts, such as improving young artists'

individual wellbeing, were mostly considered secondary to the young artists ambitions to change and impact the world around them.

The emphasis young artists placed on changing the world around them is exemplified within placards created during Project B:

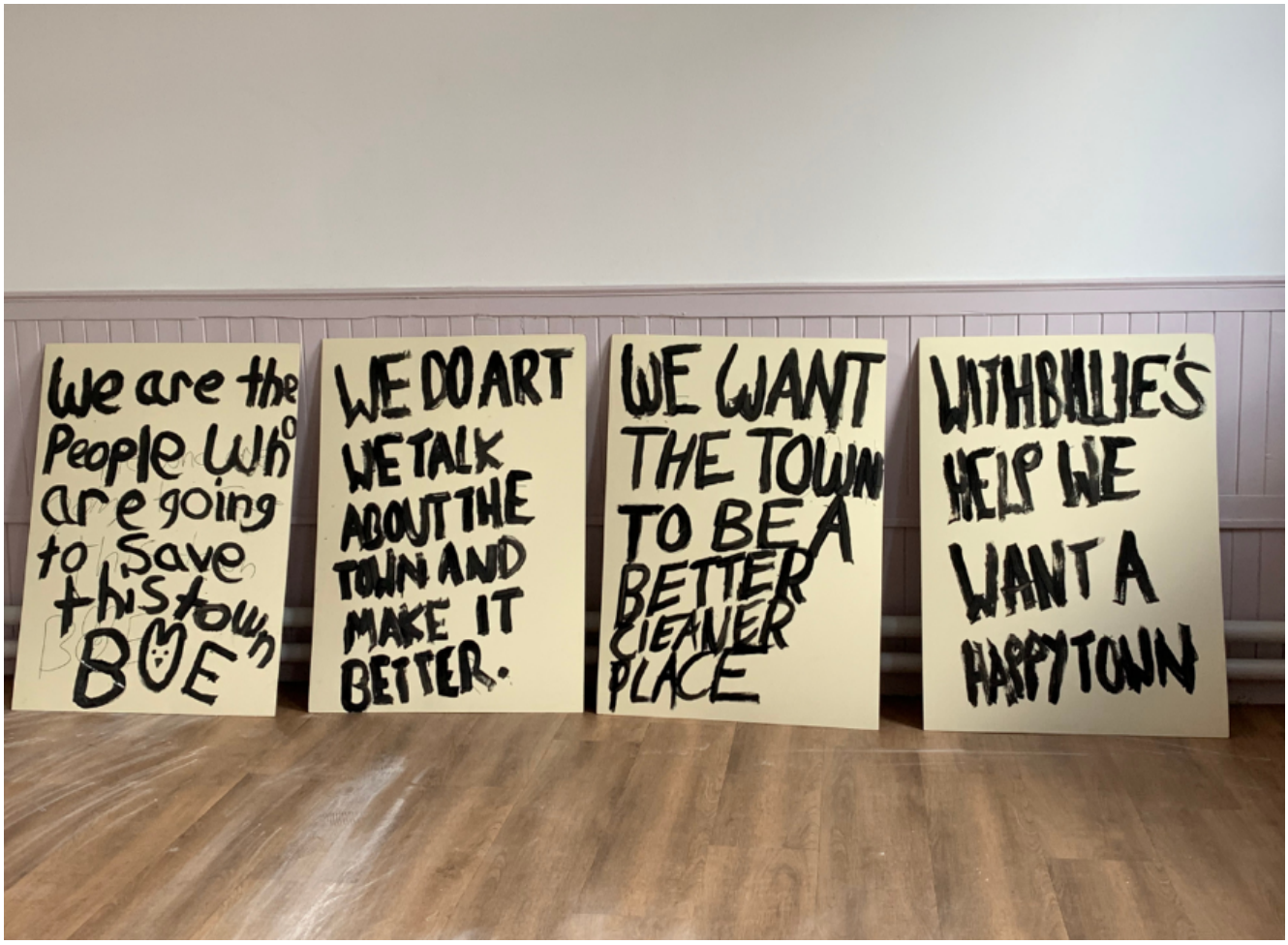


Figure 8 'We Do Art': paint on cardboard, Claire B, Reilly B and Ariel B 2022.
Text and image highlighting what the young artists of Project B do within the project, and what the aim of the project is. These were created as placards to showcase at the 'Town Take Over' day.

As Ariel B suggested, young artists taking part in the outreach projects could act "freely" (Ariel B Interview 1, 2021), as opposed to in spaces like school. Many of the young artists discussed how the outreach projects were different to the art they engaged with at school for example, "I can do whatever I want here and at school I have a specific thing to do. It feels more open to the things you can do here" (Alex B Interview 1, 2022). There was a sense from the young artists that both Project A and B were more enjoyable because they have more freedom, and the environment is less pressured. As a result, the young artists experience increased agency within the projects in a pleasurable way. As one young artist stated, "it's just like playing, but with paint" (Sammy B Interview 1, 2022).

It is possible to apply Raunig's theory of molecular activism and spaces of “radical inclusivity” (2013, p.154) to Ariel B's (and others) experiences within Project B, to interpret the project as reflective of such a space where traditional hierarchies and disciplinary norms are de-emphasized in favour of fostering individual agency and creativity. This environment is markedly different from the structured setting of a school and offers a supportive context for the young artists like Ariel B. It is crucial to acknowledge that these projects, influenced heavily by institutional objectives and external funding parameters, cannot claim complete autonomy. Instead, they operate in a liminal space. However, the autonomy and freedom experienced in Project B facilitated Ariel B's confidence growth, suggesting environments which connect to the nature of autonomous free spaces (like those within Projects A and B) can positively impact participants' personal wellbeing.

Partner E reflected on the freedom the young artists are given when working on outreach projects, and like Sammy B quoted above, reframed this freedom to do with play:

> … so [Senior Outreach Officer] creates play by stealth… so many of our students either might have missed out on some of the early play experiences… or what they're exposed to in their life means there’s no opportunity for them to play with materials… They were very childlike but you know, really exploring and playing and enjoying the feeling, the sensation (Partner E Interview, 2021).

Reflecting on my own fieldnotes, play and the concept of playful freedom arose time and again throughout my observations of both Projects A and B.

> New artist leading today, different vibe in the group as they were very directive. Didn’t float with [Karl A] or [Euan A], kind of disengaged. When I asked if they wanted to hang out and chat they expressed feeling like they were at school. Other artists noticed and changed the pace, they were making up silly slogans and filling latex gloves with paint soon after… Check in at the end of the session and asked what had changed, [Karl A] said “we were just given the space”… something today about the parameters of freedom of expression, creativity… teenagers who sometimes need direction but also space to explore. Very playful and silly at points too (Fieldnotes, August 2021).

These notes reflect the importance of play, and playfulness within both outreach projects. They created an environment which encouraged young artists’ agency and one of artistic freedom and creativity, allowing space and time to experiment and play, in contrast to the structures of institutions such as schools.

As discussed, it is important to recognise that institutions are not monolithic and the importance of the outreach workers roles within projects is complex. The overview of Projects A and B found in chapter four (from page 61 to 64) details the purpose of the projects from the perspectives of the NGS and staff delivering them. It is important to note the role of the Outreach Officer and Senior Outreach Officer in influencing the young artists’ understanding of the projects’ purpose and impacts. According to the NGS website, Project A’s: “…premise was simple; make some life affirming artwork with young people… The artwork would be

made for public spaces… would have their [young artists'] interests and ideas at the heart of the project… The artwork created would be exhibited" (NGS 2023b, n.p.). The Outreach Officer was overt with young artists throughout the project that they were to explore their social worlds: as such it may be that young artists' interest in their social worlds was influenced by the Outreach Officer's aims and ambitions. Project B's connection to young artists' social worlds was less overt. However, the funding application detailed how young artists "… will create their own landscape art interventions and document these artworks to build a photographic image bank… The project will reconnect the young people with the area's heritage, as a jumping off point to explore their present-day lives" (NGS 2020b, n.p.).

However, it is notable that neither project plan overtly discussed or anticipated changing young people's social worlds; instead, it was anticipated that young artists would reflect on their social worlds leading the young artists themselves to develop/change in some way. As was stated in the original funding application for Project A: "the project will broaden participants' perspectives and understanding of society… normalising their involvement in community activities, developing confidence to take part in new ways and activities" (NGS 2020c, p.4). So, whilst the Outreach Officer can be seen as influencing the young artists' interest in reflecting on their social worlds in Project A, there is a distinction between young artists wanting their social worlds to change, and the NGS anticipating change in the young artists themselves. Similarly, the funding application for Project B states: "the participants will conceive, design and develop their own original art practice and art works to represent and empower themselves in their community" (NGS 2020b, p.9). Again, the young artists' concern to positively impact their local areas came from them and not from NGS staff, NGS artists or partner organisations.

It is possible to consider the NGS' assumption that young artists need to change rather than the world around them, as a form of misrecognition (Fraser). This assumption suggests an acceptance of social hierarchies as if they were natural or given, rather than acknowledging them as socially constructed and subject to change, and masks the nature of power, distributions, and privilege. Indeed, Project A's emphasis on "normalising their [young artists] involvement in community activities" (NGS 2020c, p.4), does not examine what kind of community the young artists are expected to be involved in and naturalises the problematisation of young artists. Many young artists spoke about experiencing forms of systematic violence within their communities like transphobia; racism; homophobia; and disableism. It is problematic to then place the onus on young artists experiencing this systematic violence to change, rather than the structures responsible for it.

6.3.4 *Billy the Bunny* and imagining new playful and happy worlds free from systematic violence

As highlighted in chapter four, Project B (like Project A) evolved over time reflecting the desires, engagement and imagination of the young artists taking part. In the early stages of Project B in 2021 (whilst it was based within the local high school) a group of six young women explored their local landscapes and imagined creative interventions within them. The character *Billy the Bunny* (later known as *Billy the Enigma* or simply *Billy*) was created by Jen B.

Figure 9 'Beginning of Billy': Ink on paper, Jen B 2021.
The first image of 'Billy the Bunny' to appear within Project B, and the beginning of an icon which would dominate Project B.

Figure 10 'Billy in Plasticine': Plasticine, Jen B 2021.
The first three-dimensional 'Billy the Bunny' created during an early workshop of project B by Jen B.

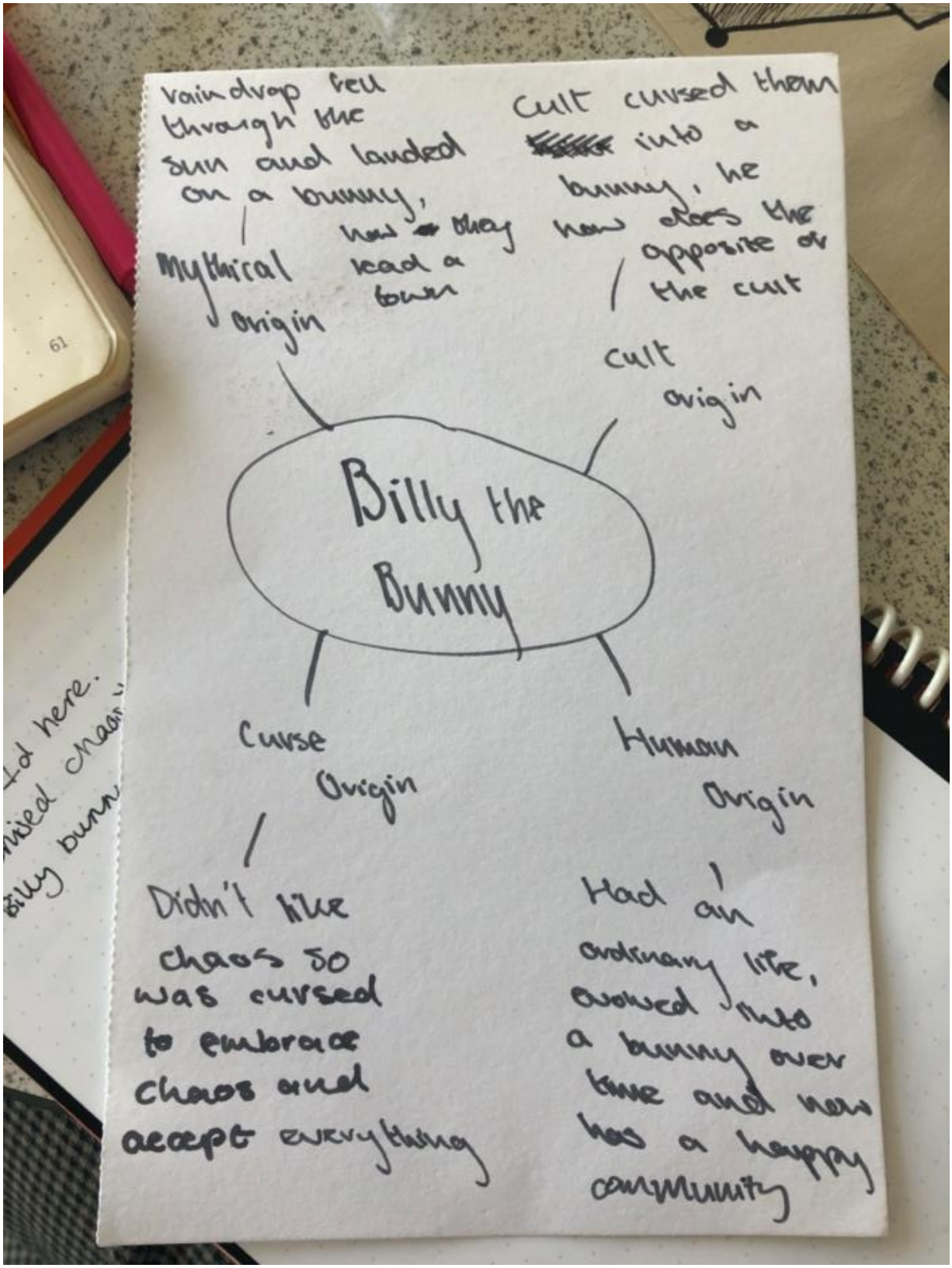


Figure 11 'Billy's Background': Ink on paper, Jen B 2021.

A spider diagram detailing the background of 'Billy the Bunny' created early on within Project B, highlighting some early conceptualisations of 'Billy the Bunny'.

Billy was originally conceptualised as a creature, with a mythical background, who came into the local community to create happiness. Despite Project B evolving over time, with different young artists taking part at different points, the image of Billy, and their ability to bring happiness to the local community remained throughout the project and in many ways became the project's focus and icon.

Billy was embraced by all the Project B young artists, even by those who only engaged briefly. A mythology grew around the character. Stickers and posters of Billy were put up around the local town throughout the project. Billy's original creators stopped taking part in Project B after the summer holidays due to increasing school commitments, but Billy and their image remained and evolved over time to include the following dimensions:

- Billy was gender non-binary (with they/them pronouns)
- Billy's aim was to bring happiness to the local community
- Billy was dedicated to supporting people to stop littering and to creating a clean and safe community
- Billy was of human size but an alien creature
- Billy had rainbow-coloured ears to represent the LGBTQIA+ flag

During interviews I asked the young artists to talk about Billy and explain to me who Billy was, or what Billy represented. Some of their diverse responses included; "Billy is whatever Billy is to people, they bring happiness whatever that means" (Ariel B Interview 1, 2022), "you know, non-binary, alien, is going to save the town" (Reilly B Interview 1, 2022), "rabbit, from space and brings love" (Alex B Interview 1, 2022). For the young artists, therefore, Billy is a positive agent who also encourages the young artists' agency. Exploring the representations of Billy further in the interviews, I asked six of the young artists "is it important that Billy is non-binary?" Opinions varied, for example, Ariel B asserted "it's just the same as any other gender so why would it be important?" (Ariel B Interview 1, 2022). However, they all believed Billy could improve representation for the LGBTQIA+ community in the local area.

It is very interesting to reflect on the young artists' conceptualisation of difference and identities, and the focus many placed on sexuality and gender. This was not just within Project B and the character of Billy. Artworks in Project A explored gender, sexuality, religion, and cultural identities. Considering the focus in cultural and NGS policies on concepts of disadvantage and social class, it is notable that the young artists emphasised other forms of identity as important. Potentially this suggests that cultural policy makers, and the NGS, need to take a more intersectional approach. Applying Crenshaw's concept of intersectionality to reflect on young artists' conceptualization of difference and identities, highlights the multifaceted nature of identity and how it intersects with systems of power and oppression (1991). Crenshaw emphasises the importance of considering multiple, intersecting identities in understanding the complexities of individual experiences and social dynamics: "the problem with identity politics is not that it fails to transcend difference… but rather the opposite - that it frequently conflates or ignores intragroup differences" (1991, p.1241). As previously noted, Crenshaw also encouraged the grounding of group differences, rather than flattening groups to one single identity (1991, p.1299).

In the context of Projects A and B, where young artists explore themes of gender, sexuality, religion, and cultural identities through their artworks, an intersectional approach can provide a more nuanced understanding of the artists' experiences and the content of their work. By focusing on these various forms of identity, the artists implicitly challenged the often-singular focus on disadvantage and social class prevalent in cultural and NGS policies. This suggests that the young artists' experiences of oppression and privilege are not just defined by their perceived social class, but also by other intersecting identities that can amplify or mitigate the effects of class-based disadvantage.

At the same time, the way such intersectional identities are recognised is important. Some of the Project A young artists also emphasised that whilst they had concerns about social issues which could be expressed through their artworks, they were not interested in constantly sharing their lived experiences; “it’s draining, if they [schoolteachers] want you to talk about being Muslim all the time or share, always share” (Martha A Interview 1, 2021). Martha A’s (and others) resistance to identity limitations can also be understood as a negotiation of respectability within their local context. Skeggs identifies respectability as a key signifier of social positioning, often concerned with societal norms and expectations (1997). In this case the young artists, particularly those from marginalised backgrounds, might find the expectation to continuously represent or discuss their cultural or religious identities not only emotionally draining but to be a form of social expectation that conflicts with their personal, complex, and multiple, identity (and even their artistic expressions). Additionally, Fraser's theories of misrecognition can be applied to further understand young artists’ resistance to identity limitations. The expectation for Martha A to constantly focus on their Muslim identity or their experiences of marginalisation may be seen as misrecognition. It reduces Martha A’s identity to a single aspect, overlooking the complexity and multifaceted nature of their personal and artistic identities. In this context, the young artists' resistance can be viewed as an effort to assert their agency.

Figure 12 'Billy's Costume': Cotton and felt, Reilly B 2021.

The costume was created in July and August 2021, but in this image is being worn by a young artist not involved with the costume's creation in October 2021

Figure 13 'Billy's Banner': Photograph, Reilly B and Claire B 2021.
Billy the Bunny stands in front of a banner in December 2021 in the local town square. The banner reads "it's OK" and is held up by Claire B.

Figure 14 'Billy's Future ': Ink on paper, Alex B 2021.
Image of Billy drawn in August 2021, conceptualising what Billy will do when they have finished bringing happiness to the local town.

Figure 15 'U.F.Love': Paint of Cardboard, Alex B 2022.

A large cardboard canvas, with a painting detailing Billy bringing love to the local town in their spaceship, created in June 2022.

Figure 16 'Billy plays pool': photograph and pen, Sammy B 2022.
Image in which the artist Sammy B has reimagined one of Milton Rogovin's works ('Family of Miners' 1982), with the character Billy the Bunny playing pool with a miner.

Billy's creation, and evolution, exemplified the young artists' desires to positively impact the world around them, with one young artist even stating, "we're bringing them to life, I know it's daft, but they can change things for the better" (David B Interview 1, 2022). Through the provision of playful and imaginative creative spaces in which they had considerable autonomy, the young artists expressed a concern to impact their local community and the people in it in positive ways. Billy captured and held many of their wants and hopes, becoming a character who embodied not just the hope for change, but the ability to enact it. Conceptualising Project B as having elements of an autonomous free space (Raunig, Derieg, and Negri 2013) suggests the space empowered the young artists with the autonomy to explore their creativity, experiment with new ideas, and express their desires for social change. The freedom inherent in this space allowed for the emergence of Billy, a character who embodies the artists' hopes and aspirations for positively impacting their community. It is notable that these spaces were separate from the physical space of the NGS, and within the young artists' own communities, however the NGS' agenda, consciously or unconsciously, may shape the activities and expressions within it.

Reflecting on the artworks represented within figures 12 to 16 above, it is possible to consider Billy's significance both through visual data analysis[14] and the interviews held with young artists. The young artists highlighted Billy's importance as a creature that would be immediately loved by the town; a soft, gentle, non-threatening character. In many ways this can be considered the opposite to how young artists believe adults view them. In figure 15, Alex B painted Billy arriving at their local down in an "U.F.Love" (a play on U.F.O). Billy spreading and sharing love and happiness, through acts of kindness, joy and gentleness is reiterated within many of the artworks depicting them. The artworks are also often silly and whimsical in nature. Whilst the social issues Billy was imagined to be tackling were serious, Billy themselves reflected the joyful, free, and silly environment Project B had created.

Asked why Billy was an alien, many young artists responded that only an alien could bring about positive change in their community. Many of the young artists discussed how adults did not care what the young artists wanted, but through an engaging and strange character, there was a potential for them to listen:

> we don't get listened to at school... the youth club always says there'll be something we can do, like make a space... [but] it never happens... Billy actually does this stuff, and because Billy isn't a teenager, adults might actually... take notice... they can't be a teenager... but they can't be a useless grown up... they have to be something completely different, something completely strange (David B Interview 1, 2022).

There were also depictions of Billy once they had successfully brought about positive change in the local town: in figure 14 Alex B states "after Billy brung happiness, they stepped down and took up farming, sheeps roam their wheat fields." Despite Billy being an alien, they were often placed in rural settings which are depicted by many of the young artists. Alex B depicted Billy with a rifle, not as a threatening presence but in a whimsical nod to Billy themselves

[14] During visual data analysis I treated the young artists' artworks as Art, no different to work created by canonical artists.

being a bunny, and the humorous vision of them also being a farmer. Whilst the local town in Project B is post-industrial in nature, it is surrounded by rolling fields and farms. The young artists often connected the landscape they could see from their windows as the place Billy would choose to retire to. There was a sense that the rural was idyllic, unlike the town Billy was attempting to change.

I would suggest that Billy represents a utopian vision, potentially created in spaces similar to an autonomous free space. They are a fiction but one which allows the young artists the hope that they can inspire and encourage positive change (agency, and autonomy in creative spaces) within the real world (leading to the young artists' experiencing recognition). It is possible to frame Billy within the work of Ruth Levitas, recognising them as a "utopian method" which could: "offer a more critical perspective on the present… encourage us to think about the interrelationships of social processes" (2001, p.450). Billy represents concepts of love, happiness, gentleness, kindness. Billy, in many ways, mirrors how the young artists wanted adults in their local community to understand young people; as full of potential, joy and silliness, and with the knowledge and insight to bring about positive change if given the opportunity. Billy's mythology is based on concepts that are in stark contrast to the neo-liberal values which dominate cultural policy and attitudes towards young people. Indeed, within the literature reviews in chapter three it was mentioned that only one study considered why visual art was a useful tool for working with young people; Illeris discusses the possibility of visual art "to give an unusual break from everyday life that allows for participation in different social forms of communication" (2005, p.238). The nature of visual art itself, could make it a vital tool in delivering the utopian method Levitas encourages.

Billy highlights the importance of recognizing the ways young artists actively engage with and transform everyday cultural practices, rituals, and representations in their daily lives. Billy was never depicted by them at a gallery or museum, but often enjoying the countryside, in the local town square, cooking, or as the artwork in figure 16 highlights, playing a game. Billy highlights how the everyday is a powerful realm for positive change, resonating with the importance of the everyday asserted by de Certeau (2011). Billy is often depicted enacting positive change through the quiet spaces and places which have been neglected within cultural policy. Furthermore, the local is identified as important within the artworks created by young artists. Billy's role was as a changemaker in the local community, they did not focus on changing or challenging wider more global societal issues (although of course these intersect).

6.3.5 The importance of exhibiting and sharing artworks created during outreach projects in different contexts

For many of the NGS staff, outreach exhibitions at the NGS and in local communities represent the end of an outreach project. As the previous chapter highlighted, many NGS staff considered exhibiting at the NGS as a pinnacle for artists. At the same time the NGS staff survey also highlighted that staff understand the exhibiting of young artists' work as different to the exhibiting of quality artworks.

For the young artists in Project B, the culmination of their project was the *Town Take Over*. There was also an exhibition in their local gallery six months after the *Town Take Over*

occurred, and some artworks were included in an exhibition *You Are Here* (2022) at the NGS during the project itself which many of the young artists visited. Some Project A artworks were also displayed in this exhibition, but, due to Covid-19 pandemic restrictions, the young artists did not get to see them. Other Project A artworks were exhibited for periods in local community centres and a large lightbox detailing a ribbon sculpture created by a group of young artists (although not the 'core' group I am focussing on) was created and gifted to a local community centre where it is on permanent display.

When exploring their understanding of their artworks being exhibited within the NGS, it was noticeable that many Project B young artists were unsure what the impacts of such exhibits would be. As previously mentioned, one young artist pointed to the obscure position of the exhibition within the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Other Project B young artists questioned the local impact of an exhibition in Edinburgh: "well it's Edinburgh so I don't know… it won't change things in [local town]" (David B Interview 1, 2022); "it was cool to see the film of us, and my name wasn't on it so I know [Senior Outreach Officer] is changing that… it was good but the Town Take Over will be better" (Claire B Interview 1, 2022). These young artists were unsure of the relevance of exhibiting their artworks in Edinburgh.

On the day of the *Town Take Over*, I spoke to many of the young artists from the core group, as well as members of the community, friends, peers, and family members about the day. Claricia B, in an act of peer research, collected further accounts that attested to their excitement: "look at all these people, they're here for Billy and for us to listen to us" (David B 2022); "I think if they know [Greggs the Bakery] that we did all this they would give us some donuts" (Claire B 2022); "it's buzzing, absolutely buzzing, I think this is going to do something" (Reilly B 2022); "it's been really hard to talk to so many people, but at the same time… a challenge, yes a challenge, and I have really loved it and all the people looking at things we made. Amazing" (Ariel B 2022). These responses depict the *Town Take Over* as a joyous and celebratory environment, and one in which the young artists felt their community was engaging with their artworks in ways that could positively impact the community itself. The exhibition of the young artists' works from Project B (once the outreach intervention had finished) within their local gallery, will be explored in the next chapter, but here the importance of exhibiting in local, public spaces is emphasised. This emphasis attests to the role of the local in creating recognition, respectability, and feelings of agency among the young artists.

Figure 17 'Town Take Over': Photograph 2022.
A photograph showing the 'Town Take Over' in June of 2022 in the local town centre.

Project A was a little more complicated due to changing restrictions around Covid-19. Project A young artists also spoke about what the differing significance of having their artworks exhibited at the NGS, as well as locally, meant to them:

> Rosie: …but do you think it's important that it is exhibited in the [NGS] gallery and people see the work that you made?
> Melanie A: I don't think it's that important.
> Rosie: How come?
> Melanie A: Because people are interested in things that aren't… that aren't made by kids, I don't think people want to know about what we do. Not people in Edinburgh
> Rosie: Interesting, and do you think it's the same in [local area]? If your artworks are displayed there?
> Melanie A: No because our families could go… friends (Melanie A Interview 1, 2021)

Once again, the young artists' responses indicate the ambivalence they felt when exhibiting their artworks at the NGS as compared to locally. As Karl A highlighted, there was a belief that the young artists' artworks could raise awareness of certain social issues and potentially encourage positive social change locally. However, the young artists were unsure if these impacts would occur at the NGS, or if the NGS audiences would be interested in the artworks themselves.

Figure 18 'Town Take Over in the NGS': Photograph 2021.
A photograph showing the exhibition of Project B young artists' artworks at the NGS.

Several partners also reflected on the significance of exhibiting locally – but interpreted this in different ways:

> Rosie: You mentioned exhibitions earlier…. How important do you think that is? And also how important do you think it is that it's at the gallery too?
> Partner B: Probably, more important, I would say, for the person involved to have it close by. It's how you sell it [NGS outreach activities] to the young people. I don't think they quite appreciate, sharing my experience, I don't think they quite appreciate that [NGS experience] as much as what we maybe make of it… I think that's a big part that we need to look at: how we bridge that a bit better for young people. A lot of the ones I work with, they have work up at the gallery, and that's it. For me as an adult, realising getting your work displayed, going up to Edinburgh, it's a big deal. I certainly felt it's not quite sunk in, in the same way…
> Partner B2: I think the good thing that galleries do and continue to do is that they have always exhibited the works [made by young artists] locally, and I think what that gives… it gives the young people an opportunity to say to that parent, that carer, even the house they're in, I'm involved in this and you can come along and see the work… But really, what's good is that the young people see that those people, they are supporting that.
> Partner B: A lot of them don't care, probably, about Edinburgh (Partner B and Partner B2 2021).

Exhibiting locally allows the young artists' community to engage with and support their artistic efforts, which is not the same when exhibited within the NGS. Partner B highlighted that a "bridge" (ibid.) to help the young artists understand why exhibiting their artworks at the NGS might be a positive thing, is required. Partner B's suggestion also highlights a divide between what young artists and adults may value in visual art. As previously discussed, many of the young artists did not value the concepts of quality which dominate much of cultural policy and the NGS in their understanding of artistic value. The tension between the significance of exhibiting in the NGS versus the local community highlights varying forms and perceptions of cultural value (such as concepts of quality) and the importance of understanding the different contexts in which cultural capital is recognized and valued. The young artists may value the embodied capital (Bourdieu 1986, p.18) derived from their local community more than the institutionalised cultural capital offered by exhibiting at the NGS. Partner B2's response can also be considered through the work of Skeggs (1997), with the local exhibition of young artists' work becoming a site where respectability is gained.

As the partners highlight, the exhibitions, both locally and at the NGS act as a conclusion to the projects. However, it is important to note that for the partners, as well as the Senior Outreach Officer, there is an expectation that an ongoing confidence and pride are generated by the local exhibitions in part because the local community can be involved:

> They've probably been thinking about the local area in a completely different way. The thing that kept coming up was this fixation on junkies. And that seemed to me a catch all term for social issues in the area and they explained "junkies doing this, junkies doing that." Once you stopped to unpack it, you can see that there's derelict buildings, there's places that aren't lit very well. There's loads of different stuff that actually when you unpack that there's a much more complex picture than just people who use drugs and are committing crimes… The young folk, they have agency in that, they can actually impact that stuff here (Partner B 2022).

Partner B here is highlighting how important it is for the young artists to feel they can impact their communities, leading to feelings of agency through the outreach projects. The local then, is not just important as a space to exhibit and share the work the young artists have been doing, but also as a site of inspiration in terms of thinking about how to improve it. Partner B here is also overtly linking improving the external world by art works impacting the environment around young artists.

Once again, these answers contrasted with those received in the NGS staff survey. When asked "The outreach team often exhibits work created by young people during projects. Do you think these exhibitions at the NGS are an important part of outreach projects?" all the respondents said yes. Three key assumptions were identified in these responses. The first was that exhibiting at the NGS will have positive impacts on the young artists' self-esteem, confidence, and inspiration. This is clearly at odds with what the young artists in Projects A and B highlighted as occurring when exhibiting their artworks at the NGS. The second theme was that these exhibitions engage audiences and visitors with the young artists' perspectives. This is interesting as the previous chapter highlighted how exhibition feedback often praised young artists' work and the outreach teams' exhibitions as opening audiences to new

perspectives and social worlds. It seems that audiences and NGS staff appear to agree that the sharing of young artists' artworks is important. At the same time, the young artists were unsure of the impacts their artworks could make at NGS. Perhaps this suggests a need for a further "bridge" and to ensure that the young artists know the NGS audiences are keen to recognise their perspectives. The third theme which arose from the surveys' responses related to the young artists' futures, such as increasing employability and encouraging young artists to engage with the NGS in the future. The next chapter will explore these considerations in depth, as well as the longer-term impacts of participation in these projects. Overall, however, the NGS survey responses did not reflect the emphasis on autonomy or the changing of the local through imagining utopias. Nor did they recognise the difficulty of grappling with respectability. It may be difficult for a survey to reflect these forms of complexity, but it may also be that the notion of outreach and participation among many NGS staff remains limited by the concepts emphasised in cultural policy documents.

6.4 The Important Role of Collaborative Working and Relationship Building, Moving From Top-Down Knowledge Giving, Towards Knowledge Through Collaboration

This final section explores what mechanisms, such as the environment created during outreach interventions and the relationships with partner organisations, are required for positive impacts, especially those identified above as significant to the young artists to occur. Much of this section focuses on collaborative practices and the role of young artists' agency. It is a clear step away from NGS policy and other NGS staff responses, as well as cultural policy understandings of young people and the impacts visual art will have. This section explores the outreach projects' move away from the disciplinary institution as a space for giving knowledge and bringing young people in, towards visual art as a multifaceted space which supports autonomy to flourish and puts the emphasis on young artists' own cultures.

6.4.1 Different understandings of collaboration

The NGS draws on concepts of collaboration within their policy documents, but most specifically when staff were discussing the Outreach Officers' processes. One survey response noted: "I think the outreach team work to make our galleries more accessible… this can involve carrying out visual art projects outside the galleries, in collaboration with individuals and communities who are underserved by galleries and museums generally" (Survey 2022, Response 9). Collaboration was not defined in NGS documents, however an interview with the Senior Outreach Officer delivering Project B, illuminated his conceptualisation of collaboration as emerging from conversations with the young artists:

> Senior Outreach Officer: …it partly came out of the discussions with the young girls during the summer… where they talked about the town square in response … What about if we use that... Here's what young folks think. Here's what young people do. Here's what young people make. [And asking the community] "What do you think?" So it's an attempt to do that… (Senior Outreach Officer 2021).

What the Senior Outreach Officer emphasises here is one specific form of collaboration with the young artists he had been working with in Project B. This notion of collaboration is clearly rooted in his concern to explore and support the young artists' desires and imaginations. As

he noted, he hopes the project works “in response” to the young artists. However, this collaboration is aimed at creating a dialogue with those in disciplinary institutions. He continued:

> bringing it into the public domain is a vital part of all this, because I'm hoping and this is just pure projection that we will actually get to a point where there's a serious dialogue going on about young people's power, but that may not happen (2021).

This sentiment of “dialogue” and the concern that the outreach projects should increase young people’s power suggests a more dialogical approach to collaboration than expressed in cultural policy in which collaboration is aimed at changing people. Indeed, the NGS strategy states “we share our passion and our knowledge generously; building creative and collaborative relationships with artists, audiences, partners and each other” (NGS 2023, p.10). This formulation suggests collaboration is about top-down knowledge giving and institutional generosity rather than dialogue. This comparison suggests another tension within the NGS between the perspectives of those in operational positions and those working alongside young people. The Outreach Officers who are working alongside the young artists have a more person focussed approach and understanding of the work being undertaken. The dialogical nature of collaboration suggested by the Senior Outreach Officer also moves away from the singular intellectuality (Raunig, Derieg, and Negri 2013, p.63) of cultural policy and the NGS Strategy, towards a multiplicity and devolution of power even if this is not fully obtained.

The Senior Outreach Officer elaborated on the role of collaborative working and the possibilities of confronting hierarchies of power:

> Senior Outreach Officer: … We would encourage collaborative practice [more]. What does this mean? We would collaborate with the artists who work for us, we collaborate with the partners. Do we collaborate with the young people?... Yes, we try to, but of course that is an ongoing negotiation of power devolvement… we’ve not had to tell you [the young artists] what to do. We've not had to show you. We've not had to say, don't do this. Do this… You don't have to force… We were all artists and including me… It got a bit stiff or frozen at times… You have to read it. We would all have to, we would initiate it, but then we would all have to sort of try and re-establish purpose, collaborative purpose… it felt that they'd taken that responsibility and the collaboration was back on and I think that was definitely proved on the final day (Senior Outreach Officer 2021).

Such collaborative processes are clearly complex and fragile and require an iterative approach. As the Senior Outreach Officer mentioned “we would have to initiate it” when the young artists were “a bit stiff or frozen” (ibid.) and there is an understanding that collaboration also takes time and continuous effort on the part of the outreach team. At times the NGS staff and artists would lead, and at others, the young artists. The Senior Outreach Officer also discussed the notion of “collaborative purpose” and how this is continually negotiated with the young artists, emphasising that collaboration is not about altering young artists behaviour, or “forcing” young artists to behave in certain ways. This demonstrates that

the Senior Outreach Officer has a complex understanding of collaboration, one which is informed, not by disseminating knowledge, as cultural policy and NGS strategy suggest, but through connectivity and respect. As the Outreach Officer leading Project A also highlighted: “we'd built up these relationships with the young people, which are kind of precious…” (Outreach Officer 2021).

The important role of such collaborative working and sense of devolution of power within a relationship of trust was recognised and reiterated by the young artists. As one young artist highlighted:

> Ariel B: The drawing, the jokes we all make... The crazy projects that he gives us every single week. He gave us pictures of people from 50 years ago and was like: "what do these pictures make you think?" And even though that's not something that I would do in my spare time or if some random person asked me, it's because I willingly came here and [Senior Outreach Officer] is willingly working on this, so he is asking us about it… I mean, I make fun of him and he doesn't push or anything like that… So he's always very conscious of what's going on, and he works very hard. You can tell with how he's running around, making sure everyone's doing everything… It’s like, a partnership. Sometimes, we come straight from school ok, sometimes we need [Senior Outreach Officer] to just take over, but most the time it’s from the people in the room and what we want, or a prompt or an idea [Senior Outreach Officer] gives and we just make it crazy, we take it over and run with it (Ariel B Interview 1, 2022).

Ariel B’s comments highlight a real sense of collaboration in Project B, while also reaffirming what the Senior Outreach Officer suggested about occasionally needing to encourage the young artists through less collaborative practices. Ariel B also highlighted the Senior Outreach Officer’s caring approach and how that is appreciated and recognised by the young artists. As the Outreach Officer highlighted, collaborative working requires skills in relationship building. Fraser's concept of parity of participation in which “it is not enough that there be simply the absence of legal discrimination; it means that you have all the effective conditions for really being able to participate” (2008, p.1), offers a lens through which to analyse the dynamics described by the Outreach Officers and by Ariel B above. The scenario described by Ariel B underscores a relationship grounded in mutual respect and collaboration fostering an environment where young artists feel valued and heard. This environment, where the Senior Outreach Officer provided structure and inspiration but also deferred to the creativity and direction of the young artists, aligns with Fraser’s notion of participatory parity by recognising the young artists as equals in the creative process. At the same time the acknowledgment of the Senior Outreach Officer's hard work and attentiveness to the needs of the group further reflects the importance of ensuring that all participants have the resources and support necessary to engage fully in the project. Fraser’s concept suggests that for true participatory parity to be achieved, individuals must have the material and emotional support to participate equally (2003, p.36). The Senior Outreach Officer's role in facilitating the space and adapting to the needs of the young artists - stepping in when necessary but largely empowering them to lead - demonstrates an understanding of the relationship required between providing support and nurturing autonomy.

Moreover, Ariel B's appreciation of the collaborative and partnership-like quality of their interactions with the Senior Outreach Officer highlights a key aspect of participatory parity: the recognition and valuing of each participant's contribution. The dynamic described is not one of hierarchy but of partnership, where the young artists' inputs and the Senior Outreach Officer's guidance meet to create a productive and creative environment. This approach requires mutual respect and acknowledgment of contributions (Fraser and Honneth 2003, p.73), as it ensures that no individual's voice is marginalised or undervalued.

In many ways the collaboration observed in Projects A and B also reflected Bell's (2017) understanding of participatory projects. Bell recognised artists as facilitators who both introduce critical perspectives and enable participatory spaces for public engagement. The NGS outreach team and freelance artists' critical interventions and the participatory processes of art creation are not mutually exclusive but complementary, fostering a richer, more nuanced form of socially engaged art that is both critically incisive and inclusively participatory (2017, p.81).

6.4.2 Collaboration between the NGS and partner organisations

This research demonstrates that collaborative working between the NGS Outreach Officers, the artists and the partner organisations is also not about the NGS sharing knowledge top down in the ways that cultural policy or NGS policy and documents may suggest. For partners it is about working together towards a shared goal. In three interviews, partners who worked closely with young artists mentioned how the impacts that occurred during outreach projects were also tied to the aims and ambitions of the partner organisations. For many of the partners, this notion of the NGS complementing and interweaving with their work was important, resulting in partner staff feeling safe working with the NGS. Rather than accepting the role of collaboration within cultural policy and the NGS as something which spreads knowledge and will "help them [galleries] to reach more audiences" (UK Government 2016, p.32), the partners' understanding of collaboration was, again, different and emphasised relationships and connections.

> Their work [NGS outreach team] complements ours, so I don't think the project alone helps employment or skills, but it's because it's done with us. We work with these young folk for years, their work [NGS outreach team] complements it, it offers something different and some folk will get on board, but not all (Partner S 2021).

Many of the partners discussed how collaborative practices were rooted within the relationships with the Outreach Officers and their specific skills and values; "they [Outreach Officers] just get it, it connects, we want to keep working with them because they just step into what we do and offer a new fresh perspective" (Partner R, 2021). The role of the Outreach Officers in creating connections and collaborative practices was also considered vital by the partners when working with the young artists. As one partner noted:

> I know we speak about in our practice of it being non-judgmental and stuff like that. I really find that anybody I have come into contact with as I've been working with the Galleries has really embodied all that sort of stuff. That's helped some of

> the young people that have come along, one in particular who … I think that they're always really keeping aware about creating that environment that's absolutely safe and encourages people to be themself and feel okay. I know that young person, in particular, does struggle with who they are, and probably isn't accepted in other social circles. So to see that young person flourish just because of the way other workers and professionals have been with him and making a caring situation is absolutely brilliant. I think that's what we mean about collaborating, it's working together towards a shared goal (Partner B 2022).

The Senior Outreach Officer and Ariel B's comments on collaboration reflect a shared understanding of what collaboration means, whether working with partner organisations or the young artists. Collaboration is seen as involving the joint creation of an environment which allows a young artist to "flourish". These comments recall Ariel B's comments on the care Senior Outreach Officer gives to the outreach interventions, and the Outreach Officer's comments about the importance of building relationships with the young artists. Collaboration then, clearly has an important role to play in supporting the delivery of outreach projects, as well as potentially supporting positive impacts. But again, notions of collaboration differ between those asserted in policy documents and those discussed by the young artists and those working closely with them.

6.4.3 Young artists collaborating with one another, creating connections

Collaboration between the young artists was also important. Projects A and B both brought together groups of young people who "wouldn't ever know each other" (Karl A Interview 1, 2021), even if from the same school. This factor was considered by most of the young artists as a significant part of the outreach process and key to their success in terms of recognition by others. As some of the young artists noted: "they've [the community] seen this group of people, absolute misfits, working to do something that could possibly change a town of people that for centuries have not changed" (Ariel B Interview 1, 2022).

Martha A emphasised how important it was to have a variety of young people in the space to collaborate on the project:

> It could have been anything. But it meant we got to share something of our culture, but not like… we gave an idea from us, and then as a group, we made it together, we grew it with the other people (Martha A Interview 1, 2021).

Here, Martha A discusses being able to share something important about their (Muslim) culture but developing the idea with other (non-Muslim) young artists, to connect eating and spending time with one another. Martha A's emphasis on the importance of collaboration among diverse young people in a project, can be understood through habitus and cultural value. In the collaborative space of the outreach projects, different forms of cultural value embodied in the diverse backgrounds of young artists were brought together. Thus, the collaboration described by Martha A can be seen as an act of cultural exchange and understanding, where habitus and cultural values from different backgrounds interact, challenging and enriching each other by producing something new.

In their joint endeavours, these young artists may also be seen as not just creating art; but as actively participating in a form of knowledge formation and sharing that is inherently diverse, embracing the ethos of social intellectuality as explored by Raunig a realm where intellectuality is not the domain of a single individual but a collective, inclusive space (2013, p.63). The emphasis on collaboration, diversity, and the sharing of cultural insights aligns with Fraser's notion of social justice (1998), which encompasses both redistribution and recognition. The young artists' endeavour can be seen as an attempt towards recognition of diverse cultural backgrounds and perspectives. By bringing together young people who would not typically interact, the projects facilitate a form of recognition that transcends mere acknowledgment of difference, fostering a deeper understanding and appreciation of the young artists' diversity.

The importance of young artists working together was emphasised by the Senior Outreach Officer when exploring the future youth arts strategies for young people:

> Getting children and young people talking to each other, feeling stronger and more creative, and having more agency. Impressing each other - not us - with their cultural power and autonomous culture… A model that can act as a conduit for the authentic, organic culture of children and young people not the sanitised 'participation' in culture on our terms (Senior Outreach Officer 2022).

The Senior Outreach Officer highlights the power of young artists' artworks to share social worlds and that it is the role of visual arts to facilitate and bring young people together and encourage their agency.

6.5 Chapter Summary

There is a clear contrast between cultural and NGS policy constructions of participants and non-participants (as also explored in the previous chapter) and how the young artists describe themselves. The discourses of difference which emanate throughout cultural policy were explored with the young artists, and policy terminology around "disadvantage", "deprived", and "disadvantaged areas" was unpicked. The concepts of respectability (Skeggs) and recognition (Fraser) helped to understand how young artists recognise adults as regularly misrecognising them. The young artists considered the language used to describe them directly or as a descriptor of their local communities to be demeaning. When describing themselves the young artists spoke in positive multi-faceted terms, and often identified themselves as participating in culture (whether in their community or on their own). Their engagement challenges cultural policy makers' perception of young artists as non-participants while also raising questions around how participation in everyday culture is ignored by cultural policy. Furthermore, young artists' interest in identity beyond social class and concepts of disadvantage suggests that cultural policy should develop a more intersectional (Crenshaw 1991) understanding of identities while also not forcing young artists to consistently engage with certain elements of their identities.

There was also a divide between what impacts cultural and NGS policies associated with participation in outreach interventions and those described by the young artists. The focus on health and wellbeing in the former were often considered of secondary importance by the

young artists, who focussed much more on the external world. For the young artists it was the role of their artworks to impact the world around them that might lead to increased confidence. Similar considerations animated their understanding of exhibitions of their artworks, both locally and at the NGS. For the young artists, exhibiting locally was considered more important, due to the artworks' ability to create change in their local communities. Young artists were often unsure of why exhibiting at the NGS was important. Partner organisations reaffirmed this understanding. For the NGS and its staff, the role of exhibiting at the NGS was linked again to positive impacts for the young artists, but the potential for such exhibitions to open audiences to new social worlds was also appreciated. However, despite the differences between the cultural and NGS policies and the young artists' and partners' views of impacts occurring during outreach interventions, all agreed that the outreach interventions have, or can potentially have, positive impacts on either the young artists themselves or the world around them.

Supportive and creative environments that encourage collaborative working were identified as important by the partner organisations, the NGS and the young artists in creating spaces for positive interactions. However, the top-down notion of collaboration as suggested within cultural policy, was different to that conceptualised by the Senior Outreach Officer, young artists, and partners. In the latter view, the environment needed for young artists to enjoy the outreach projects was one that built relationships and encouraged play and openness through autonomous free spaces (Raunig) and a parity of participation (Fraser), resulting in increased agency for the young artists and collaboration between them and produced new insights based on ethics of multiple intellectualities.

The following chapter explores the longer-term impacts participating in outreach projects has had on the young artists.

7. The Impacts, or Lack Thereof, of Outreach Interventions After They Have Finished: Revisiting the Young Artists

7.1 Introduction

As discussed, research into the impacts of arts and creativity projects rarely revisit participants of projects to explore potential long-term impacts. This was evidenced within chapter three, which highlighted only one of 19 UK research studies returned to young participants after projects had completed, despite papers often claiming impacts as "transformative" (Mannet 2021, p.1) for young participants.

Cultural policies and in turn those produced by the National Galleries of Scotland (NGS) do not overtly differentiate between impacts occurring during arts interventions, or after them, although surveyed NGS staff suggested that participating in outreach interventions will "help them [young artists] become future NGS audiences" (Survey 2022, Response 3). As a result, expected impacts such as increased wellbeing and improved health are only measured during (or immediately after) participation, and whether outreach participants do or do not become future audiences is unknown. This suggests a further slipperiness (Oman 2021, p.231) as to the impacts claimed, for future health and wellbeing and engagement. This also raises questions in relation to claims of developing young people's social capital since as Bourdieu himself noted, social and cultural capital "takes time to accumulate" (1986, p.15).

This chapter explores the impacts of outreach interventions with 19 of the young artists involved in Projects A and B between three to six months after the NGS outreach projects finished. Ideally, I would have interviewed young artists several more times over an even longer period. However due to the scale of research and the time constraints and funding of this PhD, interviews could not continue. Subsequent interviews were framed by revisiting their previous responses to interview questions, exploring some of the artworks which were made, and reflecting on how their perceptions might have changed since they finished. The chapter also explores conversations with six young artists who took part in other NGS outreach projects, between two and four years prior. These interviews also drew on artworks created during the outreach interventions as reflection points for conversation.

The chapter focuses on two key areas: the first explores reflections on impacts of the projects on the young artists at the time, and whether these impacts have changed in any way since the end of the projects. Discussion focuses on impacts which are prevalent within cultural policy documents, such as individual health and wellbeing. This section also discusses the young artists' continuing relationships with the artworks created during outreach interventions, whether they had developed new perspectives on the artworks they created as well as any potentially new impacts which were not documented during their first interviews. The second explores the impacts the art projects had on the young artists' lives outside of the projects, and whether they still considered the projects to have created positive change in the world around them.

Overall, this chapter unpicks some of the previous chapter's findings and highlights that for many of the young artists the impacts from outreach interventions changed dramatically over time. Concepts of recognition which were discussed as vital for the young artists in the previous chapter are identified as needing to be sustained for impacts to be maintained. Furthermore, this chapter builds on the work of Fraser, to consider how both recognition and redistribution are identified by the young artists as vital in creating and maintaining positive impacts for both them and their communities.

7.2 Young Artists' Experiences of Impacts Changing and Fading

The following section explores the experiences of the young artists involved in Projects A and B and reflects on how impacts reported, such as health and wellbeing, have changed and faded over time. Of the 25 young artists interviewed during Projects A and B, 19 were interviewed again three to six months after the projects ended.

7.2.1 Do young artists still feel the confidence they reported at the end of these projects?

Of the 22 young artists who emphasised the importance of impacts on the world around them in their initial interviews, of which 17 were interviewed for a second time. All of these young artists identified that their perceptions of the impacts on themselves (such as those associated with wellbeing) had changed in some way since the projects' completion. They expressed their experiences of impacts changing, fading drastically, or even developing into feelings of displeasure over time. Their responses reflected the importance of relationships within outreach projects:

> Rosie: And now the group has finished, has that impact, like you said about helping anxiety, has that stayed with you?
> Karl A: Not anymore, if I had been able to keep doing it, and I know [Outreach Officer] has messaged about doing stuff, but it's not, you know…
> Rosie: Regular?
> Karl A: Exactly. I think like maybe at the time it helped with meeting people and anxiety like I said but it needs to be like you said regular, not a bit here a bit there.
> Rosie: And how do you feel about the project now that it has wrapped up? Looking back at the work you did how does it make you feel?
> Karl A: Good but also a bit sad that we are not together as a group (Karl A Interview 2, 2022).

> Rosie: So the project, it didn't "make you a better person" like you said?
> Reilly B: No, since then loads has happened
> Rosie: Because in our chat last time you said "I think I'm nicer here [in Project B] than there [school]", can you tell me a bit about that?
> Reilly B: Well [Senior Outreach Officer] isn't about so how can I be? (Reilly B Interview 2, 2022).

> Melanie A: And now it's just finished, how am I supposed to spend time with the others talking to people?
> Rosie: Is that frustrating?

> Melanie A: Yeah of course (Melanie A Interview 2, 2022).
>
> Martha A: I think I talked more confidently than usual because I'm not this girl who speaks as much, but I felt I was invited, maybe, included in conversations and these things.
> Rosie: And things like, talking more confidently like you say, that's not stayed since the project finished?
> Martha A: How could it, no (Martha A Interview 2, 2022).

The above extracts highlight several pertinent themes. Firstly, impacts which are recorded during art interventions such as reducing anxiety and improving confidence are often embroiled with the immediacy of projects and the environment that the projects create. Many of the young artists highlighted the important role the NGS staff, especially the Outreach Officers and freelance artists had. This importance reflects the role of relationships and the skills of those working on projects in creating and supporting these relationships. When these supportive group environments no longer existed, the young artists felt that the positive impacts they had experienced faded. Young artists discussed the importance of group settings in creating positive impacts on themselves. It seemed that these groups also needed to be consistent and ongoing for these impacts to remain or not be diminished. This reflects Bourdieu's view on social capital (1986, p.21), emphasising how networks and the quality of these relationships can create, sustain, or diminish the benefits gained from such interventions. The fading of positive impacts post-project suggests the transient nature of social capital when not continuously nurtured within stable and supportive social networks. The responses also highlight feelings of frustration that projects have finished and the opportunity to be "included in conversations" (Martha A Interview 2, 2022) removed. The agency that the young artists felt during outreach projects, that was explored in the preceding chapter, was significantly reduced. Indeed, some of the young artists felt disempowered by no longer having access to these spaces, places, and people. Such feelings of disempowerment were emphasised by Kath A:

> Kath A: I understand that covid meant things got cancelled, but it feels really disappointing for it to just finish
> Rosie: I think [Outreach Officer] is going to aim to have a trip or another session or 2, would you be interested?
> Kath A: To be honest, no. I don't have the time to just come along whenever, that's why it had to be every week same time and it's… annoying, I was there mainly online but to not see the artists again or to have my artworks up [exhibited] like was planned, for me, you know? (Kath A Interview 2, 2022).

Kath A no longer had the time or resources to participate in such projects. As Hope emphasises: "if participation is voluntary and unpaid it implies you need free time to do it and therefore excludes those who do not have the time, resources or money to spare" (2011, p.48). Relevant resources included self-organisation and management, which the young artists in Projects A and B did not feel capable of: "how could I sort something like that? I struggle to get out of bed" (Euan A Interview 2, 2022). These excerpts highlight that having their agency reduced, due to projects finishing was frustrating and demoralising, and that without the NGS outreach projects young artists could not maintain the vital connections they

had made with others nor the boost to self-confidence or alleviation of mental ill health. The freer spaces of the outreach projects were not self-sustaining. Moreover, these responses further trouble the research claiming impacts such as young people becoming "contributing citizens" (Lawy et al. 2010, p.352; Robinson, Paraskevopoulou and Hollingworth 2019, p.1204) through arts interventions. These impacts cannot be effectively explored unless young people are revisited after projects have completed.

The experiences of the young artists can be considered utilising Skeggs and Fraser's theories. Skeggs suggests that respectability is not just a matter of personal achievement but is conferred through recognition by others, particularly those in positions of authority or influence (1997, p.12). The young artists' positive experiences and the confidence gained through these art interventions can be seen as moments of achieving a form of respectability, where their identities as artists are validated by the Outreach Officers and their peers. However, the temporary nature of these interventions means that this respectability is precarious and contingent upon continued recognition and inclusion within such supportive environments. The role of NGS staff and the structure of the outreach projects as spaces of inclusion and dialogue represent institutional efforts to recognize the identities and contributions of the young artists. This recognition is crucial for the artists' sense of self-worth and agency, aligning with Fraser's argument that justice requires both redistribution (of resources and opportunities) and recognition (of diverse identities and voices) (2003). However, the short-term nature of these projects and the subsequent feelings of exclusion and disempowerment reported by the young artists underscore a critical limitation in the project's design: the failure to sustain recognition over time. Fraser would likely critique this as a failure to embed recognition resulting in preventing a true parity of participation (2003, p.41), leaving the young artists in a complex position once the projects end and the immediate context of validation disappears.

The change in young artists' perceptions of the projects' impact over time illustrates the dynamic nature of the field (Bourdieu 1986). The field, in this context, is the social space of the NGS outreach projects, where various agents (young artists, NGS staff, NGS freelance artists, partner organisations) interact. As the young artists move away from the immediate context of the projects, their position in the field changes, leading to a shift in how they perceive the impact of their participation. The initial sense of empowerment and positive impact can diminish as they distance themselves from the project's immediate influence, (reflecting a shift in their position within the field).

At the same time it is important to note that, when revisiting their earlier interview responses two young artists stated that they had not actually felt the way they had reported during these initial interviews, they had responded in ways they thought I as a researcher would want to hear, or in ways that would not jeopardise their relationship with the NGS staff and freelance artists; "I liked the project at the time but how happy it made me, I said because I didn't want to say the wrong thing… I think at the time I just wanted to share what would make you or [Senior Outreach Officer] feel good" (Alex B Interview 2, 2022). Alex B's response raises vital reflections on the role of researchers, as well as of arts organisations and practitioners more broadly, and the potential for investigator effects to occur when evaluating and exploring projects especially with young people used to negotiating disciplinary institutions. Alex B altering their responses to align with what they believed others

wanted to hear illustrates the performative aspect of identity that Skeggs discusses. This performance is not merely for personal benefit but is shaped by an understanding of social power, hierarchies, and societal expectations and the desire to be seen as respectable or worthy within the context of the outreach project. This aligns with Skeggs' argument that individuals from marginalised or scrutinised groups often engage in self-monitoring and adjustment of their behaviour or responses based on perceived social expectations (1997, p.57), seeking to gain social acceptance or avoid negative judgement.

Furthermore, Alex B's desire to not jeopardise their relationship with the NGS staff and freelance artists speaks to the importance of social recognition and the fear of misrecognition or non-recognition (Fraser 1997). Alex B's actions highlight the tension between personal authenticity and the social struggle for recognition, where the latter often requires the suppression or alteration of the former.

In the previous chapter, three young artists did identify personal benefits of their participation in these projects (which often mirrored the wellbeing impacts emphasised in government and NGS policies, as well as the UK based literature explored in chapter three). Other young artists emphasised that these impacts were secondary to the possibility of the outreach projects impacting the world around them. Only two of the young artists who expressed personal benefits were re-interviewed three months after the project's completion. When I explored their initial responses of "I mean, I'm more confident" (Ariel B Interview 1, 2022) and "yeah maybe I feel more confident" (Claire B Interview 1, 2022), in these follow up interviews only Claire B affirmed she still felt more confident because of Project B.

> Rosie: When we talked at [community centre], you said "yeah maybe I feel more confident" when I asked you about the impacts of the project. Is this something you still feel?
> Claire B: Yeah, well… sort of.
> Rosie: Can you tell me more about that?
> Claire B: Having [Senior Outreach Officer] there to like, encourage or sometimes force *giggles* I was not at all comfortable with doing a speech, but I did it and that sticks with you.
> Rosie: The sense of confidence do you mean?
> Claire B: Yeah, knowing you can do that if you have to but… it's hard without someone there to force you (Claire B Interview 2, 2022).

Claire B identified that whilst the confidence she gained from taking part in Project B has remained, she felt the loss of the Senior Outreach Officer who was no longer an available supportive figure. For Ariel B, in contrast:

> Ariel B: I think in Town Take Over, I was way more myself. Like if you saw me in school, you'd be like, "who is this quiet ass kid?", I'm not even a quiet person. Just I could be very quiet at school. During the takeover… I just let loose, I guess.
> Rosie: So do you think that has stayed the same? Do you think that project, do you think it made you more confident, or like you say you can let loose?
> Ariel B: At the time, yes, it sort of made me more confident, but now it's over I'm kind of going back, I'm back to being a quiet ass kid (Ariel B Interview 2, 2022).

Ariel B is highlighting that the outreach project created an environment in which they could "let loose", but the confidence that came because of being able to do that has not remained since losing the support associated with the project.

Ariel B and Claire B interviews suggest the importance of longer-term working within outreach projects to maintain positive impacts and the relationships created within them. Their responses further support Bourdieu's notion that social capital takes significant time to develop alongside supportive relationships (1986, p.22-24). The mechanisms needed to support long-term impacts for young artists taking part in projects are explored further in this chapter, but it is notable that Claire B identified their relationship with the Senior Outreach Officer as building her confidence, rather than the process of making artworks as emphasised in NGS policy and documents.

Project B held an exhibition of the young artists' artworks in a local gallery six months after the project had finished. This took place after the follow-up interviews with young artists. The Senior Outreach Officer invited all the young artists that had taken part to support creating the exhibition display, with three young artists (Claire B, Charlie B and Claricia B) accepting the invitation. These young artists created signs and information boards for the artworks on display, and Claire B wrote a speech to share with the visitors to the exhibition opening as mentioned above.

Figure 19 'Billy on Display': Mixed media 2022.
Photograph highlighting the "bad" Billy costume and other artworks on display within a local gallery.

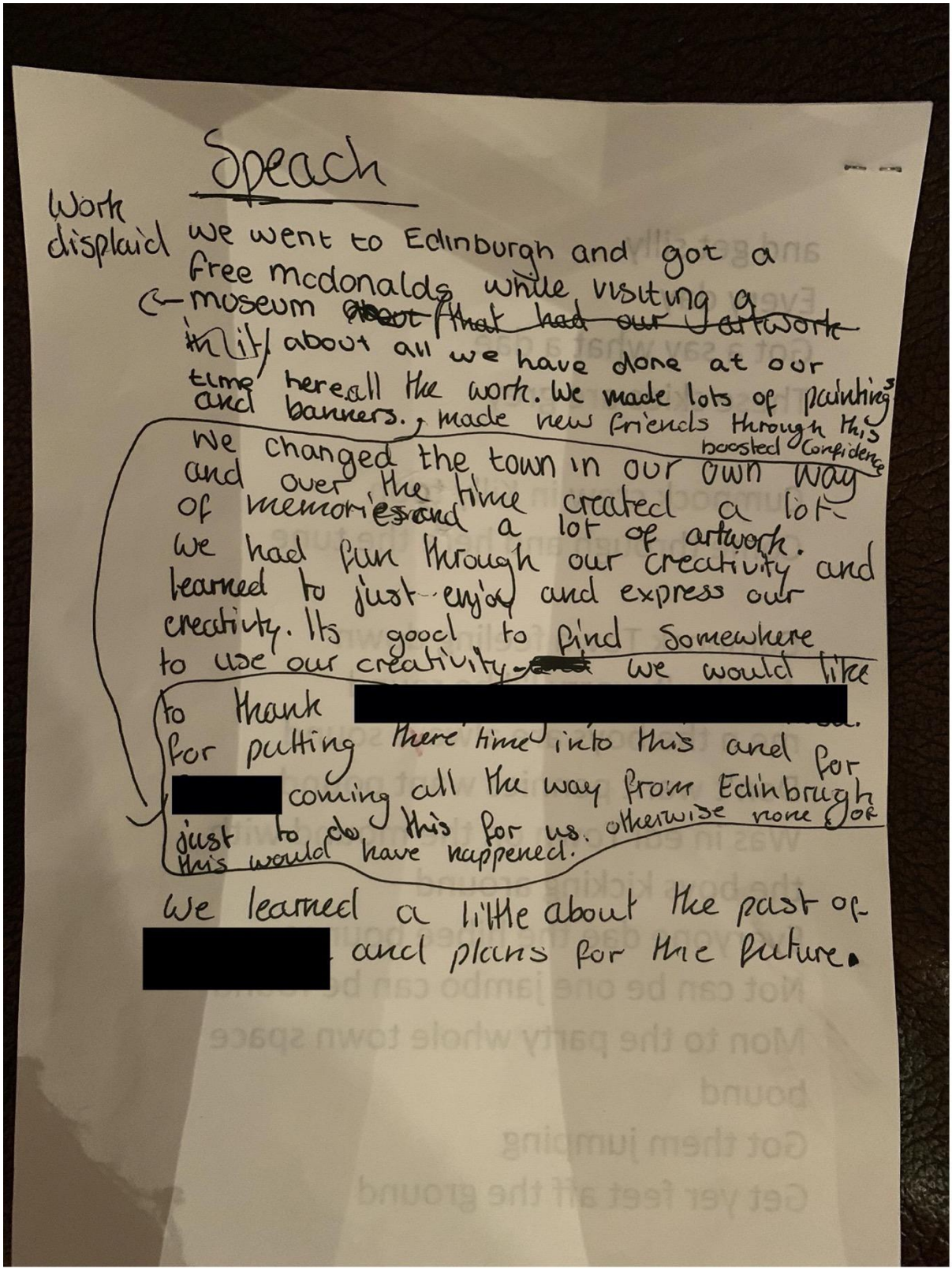


Figure 20 'Speech': Ink on Paper, Claire B 2022.
The speech was drafted by Claire B and shared with visitors to the opening of the local exhibition of their work in December 2022.

Only one other young artist (Jen B) attended the exhibition opening. It is notable that Claire B reiterated again in her speech that the project had boosted her confidence, something that was perhaps illustrated by her agreeing to make the speech. Charlie B and Claricia B who also worked with the Senior Outreach Officer to create display information for the exhibition stated their participation was due to Claire B's enthusiasm for the project, and that if Claire B had not attended, they would not have either. Here the importance of the social and relational aspects of projects is again highlighted: young artists emphasised "we're not friends at school we're really different, different years, different pals but that's amazing, to have folk like this, a space for this" (Claire B Interview 1, 2021). Project B has clearly nourished friendships among these three young artists at least.

However, during my visit to the exhibition and in discussions with the three young artists supporting the Senior Outreach Officer to create display information, it became clear that some of the social connections between Project B's young artists had broken down since the end of the project. This is not necessarily because Project B had finished, but it does point to the complex social worlds that young artists, and young people more generally, inhabit. As I noted in my field notes:

> It was difficult to see [Claire B] upset today about a friendship I think everyone thought was solid, even for 13 year old young women. I suppose it shows that there's so much more going on with folk than what you can say about them on a piece of paper, or what it says about them on a funding application. People are complex and that seeps into everything. But [Claire B] coming along today and doing a speech is a testament to how important the project is to her, and that's important (Fieldnotes, December 2022).

Such reflections also highlight the importance of taking pluralism (Law, 2004) into account in considering projects. Connections are partial, and multiple, and people are often connected in some ways but not in others. Connections can change over time. The young artists that take part in outreach projects are during transitional and transformative moments in their lives, and the above extract from my fieldnotes highlights just how complex these lives can be. As Euan A put it, their lives are "complicated and chaotic" (Euan A Interview 1, 2021). One of the emerging themes throughout the research is how all the young artists worked with have not just rich and varied cultural lives, but social ones too. Indeed, it could be suggested that projects like Projects A and B are being asked to deliver transformative impacts by cultural policy which eclipse the realities of young artists' complex lives.

Furthermore, despite Project B having 15 'core' young artists (12 of whom were interviewed during Project B, 10 of whom were re-interviewed three to six months after the project finished), very few accepted the Senior Outreach Officer's offer to work on the local exhibition. This potentially highlights a further disconnection of the young artists from the projects after they have finished, and the importance of developing sustained and ongoing opportunities for relationship building.

7.2.2 Young artists experiencing new impacts and visiting the NGS after projects finish

Two of the 22 young artists discussed new positive feelings resulting from their participation. For one of these young artists their pride related to having their artwork displayed on the NGS website (the Outreach Officer had signposted the young artist towards when Project A had finished). The other emphasised having their work exhibited within their local town's gallery: "it's good to have folk seeing our work and hearing about the project, it feels good" (Claire B Interview 3, 2022). These two young artists clearly have experienced longer term positive impacts from taking part in the NGS outreach projects. In contrast, the other 17 young artists I interviewed for a second time did not identify new positive impacts occurring after the end of projects.

Similarly, when I explored similar questions with the six young artists who took part in other NGS outreach projects, between two to three years prior, only two discussed positive impacts:

> Gerard C: He [Senior Outreach Officer] has helped me a lot since with my college work
> Rosie: Oh really?
> Gerard C: I interviewed him for one of my courses, it's been a huge support
> Rosie: Has it been beneficial in anyway?
> Gerard C: For my course work and me for sure it has (Gerard C 2021).

Again, it seems that it was the Senior Outreach Officer's working practices and their commitment to trying to maintain relationships beyond these projects which produced positive impacts for the young artists, rather than the processes of making art during outreach projects.

All these six young artists had enjoyed the projects at the time. For four of them however the project had not longer lasting impacts outside of the enjoyment they had experienced for the duration of projects: "I would say, while I enjoyed the project, I was already quite creative before we started it so things have mostly carried on the same for me in terms of being creative and enjoying art" (Jenny C 2021); "it was different to what we usually did but I don't reckon it's changed anything for me" (John C 2021). Some of these young artists were involved with a project aiming "to open up a discussion about their mental health and wellbeing" (NGS 2020a, p.14). The project had clear ties to the broader cultural policy aims of improving health and wellbeing in young artists, but none of the young artists described the projects as having had those lasting impacts. The two young artists that talked about the outreach projects as having longer term impacts linked them directly to giving them skills to engage with higher education. Again, the responses also suggest that the depth of impacts cultural policy and in turn the NGS claim to be occurring during art interventions, may not stand the test of time once projects have finished.

Furthermore, none of the 25 young artists (19 from Projects A and B, six from other outreach projects) had visited the NGS since their outreach projects had finished. At the same time, Gerard C spoke about engaging with the NGS through the Senior Outreach Officer directly. Karl A discussed engaging digitally with the NGS when his work was displayed on the NGS website:

Karl A: It was good to see it
Rosie: And how'd it make you feel seeing your artwork on the site?
Karl A: Proud I think
Rosie: Yeah? Can you tell me more about that?
Karl A: Just… that it was good enough to be there I think
Rosie: It was also on display in the gallery for a few months, is it different?
Karl A: Well I can show people this one, and it's…
Rosie: More accessible maybe? Easier to access?
Karl A: Yes, for the people around me (Karl A Interview 2, 2022).

Karl A, like two others, can be recognised therefore as engaging with the NGS digitally as an audience member in relation to his own contribution. These comments however, suggest that most young artists are not becoming future NGS audiences after engaging in outreach projects, either physically or digitally.

During the interviews with young artists from Project A, I showed them the NGS webpage which detailed the project they had taken part in. Interestingly several of them commented that they felt the aims of the project had been different to what was detailed on the NGS website, and that the website did not reflect the amount or kind of work that was done:

Karl A: What does life-affirming mean?
Rosie: Good question, I suppose… maybe uplifting, or emotionally positive perhaps
Karl A: Interesting
Rosie: What makes you say "interesting"?
Karl A: Well… for me maybe some of it was like, yes "it's ok to be you" but also… to challenge stigma. I wanted to challenge people not just always make them feel good (Karl A Interview 2, 2022).

Melanie A: I didn't make with the ribbons
Rosie: No?
Melanie A: I don't know why… so much space is given to that we didn't even do it. We did lots and none of it is there
Rosie: What about the text and not the images, what it says, how do you feel about that?
Melanie A: I think we did try to make positive things, but I don't know why there's this focus. I think it's very simple. Very simple, when we did so much (Melanie A Interview 2, 2022).

These two young artists had participated in the project for 60 and 70 hours each. Their reactions suggest, once again, that collaboration needs to continue beyond the end of the project to ensure that reporting on the projects effectively represents the young artists' interpretations and ambitions. As was explored in the literature reviews in chapter three, Newsinger and Green (2016) noted arts projects are "time restrictive to a particular funding stream or organisation requiring particular outcomes which completely belies the fact that human experience is ongoing" (p.390). The parity of participation (Fraser 2008) experienced during outreach projects, needs to extend beyond the project delivery in recognition of the

ongoing human experience. Reporting and evaluation needs to focus not only on the individualised impacts emphasised within cultural policies, but also what the young artists themselves consider to be important about the project. Both the empowerment and agency discussed previously are diminished when the projects are shared in ways which the young artists consider misrepresenting them and their work.

Karl A's emphasis on challenging stigma and Melanie A's frustration with the oversimplification of her project contributions can be reflected on through Fraser's critique of misrecognition (1997). Karl A seeks a form of recognition that validates individual authenticity and challenges societal norms, moving to address the deeper issues of stigma and societal judgement. This aligns with Fraser's argument for recognition that addresses structural inequalities and the need for participatory parity, where individuals can interact as equals without the distortions of misrecognition (Fraser and Honneth 2003, p.36). Karl A's response also reflects the concerns raised in chapter three by Clements on cultural projects' evaluations (2007, p.332) that the emphasis on social outcomes can overshadow the artistic quality and experience of the project.

Melanie A's disappointment at the omission of certain aspects of their work highlights a form of misrecognition where the complexity and breadth of her contributions are not fully acknowledged. Fraser would argue that this lack of recognition denies the young artists the status of full partners in social interaction, constituting a form of status injustice (2003 p.54). The focus on the "very simple" at the expense of the project's broader scope and depth negates the young artists' efforts to contribute meaningfully and complexly, undermining their agency and the value of their creative expressions. Melanie A's responses suggest this misrecognition is particularly negative, as the project had previously encouraged and enabled her agency and autonomy and to engage with complexities.

7.2.3 How do young artists feel about their artworks now that the projects have finished?

Almost all the young artists involved in outreach projects shared a sense of pride about the artworks they had created. As highlighted above, Karl A felt pride about having his artworks displayed online. In contrast, when I interviewed the three young artists in Project B who supported the Senior Outreach Officer and the local exhibition six months after Project B had finished, it was clear that all three of the young artists felt positively about the experiences they had of making the artworks but were nervous about having them displayed. There was also a sense from these three young artists that the project represented something in the past, and that the artworks created represented a memory. As Charlie B (2022) commented: "it was what it was, and nice to look at again… we've already changed a lot".

Figure 21 'Display Case': Ink on Foamcard, photographs and memorabilia from the 'Town Take Over' 2022.

Display case containing information detailing "memories we won't forget", created for the 2022 local exhibition of Project B's work.

The artwork in figure 20 above speaks to the concept of Project B becoming a memory that will not be forgotten. This is important as many of the young artists in Projects A and B discussed the desire to change the world around them through their artworks. However, the three young artists discussed how the artworks in Project A had lost the ability to make positive changes in their local town. As such, the NGS should perhaps consider how artworks can retain their impact potential as identified by young artists during outreach projects.

For example, one ambition that the Project A young artists shared was to develop recognition and better representation for LGBTQIA+ people in their local community. The young artists' focus on LGBTQIA+ representation in their art can be understood as a demand for recognition that goes beyond mere visibility. It is about claiming space in the public sphere for LGBTQIA+ identities and narratives, challenging the misrecognition marginalised communities often experience. The NGS can create a legacy for outreach projects which deliver on these ambitions, such as long-term public artworks focussing on LGBTQIA+ representation. By creating long-term public artworks, the NGS and the young artists could work towards establishing a form of cultural recognition that affirms the equal worth of LGBTQIA+ individuals and their right to participate fully in social life. It would not only be about challenging the limits of respectability (Skeggs 1997) but also about transforming the conditions of recognition in ways that promote justice and participatory parity (Fraser 2008).

When exploring the artworks created with the young artists interviewed for a second time, some reiterated similar feelings that the artworks created represented moments in time, but no longer meant so much. For some this was due to artworks being denied the chance to influence others:

> Melanie A: We got to share as a group with the other kids
> Rosie: And was that important then? Has that changed?
> Melanie A: Well I don't think that they put it [the "Arabic Setting" artwork created] anywhere so it can't share any more
> Rosie: Can you tell me more?
> Melanie A: Well it's simple. You can't have things change if they [the "Arabic Setting"] aren't there [on display] to change, people to sit in and talk in it
> Rosie: Shall I share with you the website page, have you seen it? [shared screen over zoom showing NGS website detailing the project]
> Melanie A: Nothing I made is on here
> Rosie: They talk about the Arabic Setting here
> Melanie A: But it's not the same, you can't even see what it was. There's no photographs and… even if there were it's not going to have people sit together (Melanie A Interview 2, 2022).

Figure 22 'Arabic Setting': Photograph, August 2021
The artwork being discussed by Melanie A in the above interview: an 'Arabic Setting' intended to encourage conversation and a space for sharing food and conversation. Created by the young artists in Project A in the summer of 2021, and originally conceptualised and designed by Melanie A and her two sisters.

This conversation highlights the complex relationship between artworks created during outreach projects and the concern amongst the young artists that they should be tools for changing or impacting the world around them. As Melanie A highlights, if the key impact of a project for the young artists is to enact change to their social worlds through the creation of artworks, then it is vital these artworks are displayed in the ways the young artists intend. Melanie A's reaction to exploring the NGS website was in stark contrast to Karl A's whose artwork was displayed on the NGS website in a way he approved of. Care for the artworks created during outreach projects is clearly important for the young artists taking part in projects, and their digitisation could be one potential way of ensuring the forms of recognition the young artists want to create can occur, even when projects have finished. As the *Arabic Setting* work aims at getting people to connect and converse, any digitisation of young artists' works would need to meaningfully represent and reflect the aims and ethos of the artworks; digital images alone may not achieve Melanie A's ambitions.

It is also possible to reflect on the care for young artists' artworks which was afforded to some but not others, drawing on Fraser's concepts of recognition and redistribution. In the case of young artists at the NGS, recognition would mean acknowledging and valuing their artistic

contributions by displaying their works online. This act would not only validate their artistic identities, potentially contributing towards the maintenance of agency young artists felt during Projects A and B but would also challenge the traditional power dynamics and hierarchies. Redistribution in this context could mean providing equal opportunities for young artists to showcase their work and gain visibility, akin to established artists, and potentially having their artworks collected by the NGS. As previously explored, the NGS can legitimise the collection of artworks based on their guidelines which include: "[being] inclusive in approach intellectually, and challenging traditional and official narratives of art history to include work previously neglected or marginalised" and "...work[ing] with our audiences and actively address the under-representation of artists and sitters of protected characteristics" (Gibbon 2023, n.p.). Moreover, redistribution could involve young artists being given the opportunity to write about and reflect on their artworks, rather than NGS staff. Such processes would redistribute power, developing new understandings of the young artists' artworks.

Many of the NGS staff suggested digitising the artworks created by young artists as a means of collecting them in some form. At the same time, as Melanie A highlighted, the physicality of the artwork is what makes it significant for audiences. In the example of Melanie A's artwork, which was a large sculptural piece made of palettes to represent an *Arabic Setting*, it reflected Melanie A's own Arabic heritage and her experiences of living in Syria, where she remembered people would sit together in spaces designed for connectivity and conversation. The act of audiences using it as a space to meet and exchange ideas is the purpose of the *Arabic Setting* installation. Photographic documentation of the artwork will not recreate the artwork effectively or impact audiences in the intended way. There is a temporary nature to the display of some of the artworks created by the young artists therefore, and for some of the young artists this is problematic. The digitisation of this artwork, therefore, needs to somehow recreate the space for connectivity Melanie A has identified. By converting physical artworks into digital formats, the NGS could even be seen as participating in the commodification of cultural artefacts, aligning with capitalist imperatives for efficiency, scalability, and easy distribution (Raunig, Derieg, and Negri 2013, p.113-119). Digitisation risks undermining the intrinsic value and unique physicality of artworks, especially those like Melanie A's installation, which are deeply rooted in specific cultural contexts and designed to facilitate direct, communal experiences. This highlights that the NGS must care for different artworks created by young artists in different ways dependent on the young artists' aims and ambitions by respecting their ethos and collaborating with young artists when caring for their artworks.

Melanie A's artwork, and her reflections on the frustration of not having it displayed may also be analysed in relation to de Certeau's concepts of the everyday in several ways. Firstly, de Certeau's work emphasises the importance of recognizing and celebrating everyday practices and the agency and creativity of individuals within existing social structures (2011). Melanie A's artwork, with its focus on creating a space for connectivity and conversation, mirrors this celebration of the everyday. It symbolises common, day-to-day interactions and communal experiences in Arabic culture drawn from her own experiences, resonating with de Certeau's notion of recognizing the often unnoticed resourcefulness in daily life. Secondly de Certeau's concept of "tactics" refers to the ways individuals navigate, manipulate, and subvert structured environments (2011, p.xii). Melanie A's artwork could have offered a tactical

intervention in the gallery space, bringing in elements of her personal and cultural background to subvert and enrich the conventional NGS experience. By introducing a structure that invites audience interaction and engagement with one another, the artwork could have challenged the traditional passive consumption of art in galleries, aligning with de Certeau's idea of individuals as active agents innovating within given structures. Moreover, the intended purpose of Melanie A's artwork, to serve as a space for people to meet and exchange ideas, resonates with Raunig's notion of "forming life as living together" (2013, p.106). The installation is not just an artistic expression but also a functional space designed to foster social interactions, dialogue, and community building. This aspect of the installation goes beyond traditional art forms that are merely observed and enters the realm of participatory art, where the audience becomes an integral part of the artwork's existence and meaning. However, as Melanie A highlighted, this did not happen at the NGS, either in its physical space or digitally.

Foucault's analysis of power as something that circulates through networks rather than being held by individuals or institutions (1977, p.131) can be applied to the situation of Melanie A's artwork. The NGS holds significant power in determining which artworks are displayed and how they are represented to the public. This power shapes the discourse around what is considered valuable or worthy art, influencing both the visibility of certain works and the ways in which artists are recognised or marginalised. Melanie A's frustration reflects a critique of these established power dynamics, where institutional validation and visibility are crucial for artists, especially those from underrepresented backgrounds. Furthermore, Foucault's concept of power/knowledge suggests that power relations are tied to the forms of knowledge that are considered legitimate (2001). Melanie A's artwork, which focuses on creating a space for connectivity and conversation reflective of her Arabic heritage, may challenge dominant narratives and forms of knowledge. By not displaying her work, the NGS effectively marginalises a form of knowledge that could contribute to a more diverse and inclusive understanding of art.

Interestingly in their second interviews, other young artists criticised artworks through the lens of quality: "I don't think I made anything good" (Dana A Interview 2, 2022); "I don't think there was anything I would want shared it was all messy" (Sammy B Interview 2, 2022). Altogether five of the young artists expressed concerns over the quality of artworks which they had created. When I probed further, they suggested that the spaces which had been created in Project A and B were "open, you could just do anything" (Dana A Interview 2, 2022), and that since those spaces no longer existed for the young artists, the opportunity to "just do anything" (ibid.) or to creatively explore with the freedom many of the young artists discussed during the outreach projects had gone. The young artists' excitement for creating artworks which were led by their creative ideas, rather than external understandings of quality, had faded due to these spaces for creative freedom no longer being accessible. As one young artist explained:

Figure 23 'Splodge': Paint on Paper, Sinead B July 2021
Artwork created in the early stages of Project B, in which Sinead B mimicked the splodges created in a quick printing exercise.

> Sinead B: Well we, we made sort of mirror images with glops of paint and then we tried to paint them
> Rosie: So recreate them?
> Sinead B: Yeah
> Rosie: And looking at these images now, is there any feedback or reflections you would like to share?
> Sinead B: I think… I couldn't do anything with it now
> Rosie: Can you tell me more about that?
> Sinead B: I had lots of fun and we got to experiment and sort of do really silly things but now, I'm working towards my exams, I can't just do that. I think, they're not good for what I need (Sinead B Interview 2, 2022).

This exchange highlights several important things. Firstly, tensions remain between concerns for quality artworks and creating spaces of creative freedom within outreach projects. The freer spaces of Projects A and B are at odds with more regimented and disciplinary spaces. The spaces which provided young artists opportunities to be creative and to have fun, seem to have been switched off since the projects finished and as previously discussed, some young artists felt a sense of loss. Secondly, without continuous and regular access to spaces which encourage creative freedom, young artists may become disconnected from their artworks, as they are otherwise being continuously exposed to spaces which encourage an understanding of artworks through the lens of quality, control, and technique. Indeed, it was previously

suggested that concepts of quality are linked to Foucault's notion of discursive formations (1972, p.38) to highlight the kind of art that is valued. The young artists' internalisation of these standards reflects the pervasive influence of dominant discourses in shaping their perceptions of their own work. Furthermore, the young artists' critiques of their own work through the lens of quality can also be seen through Foucault's ideas on surveillance and normalisation (1977). Even in the absence of a direct authoritative figure imposing standards, the artists internalise societal norms (surveillance) about what good art should look like. This internal surveillance acts as a form of self-policing, where young artists judge their work based on internalised standards of quality, reflecting the process of normalisation where diverse forms of creativity are subsumed under dominant aesthetic criteria, such as school as Sinead B's interview suggests.

7.3 Young Artists' Experiences of Change in Their Social Worlds Due to the Outreach Projects

As explored with Melanie A and the *Arabic Setting*, the young artists drew a link between their artworks being made visible and accessible and the purposes they intended these artworks to have. The below section explores if the young artists still consider the projects as contributing towards change in their social worlds in some way.

7.3.1 Do young artists still consider the project as important for its impact on other people?

For 17 of the young artists, the belief that their artworks had the ability to impact their social worlds had somewhat diminished by the time of their second interviews. Melanie A felt that her artworks could no longer have any impact on her social world as they were no longer on display. Some of the other young artists felt similarly:

> Ariel B: [sarcastically] Look at it now. Look at the town and then think better. Nicer happier people. Cleaner.
> Rosie: And do you think the project was successful? Do you think it made the town a better place?
> Ariel B: I'm going to say no.
> Rosie: Why's that do you think?
> Ariel B: Because we're all still the same… There's not many differences… It was about making the town a better place for kids. Introducing Billy the Enigma and whatever to make it a better thing, so that people were more open to like keep it less polluted and stuff… Because it is sh*t still though (Ariel B Interview 2, 2022).

> Euan A: A lot was about, changing [local town] and stuff, and trying to improve it. But I don't think, I don't think it has. We were supposed to have a big mural or something that… hits home, you know?
> Rosie: Perspectives?
> Euan A: Yes, and that never like, it never happened
> Rosie: So the idea of, how did you say, changing [local town], do you think that happened?
> Euan A: No (Euan A Interview 2, 2022).

The young artists did not reject their previous ambitions of bringing about positive change in their social worlds but felt instead that the projects couldn't deliver on their aims and aspirations due to length of time afforded or complications with the project delivery (such as a mural not being completed as part of Project A due to Covid-19). This raises vital questions on the mechanisms required for outreach projects to take these aspirations into account and meet the aims and objectives young artists consider important. Again, the concept of collaboration and the need to fully understand the young artists' priorities is critical. Extending collaboration into project planning, evaluation, reflection, and legacy seems like an important step not currently being undertaken by the NGS. Applying Raunig's molecular activism, which opposes traditional and hierarchical models of organisation favouring inclusive and transversal approaches (2013, p.153) here suggests that the NGS could foster collaborative environments where young artists have more autonomy and voice in how their work is displayed and engaged with, thereby breaking down conventional power dynamics. As one interview highlighted:

> Alex B: I think we need longer… to do everything we was trying to do… We did one day, one Town Take Over and one other thing, and not even everyone could go. You can't make [local town] happy in one day
> Rosie: Wow that's really useful and good to know, and if we look at some of the artwork you made, I have some images here, do you think any of these could contribute to what did you say, making [local town] happy?
> Alex B: If this one was around everywhere on buses, school wherever with us to talk
> Rosie: So, are you saying you would like more Town Take Over stuff?
> Alex B: Yes, and different things, big and small (Alex B Interview 2, 2022).

Figure 24 'Silver Billy Explore': Plastic, Alex B April 2022

Artwork being referred to by Alex B in the above quote, showing a large "silver Billy" created during the Easter holiday break in 2022 with Alex B.

The above excerpts again touch on the role displaying artworks has for young artists and the ability for projects to positively impact the world around them. They also highlight that the young artists recognise the mechanisms which could be put in place to create positive social impacts, such as longer-term projects, the creation of more permanent artworks within their local communities and regular creative interventions within their communities. These quotations also suggest that the aspirations of the young artists within the projects need to be supported out with the project and that there is a need for a broader notion of collaboration. By utilising the work of Fraser once again it is possible to consider the need for institutional practices to acknowledge and value diverse identities and experiences. Fraser advocates for transformative remedies that go beyond superficial acknowledgment to involve restructuring relations of recognition (2005). In the context of the NGS and young artists, this means creating collaborative projects that not only display artworks but also engage with the artists' aspirations and the social impacts they envision, thereby fostering a sustained engagement that amplifies the voices of young artists involving them in decision-making processes that affect them.

Despite these challenges, the young artists' continued desire to impact their communities hints at the potential for transforming social capital. Bourdieu's theory suggests that social capital is not static but can be developed and transformed through intentional actions and the fostering of new networks of relationships (1987, p.23). By integrating the young artists' visions and priorities more deeply into the projects, there is potential to not only enhance the social impact of their art but also to strengthen the community networks through which social capital is constituted. This approach would also potentially be supported by Raunig's concept of transversality (2013, p.65) suggesting the importance of integrating art with broader social issues such as those identified by the young artists as important. By doing so, the NGS could provide a space for critical discourse, where art becomes a medium for addressing broader societal concerns, in line with the ideals of Raunig's molecular activism (Raunig, Derieg, and Negri 2013, p.153).

Not all the young artists felt that Projects A and B had failed to positively impact their social worlds, however. Karl A emphasised that the project had helped to develop recognition for himself in his local community, and that Project A had given him an opportunity to share their authentic self with the world. We explored some of Karl A's artworks during their interview:

Figure 25 'Be Proud of Who You Are': Tape on Wood, Karl A October 2021
Artwork made using the colours of the pride flag, which states "Be Proud of Who You Are"

Rosie: Talk me through this slogan you wrote…
Karl A: Well, the colours are all, they're all the colours of the pride, of the flag that includes trans people

> Rosie: Do you feel, do you feel, when we were talking when you were making it, I felt like it was important that these words made an impact on people. Do you feel they did?
> Karl A: I think they could have impacted people and I would never know, [but] I think that just having that positivity out there is important
> Rosie: Do you think [local area] needs that positivity
> Karl A: Yes, and it's good that even I, I put a little bit out there (Karl A Interview 2, 2022).

Karl A's response highlights an interesting notion, also shared in previous chapters by a freelance artist working with the NGS, that producing artworks which aim to positively impact the surrounding world can simply just exist. For Karl A and Artist M, there is a sense of hope that the artworks they made will positively impact people, and that it is fine if their artworks are never placed in front of audiences in ways such as being exhibited at the NGS or cared for as part of the NGS larger collection. In many ways Karl A and Artist M's perspective reflect Raunig's concept of *auto-formazion*e (2013, p.49), which emphasises the autonomy of the creative process, as both artists suggest that the creation and existence of their artworks are self-sufficient acts of expression and impact this perception which further questions the NGS' insistence that it is the process of making artworks which result in positive impacts for young artists as opposed to the artworks themselves as explored in the previous chapter. There is also within Karl A's response, a subtle sense of pride at attempting to achieve positive impacts on other people. Karl A's response also stands in contrast to many of the young artist's responses which emphasised that positive changes to their social worlds through the artworks they created could not occur if their artworks were not on more permanent display. Karl A's response may also reflect a greater self-confidence, bolstered by maintaining contact with the Outreach Officer. As such, Karl A's response may reflect the important role that Bourdieu identified relationships having in bolstering social capital: "because the social capital accruing from a relationship is that much greater… the possessors of an inherited social capital… are sought after for their social capital and, because they are well known, are worthy of being known" (1986, p.23).

The six young artists who were interviewed about other outreach projects shared similar understandings that the projects they had taken part in were in some way attempting to positively impact on their worlds and still approved of such ambitions. They also commented however that different mechanisms may be needed by projects to deliver on these aims and ambitions than currently exist within the NGS outreach project approaches; "it [outreach project] would have to run full-time I think to really… deliver those things [aims of the outreach project]" (Gerard C 2021).

One noticeable difference between the experiences of these young artists and those from Projects A and B that may have affected such perceptions, was that the projects the six young artists took part in were delivered to already existing groups: groups that supported young people to gain employability skills, a local high school, and an alternative school supporting young people displaced from formal education. As such their artistic engagement was shaped by pre-existing relational dynamics and group frameworks. These young artists recognised the NGS outreach projects as having offered them an alternative approach to their other groups and as having alternative, albeit complementary, aims and objectives. The NGS

outreach initiatives introduced these young artists to an alternative mode of creative expression, diverging from their usual experiences and offering fresh perspectives and methodologies that were both distinct from and complementary to their regular activities: “It was different to school, usual school… like, why would we ever build an igloo or whatever, it was like what’s the point or whatever? But that made [school] more interesting in some ways” (John C 2021). But as the projects were based within organisations with clear aims around developing skills for further education and/or employment, there were different opinions from the young artists if the projects had positively impacted them in those more tangible ways: “It was good fun, but no I don’t think it’s going to change like where I’m going or whatever” (John C 2021); “I’d say it had zero anything” (Harry C 2021); “Oh it’s definitely helped me with college” (Gerard C 2021).

Yet, despite the unique approach of the NGS projects, the young artists' reflections on the impact of these experiences were mixed. Some saw little change in their trajectories, viewing the projects as enjoyable yet unlikely to alter their future paths. The diversity of their experiences underscores the complexity of art interventions' effects, which cannot be uniformly assessed due to the varied backgrounds, relationships with staff, and the different capitals - social, cultural, and economic - that each young artist brings to their engagement with art projects.

The distinction in experiences among these young artists also points to the broader implications of how art projects are conceived and implemented. Projects embedded within pre-existing groups tend to align with the groups' overarching goals, such as skill development for employability, which may not always resonate with individual artistic aspirations or needs. This alignment, while practical, may overlook the potential of art to operate as a form of cultural capital that transcends immediate utilitarian goals, offering insights into personal identity, community, and broader social narratives. In this context, understanding the role of different forms of capital - influencing how young artists perceive and engage with art projects - becomes crucial.

7.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter explored the impacts of visual art interventions, centring the young artists’ experiences of projects after they had finished. It highlighted how impacts such as developing self-confidence, whilst reported by some of the young artists as occurring during the time of the project, were often reported as changing once the outreach projects had finished. Despite some young artists reporting a boost in self-confidence during the projects, this was often transient, with many expressing that such gains diminished once the project concluded. Crucially, this highlights a gap in support post-project, underscoring the need for interventions to foster long-term, sustainable relationships with young artists.

The research both fills a significant gap in knowledge by returning to young artists after they have taken part in projects and suggests that evaluation techniques must connect to longitudinal working which do not oversimplify young artists’ experiences of projects. The ethical implications of methodological settings were explored by Chiaravalloti and Piber (2011) in chapter three and their analysis suggests that oversimplified classifications and narrow perspectives can limit the richness and variety of expertise from key stakeholders.

Indeed, the response to young artists of the oversimplification of their artworks presented by the NGS speaks to Chiaravalloti and Piber's findings.

A significant theme that emerged from my research is the young artists' desire for their art to be seen and engaged with by the public. This finding underscores the importance of not just creating art but ensuring that it is accessible, thereby amplifying and sustaining its intended impact. Indeed, some young artists reverted to concepts of quality, which they had previously pushed against during the outreach projects, to question the worth of the artworks they created. These findings suggest a shift towards projects that are not only longer in duration but also incorporate thorough, long-term evaluations. Such evaluations should account for the broader aspirations of young artists, particularly their emphasis on social transformation rather than personal development alone.

In light of these insights, it becomes evident that future art projects must prioritise collaborative planning, execution, and evaluation with young artists. This collaborative approach should extend beyond the project's lifecycle, embedding mechanisms that sustain the positive impacts and empower young artists to continue influencing their social worlds. The emphasis on playful and creative spaces emerged as vital in nurturing young artists' agency, suggesting that the framework for art interventions should be reimagined to support these broader goals.

The following chapter explores the discussions resulting from the research and will delve deeper into these themes, aiming to reshape how art interventions are conceived, delivered, and evaluated to better align with the aspirations of young artists.

8. Discussion

8.1 Introduction

This discussion highlights the relevance of my research in exploring the potential value and impacts of collaborative visual art outreach interventions with young artists, supported by the theoretical framework and literature reviews within this thesis. The chapter explores my contribution to the field of visual arts and cultural policy and is divided into six broad sections. After this introduction to the chapter, the second section summarises the research design, exploring how the theoretical framework supported my research. The third section explores key findings, providing a summary of my contributions to knowledge. The fourth section explores some of the limitations of this study but argues why it is still vital in exploring the research questions outlined. The fifth section discusses the implications of the research and its importance in filling some of the gaps identified within the literature reviews and tackling the complex and potentially problematic discourses common in cultural policy. It includes recommendations based on the findings of the research, including practical steps that arts organisations, policy makers, funders and artists should consider developing collaborative relationships with young artists drawing on a parity of participation (Fraser 2008). The chapter concludes with some closing thoughts.

8.2 Summary of Research Design

This research project used a qualitative approach to explore the processes and outcomes of collaborative visual art outreach projects with young artists. A mixed methodology was employed, incorporating documentary and policy analysis, interviews, surveys, visual analysis, and observations. Most of the fieldwork involved observing and exploring two outreach projects conducted by the National Galleries of Scotland (NGS). The fieldwork was iterative in nature, allowing for themes and insights from young people's interviews (as well as other data such as survey responses) to inform other areas of research. The research sought to explore the following research questions:

> *How do organisations approach working collaboratively with young people?*
> What discourses are being created within outreach interventions? Are these different to the discourses created within policy and organisational discourses? Are large institutions acting as disciplinary institutions when engaging in outreach activities?
>
> *How do young people experience collaborative visual art practices?*
> What are the specific qualities of visual art which lead to successful interventions? What are the shared/different languages of interventions? Are young people experiencing an 'otherness' when engaging in art interventions? How do young people experience (and contribute to) the interventions? How do young people's understandings and experiences of participation change over the course of a programme and afterwards? What are their most important elements from their perspective? How do young people want to be described by these art institutions?

How can institutions develop collaborative relationships with young participants?

How might such programmes and relationships be evaluated? How is this work valued/ are the outputs considered differently to other artistic/creative outputs and is the value of the work based on the experience and not the final artworks?

The research questions were strongly informed by the theoretical framework utilised. My research critically engaged with a range of theoretical perspectives to explore the dynamics of power, recognition, and participation within the field of visual arts and specifically NGS outreach projects. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and cultural and social capital (1984; 1986) were instrumental in understanding the stratified nature of the cultural sector and the subtle negotiations that individuals, like the young artists, undertake within these structures. At the centre of this framework are Fraser's theory of recognition (1998) and Skeggs' exploration of respectability (1997), which provided invaluable insights into the complex mechanisms governing social inclusion and identity. Bourdieu's theory of misrecognition (1986, p.24), especially as developed by Fraser (1998), highlighted the naturalisation of social hierarchies and the legitimisation of inequalities within cultural discourses and practices, which was echoed within cultural policy. Fraser's work, particularly on the interplay between recognition and redistribution (Fraser and Honneth, 2003), underpinned my examination of how cultural policies and institutions like the NGS engage with young artists and perpetuate problematic discourses. Similarly, Skeggs' focus on cultural capital and respectability illuminated the ways in which young artists navigate social and cultural landscapes, striving for recognition within their local communities.

Foucault's exploration of power (1977) and his analysis of disciplinary institutions provided a critical backdrop for analysing the institutional dynamics at play within the NGS and the discourses created within policies and the outreach projects. This theoretical lens helped explore how spaces were created during these projects where young artists employed art as a form of resistance, challenging dominant narratives and societal perceptions. De Certeau's conceptualisation of tactics (2011) and Raunig's ideas on molecular activism and autonomous free spaces (2013) further enriched my understanding of resistance within everyday practices and institutional frameworks. These concepts emphasised the potential of art to create spaces for connectivity, conversation, and subtle defiance against established power structures.

The theoretical framework was complemented by two literature reviews (in chapter three) that scrutinised current research on the broader impacts of visual arts, particularly in relation to social and health benefits. These reviews highlighted the paucity of research evidence on the role of visual arts in social and health benefits, particularly within the UK, and how studies often lacked methodological rigour. The reviews also identified a reliance on non-peer-reviewed and grey literature in UK cultural policy. This reliance encourages the cultural sector's lack of engagement with critical evaluation techniques, leading to "bullshitting" (Belfiore 2009) and the positive impacts of the arts being exaggerated by practitioners. In turn this has led to policy makers to make similarly exaggerated claims within cultural policy (Jancovich and Stevenson 2022, p.69).

Various methods were employed to analyse secondary data such as policy reports, including thematic analysis, critical discourse analysis, visual discourse analysis, and What's the Problem Represented to Be (WPR) analysis. The iterative research process allowed for the emergence of themes and insights from the data to continually inform data analysis and analysis approaches. The theoretical framework, literature reviews and methodologies used all supported my contribution to knowledge and the findings within the research.

8.3 Summary of Findings and Contributions

Broadly my contributions revolve around key areas that collectively enhance the understanding of the role of visual art with young artists, cultural policy and institutional art practices. Firstly, my research provides insights into the interplay between recognition and redistribution. My research supports Fraser's theory that recognition and redistribution are essential to address social injustice (Fraser and Honneth 2003, p.93). Through this thesis, I demonstrate how these concepts are not just theoretical but have practical implications for young artists engaged in outreach projects. My study shows the importance of giving young artists consistent access to means of production and enabling their power within broader cultural and societal contexts.

Indeed, Fraser's theories of recognition and redistribution have not been applied to the field of visual arts or working with young artists before. By applying Fraser's concepts of recognition and redistribution (1998; 2003) to the study, I identify that whilst it may not be possible for the NGS to tackle redistribution of socio-economic wealth, it can tackle the redistribution of itself and its art collection. Furthermore, my research shows how recognition has been utilised by cultural policy makers, and the NGS, to legitimise targeting arts interventions to young artists with "disadvantaged backgrounds" (Scottish Government 2020, p.39) resulting in paternalistic forms of power emerging and "fortifying hierarchies that most urgently need to be dismantled" (Butler 2020, p.71).

Likewise, Skeggs' theories of respectability (1997) have not been applied to the field of visual art before (although her work has been utilised in explorations of music programmes with young musicians (Bull 2021)). My use of Skeggs' theories underscores the persistent relevance of respectability within cultural institutions and considers the ways in which young artists navigate and resist societal and institutional perspectives. Indeed, many of the young artists rejected the descriptors of "disadvantaged" found within cultural and NGS policies and pushed for their identities to be considered as respectable. The young artists also wanted their artworks to develop their respectability within their local communities. Locality functioned as a critical arena for both the struggle for respectability and the pursuit of recognition among the young artists: exhibiting locally was pivotal for the young artists involved in Projects A and B and the young artists associated the cultural value of the artworks to their ability to positively impact their social worlds. The NGS outreach staff and NGS partners working closely with young people also discussed the important role of the local within outreach interventions. The young artists' need for recognition and sense of worth and agency was tied to their local communities, highlighting the significance of respectability as derived from community recognition. Skeggs was pivotal in enabling me to identify the important role of the local in developing and negotiating forms of respectability (1997, p.161). Respectability serves as a mechanism for negotiating social value and recognition (Olsson

2008, p.76), as such it is unsurprising that for the young artists developing and displaying respectability within their local communities was considered more important than in an institution, like the NGS, far from their community.

My research also contributes to the field by exploring the long-term impacts of visual art outreach interventions on young artists, highlighting the changing and diminishing nature of these impacts over time. This aspect of my research fills a significant gap in existing literature identified in chapter three, which often focuses on immediate or short-term outcomes. My research provides vital insights into the sustainability (or current lack thereof) and general decline of the positive effects experienced during outreach projects. Ultimately my findings question prevailing concepts found within cultural policy that young artists will experience transformative change to their social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) by improving their health and wellbeing through their engagement with arts activities. Instead, my research calls for arts interventions to develop ways to meaningfully tackle the societal violence, such as poverty and transphobia, some young artists experienced rather than placing the onus on young artists themselves to change.

My findings highlight a pivotal shift in perspective, revealing that young artists prioritise the potential of their art to positively impact their social worlds over the development of personal confidence (and other personal impacts associated with health and wellbeing championed within cultural and NGS policies). This insight challenges conventional project outcomes, suggesting that the value of these interventions lies in their capacity to enact social change. The young artists also challenged other values championed by NGS staff: a contribution of this thesis is the exploration of the young artists' understanding of quality. As one young artist stated: "what we do is totally crazy, totally different, it's not about that [quality], it's about saying *we think this is important*" (Ariel B interview 1, 2022). The concept of quality was rejected by many of the young artists whilst taking part in Projects A and B and was associated negatively with disciplinary institutions like school. In contrast, it was the lack of concern for creating quality artworks which made the NGS outreach projects of interest and appealing as the NGS outreach projects were more creative and "totally different" (ibid.).

I critically examine cultural policy's role in shaping the discourses surrounding young artists and the arts sector more broadly. This includes a call for cultural institutions to engage with concepts of cultural value in a more meaningful way, recognising the complex and unique impacts of art from the perspective of young artists (and people more broadly). Indeed, exploring cultural policy with young artists (who are so often described within cultural policy but not involved in its creation) as I did, has not been done in research before. I urge for a re-examination of concepts such as quality which have dominated the discursive formations (Foucault 1972, p.38) of what is valued and what is not. I further suggest that arts institutions should collect and care for some of the artworks created by young artists as a result. As was noted in chapter five, art galleries collect artworks that reflect the tastes and values of the dominant class, serving as markers of legitimate culture (Bourdieu 1984; Stewart 2013, p.3). The artworks on display at the NGS represent a manifestation of collective social habitus and the reproduction of cultural capital, a cultural capital that the young artists did not have, nor were interested in having. By collecting and caring for the young artists' artworks the NGS could meaningfully tackle concepts of cultural value and cultural capital.

This critical examination of discourse further results in challenging the conventional use of the term "disadvantaged" in cultural policy, as well as NGS policies and documents. My findings show that by labelling certain young artists (those associated with disadvantage) as cultural non-participants, they are othered within these policies, making them feel excluded or inferior due to their lack of social and/or cultural capital. My findings advocate for a more intersectional (Crenshaw 1991) understanding that respects the complexities of young artists' experiences and identities. Cultural policy makers need to recognise how young artists' identities have been constructed as lacking in respectability (Skeggs 1997) and to celebrate the artworks created by young artists which strive to create forms of respectability within their local communities. The young artists themselves identified how they felt othered by adults and the external world, experiencing forms of misrecognition (Fraser 1998), as one young artist stated, "adults see us, you know there's this thing if we have a hood up… sometimes it's just cold! But they see us and think, trouble, they always think, trouble… and I am just being me, I'm not that" (Elly B Interview 1, 2022).

Furthermore, my analysis shows that the diverse experiences and perspectives of the young artists involved with art projects are overlooked in cultural and NGS policy documents. Indeed, the young artists had rich and diverse cultural lives, such as Ellie A who was involved in film making, Alex B who designed their own games, and Ariel B who wrote short stories. The conceptualisation of them as "non-participants" could only be applied to their non-participation in subsidised arts and cultural opportunities. Cultural and NGS policy documents do not recognise the young artists' own understandings of their identities and the value they find in art. Many of the young artists emphasised their multiple identities as positives, such as their LGBTQIA+ identities, identities as Muslim, identities as young women, identities as disabled, and identities as artists. The young artists expressed an intersectional acknowledgement of their identities, one that recognised "the need to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed" (Crenshaw 1991, p.1245). These findings suggest that cultural policymakers need to recognize the complex, intersectional nature of identity as well as the complex nature of engaging in cultural activities outside of those publicly subsidised, rather than reducing identity to just concepts of disadvantage and social class. Indeed, Levitas highlights the importance of addressing collective aspects and structural inequalities, rather than merely concentrating on individual participation and achievement in cultural activities within policy (2001, p.463).

One clear contribution my research makes is in recognising the valuable role the artworks created by young artists could play in developing a "utopian method" (Levitas 2001) of cultural policy making. Within the literature reviews in chapter three, one study identified visual art as "allow[ing] for participation in different social forms of communication" (Illeris 2005, p.238) which I recognise as vital in developing future cultural policies informed by the young artists' aspirations and ideas. Through the NGS outreach projects young artists have attempted to engage directly with their local communities, with a desire to bridge gaps between adults and themselves. The approaches often found in the works of the young artists (such as developing better representation of marginalised experiences, such as those of young trans people) challenge conventional policy frameworks. This research highlights the importance of creating channels through which the voices and artworks of young artists can inform and influence the development of cultural policies and therefore institutional practices.

This thesis underscores the importance of collaborative working not only during art interventions but also in their conceptualisation, reporting, and legacy planning. By advocating for a collaborative approach that allows young artists to shape cultural policy, projects and their outcomes, my research highlights how art interventions can provide spaces for creativity, agency, and social change.

8.4 Limitations of the Research

The research project has some limitations that should be acknowledged. Firstly, the sample size of young artists interviewed in Projects A and B, as well as those who were revisited from previous outreach interventions was relatively small. 31 young artists were interviewed altogether. This may limit the ability to draw broad conclusions about the impacts of outreach interventions on young artists. Additionally, as the projects were all associated with the NGS that are funded directly by the Scottish Government, it could be suggested the findings may be less applicable to projects who are funded in other ways. However, to mitigate this, I drew on data from partner organisation interviews, outreach staff interviews, survey responses, visual data analysis, and over 300 hours of my own observation field notes (observing over 100 young artists in total), to better understand the experiences and interpretations the young artists shared with me.

Another limitation is the lack of participatory methods employed in the research project itself. While the outreach projects emphasised collaboration and co-creation, the research methods did not fully reflect these principles as this was a collaborative PhD. The young artists were not actively involved in shaping the research design, although many were encouraged to reflect on the interpretation of the findings during second interviews. If they had been involved in the selection of research questions the project might have taken different paths. Furthermore, ideally, I would have liked to follow the young artists for longer after their participation in Projects A and B to better judge the long-term impacts of such projects.

Despite these limitations, the research project fills gaps in the existing literature by exploring the processes and outcomes of collaborative visual art outreach projects, specifically focusing on the experiences of young artists both during and, significantly, after outreach interventions. The project also provides insights into the potential meaning, importance, and relevance of such projects for young artists (and how these differ from policy), shedding light on the impacts and challenges associated with working collaboratively with young artists. It also highlights the need for further research to explore the long-term effects of outreach interventions on young artists.

The recommendations explored in the following section have practical implications for arts organisations, policy makers, funders, and artists and provide guidance for supporting longer-term positive impacts based on the experiences of the young artists involved in art interventions. While the research project has limitations in terms of sample size, length of project, and lack of participatory methods therefore, it still holds significance in filling gaps in the literature and providing recommendations for future practice.

8.5 Interpretations, Implications and Recommendations

The following section explores the interpretations and the implications of the main findings, and the resulting recommendations that come from these. It is divided into four key areas exploring key themes which emerge in the research. These are: different interpretations of "disadvantaged"; quality in visual art; how the impacts on young artists change over time; and allowing young artists' work to be effective in the ways they envisage, such as positively impacting their local communities.

8.5.1 Different interpretations of "disadvantaged": misrecognition in cultural policy of young artists and the need for collaborative cultural policy making

Within cultural policy the concept of disadvantage is legitimised to target art interventions, particularly when working with young people referred to as: "young people from disadvantaged backgrounds" (DCMS 2016, p.8; Scottish Government 2020, p.39). The policies suggest that young people from "disadvantaged backgrounds" have limited access to (subsidised) culture and can benefit, often "the most" (ibid.) from art interventions. As such a division is constructed between participants and non-participants in cultural activities, with non-participants being associated with disadvantage and barriers to cultural engagement. The NGS reiterates these conceptualisations of "disadvantage" within their policies, and many of the staff reiterated them within their survey responses. Moreover, it is anticipated within policy documents that accessing subsidised culture will have benefits such as positively impacting young people's health and wellbeing.

However, the conceptualisation of "disadvantage" found in cultural policy is clearly problematic, as the young artists stated the terminology of "disadvantage" felt demeaning and disempowering. Many of the young artists spoke of experiencing forms of misrecognition (Fraser 1998), and cultural policy makers focus on targeting those deemed "disadvantaged" may be furthering this misrecognition. The language of disadvantage and deprivation perpetuates the idea that culture is something that needs to be delivered to "disadvantaged" individuals, rather than recognizing the cultural practices and participation that already exist within communities. Bourdieu's theories of social and cultural capital (1984; 1986) when applied to the problematization of non-participation in the subsidised arts resonates with the young artists' experiences. Indeed, it is interesting to note that the cultural capital on display at the NGS was of little interest to the young artists when visiting, suggesting that not only do they not have cultural capital currently, but they are uninterested in gaining the cultural capital valued by institutions like the NGS. Current cultural policy framework's focus on individual health and wellbeing and gaining social capital, inadvertently misrecognise the motivations and aspirations of young artists. The young artists articulate a vision of art and cultural engagement that moves beyond these confines, emphasising art's capacity to enact positive social change. The young artists' rejection of the narrow framing of art's value points to a critical gap in policy understanding and engagement.

The concept of disadvantage within cultural policy encourages an individualisation of systemic issues, leading to attributing lack of cultural engagement (with subsidised arts) to personal deficits rather than recognizing the structural barriers that exist. Despite references to such barriers to subsidised arts in policy documents, cultural policy makers, and in turn the NGS,

support tackling these barriers through individualised engagement with the arts and not dismantling social barriers (such as poverty and racism) themselves. Young artists are anticipated to become healthier and more confident by policy makers, leading to them overcoming the social barriers they experience. By framing cultural participation as a remedy to disadvantage (and poor health and wellbeing), these policies inadvertently perpetuate the very social order that is negatively impacting the young artists targeted by the NGS outreach programmes, an act akin to Bourdieu's theory of misrecognition (1984, p.112). They reinforce a hierarchy where the cultural practices of certain groups are deemed superior, effectively naturalising social structures. Moreover, as was highlighted, the young artists did not experience the claimed benefits of partaking in subsidised culture as is claimed within policy documents.

My research underscores the importance of collaborative practices in outreach projects, demonstrating how partnerships between young artists and cultural institutions can lead to more meaningful interventions, resulting in young artists developing autonomy and a sense of agency within projects. My research, therefore, strongly recommends the active involvement of young artists in decision-making processes, from conceptualisation to execution ensuring all members of a project can participate as equals, resulting in a parity of participation (Fraser 2008, n.p.). This collaborative approach not only amplifies the voices of young artists but also fosters a sense of ownership and agency, as young artists reported happening during Projects A and B. The findings advocate for the integration of collaborative principles, like those the Outreach Officers from the NGS embed within delivery of their projects, into policy-making processes. Such an inclusive approach could ensure that policies are grounded in the realities and aspirations of those they aim to impact.

Moreover, the emphasis on providing space for time in collaboration is pivotal, as young artists identified they needed more time with NGS projects for their agency to be maintained. My research suggests that meaningful collaboration requires the allocation of sufficient time for relationships to develop and be maintained. Indeed, it is worth reflecting that Bourdieu asserted it takes a long time for social and cultural capital to change for an individual. As he wrote; "the accumulation of cultural capital… presupposes a process of embodiment… it implies a labour of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor" (1987, p.18). Bourdieu also noted the important role of relationships in developing social and cultural capital, stating "only by virtue of a social capital of relationships… which cannot act instantaneously, at the appropriate moment… [and are] established and maintained for a long time" (1986, p.24). This sentiment was reflected by the young artists and the importance they placed on their unique relationships with NGS staff. If cultural policy continues to aim to develop individuals' social and cultural capital, sufficient time is needed within arts interventions, as well as cultural policy creation, for this to happen.

Part of this move towards greater collaboration in policy making should also involve collaborating on the language used within policy documents. Cultural policy makers should move away from using loaded and potentially demeaning terminology such as "disadvantaged" to describe young artists and their communities. Instead, policy makers should strive to develop a shared language that is collaborated on with individuals and their communities ensuring that it accurately represents their experiences and aspirations in intersectional ways. Indeed, as Crenshaw notes "through an awareness of intersectionality,

we can better acknowledge and ground the differences among us and negotiate the means by which these differences will find expression…" (1991, p.1299). This shift in language can help to represent individuals such as the young artists and challenge the othering language of cultural policy they currently identify. By creating spaces for meaningful engagement and collaboration, (much like the spaces created for young artists during Projects A and B by the outreach staff of the NGS), cultural policy making can become more inclusive, democratic, and reflective of the diverse experiences and perspectives of young artists. In turn, institutions such as the NGS could also become more inclusive, democratic, and reflective of diverse experiences.

Moving towards engaging in collaborative cultural policy making would further allow the tensions around the instrumentalization of the arts (Belfiore 2002) to be explored with the very people often described passively within policy documents. The tensions surrounding impacts such as well-being could be better explored with the very people policy claims to be helping in these ways. Developing a collaborative approach to policy making would allow for policy to accurately reflect the impacts (or lack thereof) cultural engagement has had and is anticipated to have by the very people it is aiming to impact. Again, this would result in a parity of participation (Fraser 2008) within policy making itself.

I also recommend incorporating utopian thinking into collaborative cultural policymaking, which could draw directly from the principles Ruth Levitas emphasises. By integrating utopian thinking to transcend existing structures (Levitas 2001, p.450), policymakers could expand the scope of cultural policy to include the recognition of young artists' unique knowledge. Such an approach could be pivotal for constructing policies that not only acknowledge but actively address the structural barriers that limit access to cultural participation and recognition. It shifts the focus from individual achievements to the collective. In this light, collaborative cultural policy making becomes an exercise in collective imagination, where the process itself could be a form of social recognition. Indeed, reflecting on the character of Billy, created in Project B, their mythology held the aims and ambitions of the young artists, tapping into utopian thinking.

Figure 26: Billy Speaks to the town: 2021
Photograph showing Billy, and the artists that created them, speaking in their local town square about how they want to impact the local town.

My findings strongly imply that policymakers should adopt more collaborative and inclusive approaches ensuring that art interventions foster recognition and policies encourage a redistribution of power, rather than reinforcing existing social hierarchies.

8.5.2 Quality in visual art: restricting the ability to impact young artists' worlds and the need to redistribute power through collecting young artists' artworks

The complex understanding of what visual art is, who is an artist, and why visual art is valued was explored in depth in chapter six of the thesis. I chose to define visual art based on the young artists' conceptualisation of visual art as objects, sounds, and images created by someone, whether in an institution such as a gallery or during their everyday activities and defined by its maker as a piece of art.

My exploration of what visual art is and why it is of value highlighted the tension between the emphasis on the process of making art and the focus on the quality of final artworks. It is noted that cultural and NGS policies prioritise the process of artmaking and the impacts it can have on young artists' health and wellbeing, and the NGS (within their staff surveys) do not

recognise young artists as artists due to their artworks being deemed low-quality. One third of NGS staff survey responses defended the choice to not collect artworks and care for them within the NGS collections due to concerns over quality of the artworks produced by young artists. Indeed, when asked "Why do you think the NGS should/shouldn't keep work created by young people in the national collections?" one NGS employee wrote "we should not jeopardise [the NGS'] standard of quality" (Survey 2022, Response 13). Many of the NGS staff also expressed concerns about the practicality of caring for artworks created during outreach interventions.

Overall, the problem of process versus product in art, the NGS suggest young artists will change through the process of making art whilst young artists anticipate their social worlds changing due to the production of artworks, revolves around the differing values and expectations placed on the creative process and the final artworks. In many ways, the young artists valued everyday cultural experiences, such as "talking, reading, moving about, shopping" (de Certeau 2011, p.xix) above the values of the NGS and other subsidised forms of culture. The artworks they created often spoke to the importance of these everyday cultural experiences; for example, the artwork *Arabic Setting* which provided a huge focus for the young artists in Project A was created to develop opportunities to talk and connect with one another.

Figure 27: Building the 'Arabic Setting', 2021

Photograph showing freelance artists supporting Project A young artists to build the 'Arabic Setting', a space anticipated to offer people opportunities to connect, talk and share stories.

Indeed, even the artworks which were a visual spectacle, such as Billy in Project B, represented connecting with people to change young artists' social worlds. It was noted that whilst *A Cultural Strategy for Scotland* mentions that everyday culture is important, it never clarifies what everyday culture is or how people engage with it. Instead, *A Cultural Strategy for Scotland* focuses on subsidised culture and its association with quality. Cultural policy makers must engage with alternative cultural values such as those associated with the everyday.

In relation to the NGS, the organisation provides a framework to legitimise the collection of artworks which includes but is not limited to: "[being] inclusive in approach intellectually, and challenge traditional and official narratives of art history to include work previously neglected… and actively address the under-representation of artists and sitters of protected characteristics" (Gibbon 2023, n.p.). Many of the NGS' own standards of collecting would apply to the artworks made by young artists. Many NGS staff suggested digitisation of young artists' work as an opportunity to better care for the young artists' works. However, from my findings I recommend that the NGS should collect and care for some of the artworks created by young artists. By incorporating artworks from young artists into its collection, the NGS could address Fraser's concern about the interplay between recognition and redistribution (Fraser and Honneth 2003, p.11). Specifically, this would not only redistribute the power dynamics in art collections but also provide a platform for young artists to share their unique perspectives and experiences (which they considered vital within their artworks), ultimately fostering diverse forms of recognition.

8.5.3 How the impacts on young artists changed over time: the complexities of evaluating long term and the need for longer-term collaborative working

As was explored, in cultural policy (and in turn the NGS policies and documents) it is the positive impacts that visual art can have on people that make it of value. It is this value that sets it apart from the simple pleasure of "playing frisbee… [or] eating a pie" (Hope 2011, p.47). However, as many of the critics of arts evaluation discussed, the value of art is being ineffectually explored, often through brief snapshot interviews or survey responses (Crossick and Kaszynska 2017, p.135).

As discussed, an important contribution of this study is that impacts associated with health and wellbeing, such as gaining in confidence and feelings of connectivity experienced by the young artists, change over time after outreach projects have finished. This further supports the claims made by arts evaluation critics such as Jancovich and Stevenson (2022) that impacts from arts projects are not accurately represented within organisational reports to funders. Furthermore, my research shows that when those positive impacts occur, they are unique for each young artist, and interconnected with their complex social worlds. All but one of the young artists, who were revisited three to six months after Projects A and B ended, discussed how the impacts they had described during initial interviews had changed in some way since the end of the project. These findings are hugely significant and tie closely to the critiques of arts evaluation methodologies and practices explored within the literature reviews in chapter three. Indeed, it was noted by researchers Newsinger and Green;

> It's [arts evaluation] about needing a definitive outcome and a definitive end and we work on things that are generally speaking time restrictive to a particular funding stream or organisation requiring particular outcomes which completely belies the fact that human experience is ongoing (2016, p.390).

Euan A highlighted the complexity of evaluating project impacts, and the changes of impacts in his interviews during and after Project A:

> Euan A: It's hard to describe, because every day… everything is different and its… different for loads of reasons, the weather… my mood, did I have breakfast… was college ok that day? Remember when it was really hot in the park that time, that was bad.
> Rosie: So, can I check what you mean, it's hard to say it impacts you, like from A to B, because of everything around it?
> Euan A: And also, yeah… also doing it. Who is also there that day, am I distracted or am I… you know, there's so many ways it can make you feel, and not always good, sometimes… you know sometimes not good. I think, now anyway, it's er, hard, or I don't know, but maybe with more time we would know (Euan A Interview 1, 2021).

> Rosie: Well last time you kind of said that it impacts in lots of ways but it's hard to tell because of all the variables around that, like college, people, even what you'd eaten [shows Euan A transcript with these variables highlighted]. But I wondered, if now, thinking about impacts of the project, if you had any thoughts, now there had been a few months?
> Euan A: So… I think I was able to make things, and meet people so… it, maybe made connections at the time, but I think we wanted it to sort of do that outside the group
> Rosie: Okay cool, and do you mean impact, like maybe change things outside of the group of people you were with in the project?
> Euan A: Yes… I think that, that we could share stuff like the sculpture I made with [Artist D] and it like, like you say impact outside… but how it makes me feel, now that it's finished is nothing. There's no feelings.
> Rosie: And connections? You mentioned it maybe made connections.
> Euan A: At the time… yes again, at the time but those have ended (Euan A Interview 2, 2022).

My findings suggest that the impacts experienced by young artists during the projects may not be sustainable or long-lasting. As the quotes above highlight, young artists are suggesting that any positive impacts from the outreach projects have since been obliterated by surrounding circumstances and anxieties. This further supports the need for, not only longer-term interventions with young artists, but the need for policymakers and practitioners to reflect on how to meaningfully remove barriers and tackle social inequalities. These findings challenge the assumptions within cultural policy (and in turn NGS policies) that the positive effects of arts interventions will continue to benefit participants even after the projects have ended. They further challenge that arts projects can be effectively evaluated and reflected on during their delivery. When considering what makes taking part in an art intervention

different from “going for a drink with your best friend” (Hope 2011, p.47) I recommend that cultural policy makers, and in turn cultural organisations, develop approaches of evaluating and exploring projects which support more robust and insightful knowledge.

As many of the NGS employees stated within their survey responses, they expect young artists to become future NGS audiences. My research highlighted that none of the young artists I spoke to have physically revisited the NGS since their engagement with outreach projects (to date). I would recommend the NGS develop strategies that provide continued opportunities for young artists to engage with projects and maintain the positive changes they have experienced during outreach interventions, such as longer-term outreach interventions and collecting the artworks young artists create during interventions. These artworks could then be exhibited alongside canonical artists’ works, embedding them into the curatorial practices of the NGS, offering young artists multiple opportunities to explore their own artworks throughout their lifetimes. Arguably, if parity of participation (Fraser 2008) is important when working with young artists, as I suggest it is, then young artists should not just be collaborated with during outreach projects, but across the NGS organisation. If the NGS is aiming for young artists to become future audiences, they could benefit from opening their organisation across their departments for young artists to collaborate in.

If my recommendation of investing in projects that have longevity were to occur, cultural organisations and policymakers alike could also better assess the long-term impacts and benefits for young artists through effective evaluation. Of course, as was highlighted the cultural sector has faced increased cuts and has been drastically impacted by austerity. Institutions such as the NGS that are, somewhat, protected from the same level of financial cuts as their peers, are perhaps in a more stable position to deliver truly long-term projects spanning over several years. This will not only increase the potential of having longer-term positive impacts on the young artists they engage with but could provide opportunities to engage with concepts of cultural value meaningfully, developing shared understandings. I would suggest outreach projects therefore need to work over not just several months as Projects A and B did, but potentially several years.

I recommend new approaches to evaluating arts projects are needed, with a focus on long-term and qualitative approaches, which recognise the vague and opaque nature of art itself. This would involve employing robust evaluation methodologies, rather than one-off interviews and surveys which are often applied within the culture sector (Crossick and Kaszynska 2017, p.135). A more interdisciplinary approach to evaluating projects could provide a more comprehensive understanding of the long-term effects of arts projects on young artists’ wellbeing, as well as critically engage with discourses surrounding quality art, and those deemed “disadvantaged”. This is also true for arts research. Research needs to expand beyond just when projects are being delivered, to reflect on longer-term impacts and recognise the potential that impacts from arts projects will change over time.

8.5.4 Allowing young artists artworks to be effective and recognising their cultural value, both locally and nationally

As has been explored, the research raises questions about the potential for long-term impact of artworks created during outreach interventions and allowing them to be effective in the

ways envisioned by the young artists. Some young artists expressed that the artworks they created during the projects no longer held the same significance or impact for them, or that artworks could not achieve their desired impact (such as developing forms of recognition for the young artists in their communities) as they were no longer on display. This challenges the significance cultural and NGS policies place on process as being effective on young artists, rather than the artworks the young artists produce impacting the young artists' social worlds. This is hugely significant when considering the concept of quality (previously explored) and who determines what art is collected and cared for and why.

The young artists believed their work could foster a sense of respectability through meaningful engagement with their communities, based on their lived experiences and intersectional identities. Recognition here could be a powerful force when it emanates from familiar and everyday social interactions rather than the sometimes distant and impersonal recognition of the NGS' audiences. Furthermore, some of the young artists expressed a want for their artworks to have a continual impact on their local communities. I recommend that projects consider how to create permanent art installations if this is the ambition of young artists, again offering young artists' opportunities to develop forms of recognition (Fraser) within their local communities. It can also act as spaces for local communities to contemplate young artists' perspectives and hear directly from and discuss with young artists about the issues that are relevant to them. Therefore, future projects should consider opportunities for local exhibitions and engagement with local audiences.

Aside from exhibiting and displaying artworks, I would recommend future projects put learning from projects into action. For example, young artists discussed transphobia, racism, and pollution as issues in their local communities which they wanted to challenge in their artworks. Projects need to consider the practical and interconnected approaches they can take to support wider positive impacts, potentially through collaborating with organisations that specialise and explore the social issues young artists want to tackle through art and offering opportunities for local discussions and explorations of these issues. By doing so, the NGS could provide a space for critical discourse, where art becomes a medium for addressing broader societal concerns, in line with the ideals of Raunig's molecular activism (Raunig, Derieg, and Negri 2013, p.153). Furthermore, by collaborating with local councils to address issues like litter, or partnering with LGBTQIA+ groups to tackle transphobia, art interventions would recognise that cultural and social capital cannot simply be transferred onto individuals. This approach aligns with the perspectives of Bourdieu (1984; 1986) and other critical theorists who argue that cultural and social capital operates in association with economic capital and cannot be understood in isolation from the broader constraints of people's lives. Interconnected efforts in arts projects would acknowledge the complex, multifaceted nature of social issues.

8.6 Closing Thoughts

Throughout this thesis I have sought to centre the voices and experiences of the young artists who are so often talked about within cultural policy, but rarely heard from within it. Central to my discussion has been a need to move beyond reductive descriptors and concepts of cultural value, recognising instead the intersectional identities of these young artists and the potential for their artworks to enact positive social change. Current cultural policy (and in turn

NGS policies) not only fail to capture the complexity of young artists' experiences but also reinforces the very structures of exclusion, marginalisation and misrecognition that young artists describe as negatively impacting on them.

I hope to have provided a new lens through which cultural policy can be critiqued, using the tools the young artists gave me. I would like to conclude this thesis with some of the artwork created by the young artists with whom I was privileged to spend time.

Figure 28 'Stop Everything': fabric 2021.
Image in which two young artists hold up a banner in their local town square which reads "stop everything".

10. Appendices

10.1: Characteristics of Studies within UK based of literature review exploring visual art projects with young people

Author and date	Title	Study design	Sample size, age range	Activity	Results	Comments
Cole, S., 2011 UK	*Encounters in the field: horses, birds, buildings and babes*	Autoethnographic exploration of working with young people	Unspecified 17-25yrs	Narrative description and reflection from working with young people in various arts projects	Young people gain unspecified positive experiences through art engagement	Not peer reviewed Little to no information about how data was gathered (not "systematic") Unspecified time frame Written by artist open to bias
Creative Scotland (Lonie, D.), 2016 UK	*How do you draw a rainbow the wrong way?*	Retrospective evaluation of Cash Back for Communities Projects	50 participants (including partner organisations and artists not just young people) Unspecified age range	Interviews with 50 young people, partner organisations and practitioners who took part in Cash Back for Communities funding	Strong connection between the technical knowledge and skills they were developing through the projects and the knowledge and skills they would need for their future professional training and careers Particularly in relation to	Not peer reviewed Retrospective evaluation, most young people who took part in projects were not interviewed (skew results?) Cash Back for Communities projects not all visual arts based, hard to pick apart

					learning and being creative, but also in providing opportunities for people to connect to each other and to be active in their communities	different cultural offerings and impacts
Davison. L., et al., 2021 UK	*Making the Most of What We've Got*	20hrs of artist time in 12 different care homes reflected and explored	Unspecified numbers	Reflective exploration of the Home Art project which took place over several months, although unspecified	Socially engaged artistic practice can be a vehicle for looked after children and young people to explore complex emotional and social issues	Not peer reviewed Little to no information about how data was gathered (not "systematic") A lack of young people's perspectives within writing Unknown sample size No follow up exploration on long-term impacts Short time frame
Gibson L and Edwards D., 2015 UK	*Valuing Participation The cultural and everyday activities of young people in care*	Autoethnography qualitative	3 young women 12-15yrs	Several weeks of observing and interviewing participants during arts activities	Engaging in some cultural activities can support young people to navigate their trauma	Not peer reviewed Focusses on increasing 'cultural capital' as well as 'social capital' without a critique of cultural capital

						Small sample size (although potentially more 'in depth' exploration) Short research time frame No follow up exploration to explore long-term impacts
Halsey. et al., 2006 UK	*What works in stimulating creativity amongst socially excluded young people*	Literature review	Unspecified	57 pieces of literature reviewed	Specific, overt, or evidenced connections between increased creativity and enhanced levels of social inclusion were rare; connections were more likely to be implied or suggested by the researchers, or evidenced through anecdotal work	Not peer reviewed Methodologically strong Due to the nature of a literature review, lacks young people's experiences and voices
Howard F., 2020 UK	*Pedagogies for the 'Dis-engaged': Diverse Experiences of the Young People's Arts Award Programme*	12-month qualitative ethnographic study Narrative analysis drawn from interviews, observations and	Unspecified number of participants 11-25yrs	5 different art projects within non-school based settings Some projects were aligned with the school term year, others were 6-12 months long	Issues of equity within youth arts programmes and their differing pedagogies dependent on the young people's association with being 'dis-engaged' Predominance of deficit labels – who was treated	Peer Reviewed Limited detail of number of participants Methodologically strong Large age range – may skew results, without information

		visual outputs by participants			with the ability to become professionals and those who were correcting behaviour. Young people understood as "projects to be worked on"	on specific numbers and ages of participants No follow up exploration to see if longer term impacts
Hyde.W., 2011 UK	*But it's not real art is it? transformative encounters with contemporary art*	Retrospective narrative analysis of practice	Unspecified	Reflective exploration of experience as an art teacher working in new ways informed by gallery and artistic practices	More radical forms of art teaching, informed by artistic practice, can result in critical thinking of young people and their relationship with art Visual art gives young people an opportunity to express thoughts and feelings	Peer reviewed Limited to no detail of data collection and analysis. Written by the artist facilitator and reflective – strong potential for bias Unknown sample size
Illeris H., 2005 UK	*Young People and Contemporary Art*	Retrospective qualitative study Narrative analysis drawn from interviews	Unspecified number of participants 12-14yrs	2 gallery based arts interventions focussing on exhibitions of artists' works and interacting with them	Young people require a 'hook' in order to engage with contemporary art Cultural and social backgrounds of young people play a part in determining their relationship with contemporary art	Peer reviewed Limited to no detail of data collection and analysis. Written by the artist facilitator and reflective – strong potential for bias Many citations from weak sources, as well as sources which are based on multi-art form practices and non-

						visual based (e.g. performance, drama and music based sources) No follow up exploration to explore long-term impacts
Jensen, E,. 2013 UK	*Reconsidering The Love of Art: Evaluating the Potential of Art Museum Outreach*	Mixed methods qualitative research study	13 young women 16-22yrs	Interviews, observations, photo documentation of a group of young mothers experiencing their local museum for the first time through outreach projects	Galleries and museums are not places that this group of young mothers would attend alone or unsupported Managing the context in which individuals encounter aesthetically charged objects so that individuals can have positive rather than negative experiences is the ethical responsibility of art museum curators Outreach projects potentially maintain divides, rather than encourage inclusivity within museums and galleries	Peer reviewed Small sample size (Although recognized in research) Unspecified time frame Young mothers – niche sample, may be difficult to apply findings to other young people

					Outreach activities can be emotionally safe spaces	
Lawy R., et. al., 2010 UK	*'The art of democracy': young people's democratic learning in gallery contexts*	7 artist-led projects over 1 year Projects ranged from 2-day art interventions, to weekly year-round activities Narrative analysis drawn from qualitative observations, individual and group interviews with participants and artists	Mixed groups between 6-12 participants each 32 participants' total 14-15yrs	Variety of visual art sessions led by artists, all within galleries	Transition from school to gallery required young people to 'unlearn' typical school behaviours "Claim is that artist-led work in gallery contexts can provide opportunities that are conducive to young people's democratic learning"	Peer reviewed Citations from weak sources, as well as sources which are based on multi-art form practices and even non-visual based (e.g. performance, drama and music based sources) Concept of democratic learning is linked to the 'citizenship practices' – is this disciplinary institutions language? Unspecific terms and immeasurable impacts No differentiation between types of art activities e.g. those who took part in 2 weeks, those who took part for 12 months

Macpherson H. et. al., 2016 UK	*Building resilience through group visual arts activities: Findings from a scoping study with young people who experience mental health complexities and/or learning difficulties*	10 weeks, 1 visual art session a week Narrative analysis drawn from qualitative observations, researcher reflective diaries and one focus group	10 participants 6 participants faced mental health challenges 16-25yrs	Weekly visual art session led by researcher Art sessions 4hr each	Application of a resilience framework to the project showing slight positive changes in participants well-being "we have some evidence to show that young people with quite different complex needs can effectively work alongside each other to build their resilience through visual arts"	Peer reviewed Lack of interviews – with only focus group, potential for participants to be led by one another Artist-researcher project potential for bias Citations from weak sources, as well as sources which are based on multi-art form practices and even non-visual based (e.g. performance, drama and music based sources) Resilience framework applied, not created with the young people
Mannay D., et. al., 2021 UK	*'Becoming more confident in being themselves': The value of cultural and creative engagement for*	10 weeks, 1 visual art session a week Narrative analysis drawn from qualitative observations,	8 participants (all young women) 12-15yrs	Weekly visual art session led by 1 of 3 artists at the foster home where most of the young women live	Arts-based methods are appropriate form of engaging care-experienced young people Arts-based activities encourage confidence	Peer reviewed Small sample size (not necessarily a negative) Short project length

	young people in foster care	participant reflective diaries and group interviews		Art sessions 2hr each	building in care experienced young people	Impacts cited are longitudinal in nature but recording impacts was only done during activities (are these impacts long term?) Citations from weak sources, as well as sources which are based on multi-art form practices and even non-visual based (e.g. performance, drama and music based sources)
Meecham, P., 2008 UK	*Agency, Authenticity, and Self-Identity in the Compulsory Photographic Self-Portrait.*	Narrative analysis of another artists' work Extracts from interviews used	16 young people Aged 16-18yrs	Narrative description and reflection of photography project	Photography can empower young people to explore what it means to be human	Not peer reviewed Little to no information about how data was gathered (not "systematic") No information on who conducted interviews etc. Suggests it is a short time frame project No follow up exploration
Mossop. S., 2011	*Creative collaborations: a gallery*	Narrative exploration of practice, reflexive	Unspecified	Narrative description and reflection on gallery outreach	Working with artists young people (Specifically those 'most disadvantaged') can	Not peer reviewed

UK	*educator's perspective*				gain new skills and develop confidence	Little to no information about how data was gathered (not "systematic") Anecdotal Reflecting on own project – potential for bias Emphasis on skills development, especially for those who are 'disadvantaged' suggests a rooted, disciplining approach No follow up exploration to see if longer term impacts
Robinson Y., et. al., 2019 UK	*Developing 'active citizens': Arts Award, creativity and impact*	Data collected from a larger 3-year study 14 different qualitative case studies drawn from Semi-structured interviews	68 participants 11-25yrs	14 different venues hosting arts award activities – variety of visual art activities	Experiential creativity considered important in developing transferable skills 'Citizenship practices' linked to 'softer skills' exist within art activities which prepare young people for bring citizens	Peer reviewed Utilising secondary data as a core component of the study Citizenship considered the primary aim/outcome of the research: is this disciplining? Is this part of creating rooted citizens?

						Citations from weak sources, as well as sources which are based on multi-art form practices and even non-visual based (e.g. performance, drama and music based sources)
Scalter. M., Lally. V., 2018 UK	*Interdisciplinarity and technology-enhanced learning: Reflections from art and design and educational perspectives*	Narrative exploration of practice, reflexive	Unspecified number of participants 15-17yrs	Project working with digital character developments – time unspecified (est. 8-10 weeks) all online	Young people can develop self-criticality which may lead to some form of 'transformation'	Peer reviewed Reflecting on own project – potential for bias Methodologically strong No follow up exploration to see if longer term impacts
Sinker. R., 2008 UK	*On the Evolution of a Peer-led Programme: Tate Forum*	Narrative exploration of practice, reflexive	Unspecified	Narrative description and reflection on Tate Forum, peer project Quotes drawn from young people A large emphasis on skills development and further opportunities	Young people's involvement with the gallery can lead to better relationships between the gallery and young people, as well as to audiences	Not peer reviewed Little to no information about how data was gathered (not "systematic") Anecdotal Reflecting on own project – potential for bias

Stanley. N., 2003 UK	*Young People, photography and Engagement*	Narrative exploration of practice, reflexive	Unspecified	Exploring the work of Birmingham Institute of Art and Design over a decade long period of research and project delivery of photography and young people	Social values are embedded in making and sharing photographs Photography can be a platform for young people to share experiences and challenge audiences	Peer reviewed Little to no information about how data was gathered (not "systematic") Anecdotal in nature No follow up exploration to see of longer-term impacts
Taylor, B., 2008 UK	*An evaluation of the impacts and legacies of enquire and Watch this Space*	Review of practices in galleries	Unspecified	Case studies from the creative learning project 'enquire'	As well as being valuable and enjoyable, participation in cultural activities also gives young people the chance to develop important life skills such as creativity, confidence, self-discipline, effective communication and the ability to work in teams, also emphasises that projects can result in community cohesion	Not peer reviewed Little to no information about how data was gathered (not "systematic") grey literature Unspecified samples Unspecified time frame No follow up exploration to explore long-term impacts

10.2: Characteristics of Studies outside of the UK literature review exploring visual art projects with young people

Author, date, country	**Title**	**Study design**	**Sample size, age range**	**Activity**	**Results**	**Comments**
Gentle et. al., 2020	*"Their story is a hard road to hoe": how*	Qualitative interviews and young people	16-24yrs	2 artist led groups were observed, interviews all 6	Some of the therapeutic gains reported enhanced	Peer reviewed Outside UK

Australia	*art-making tackles stigma and builds well-being in young people living regionally*	focussed during activities, and 2 young people spoken to 6 months after activity	6 young people	participants, 25 public members interviewed about art works	self-concept and artist identity	Small sample and short time frame of research Although 1-1 interviews, only 2 YP interviewed after process and interviews were just 10-40 minutes long
Hauseman., 2016 USA & Canada	*Youth-led community arts hubs; Self-determined learning in and out of school time*	Mixed method, observation and 3 focus groups, interviews with adults (not young people)	10-18yrs 27 young people 5 adult staff interviewed	Observing 3 hubs, just once and how young people use them	The findings of these qualitative case studies also hint at the program having a positive impact on participating youth, helping them build confidence, and strengthening their artistic abilities. It suggests that breaks in youth activities can dampen participation and a need to provide long term provisions for young people	Peer reviewed Not included in main literature review as outside UK Short time length of observations, just one per site Focus on interviewing adults and staff not on 1-1 young people, young people all in focus groups No follow up exploration to explore long-term impacts
Irwin, R., O'Donaghue, D 2012 Canada	*Encountering pedagogy through relational art practices*	Reflective narration of practices with young people	Unspecified	Reflective discussion	Art practices can have positive impacts on traditional pedagogical practices such as within schools	Peer reviewed Not included in main literature review as outside UK

						Unspecific and lacking robust insights
Lougheed S and Coholic D, 2018 Canada	*Arts-based mindfulness group work with youth aging out of foster care*	Qualitative mixed-method approach, focussing on concepts of mindfulness	8 young people 15-17yrs	10 weeks, art activity once per week	Young people can learn mindfulness-based skills using creative, enjoyable, and engaging interventions. Our results are promising and warrant future research in this area	Peer reviewed Not included in main literature review as outside UK Many citations from weak sources, as well as sources which are based on multi-art form practices and non-visual based (e.g. performance, drama and music based sources) No follow up exploration to explore long-term impacts As with other studies the presumption i.e. mindfulness, frames the research but other aspects and impacts not explored Complex to draw conclusions with only 10hrs fieldwork
Martin, A., Mansours, M, 2013	*The role of arts participation in students;*	Survey data	643 students, 10-18yrs	Surveys of young people and their participation	Higher engagement with the arts at home, in the community and at school were associated with	Peer reviewed Not included in main literature review as outside UK

Australia	*academic and non-academic outcomes: A longitudinal study of school, home and community factors*				higher academic grades in young people.	Complex to draw such huge conclusions using surveys. Little room to explore with the young people themselves. Linked to school and academic achievements, framing positive as academic achievement – little discussion on socio economic factors, racism ableism etc. School setting makes it complex to link to work in galleries etc.
Rapp-Paglicci, L., Stewart, C., Rowe, R., 2009 USA	*Evaluating the effects of the Prodigy Cultural Arts Program on symptoms of mental health disorders in at-risk and adjudicated youths*	Pre-activity and post-activity tests after a year of art activities	10-18yrs 183 young people	A year long art program associated with a charity aiming to reduce young people entering the prison system was delivered	A significant reduction in mental health symptoms (particularly for women) and behavioural dysregulation (particularly for men), and increases in academic performance and family functioning were found. There was also a relationship between decreased mental health symptomology and perceived academic performance.	Peer reviewed Not included in main literature review as outside UK No review when project was finished All participants completed the course alongside other learning and due to the lack of qualitative data it can't be tracked if it was the art intervention or the overall

						course impacting positively e.g. being in a room together results in positive impacts
Wright, R., Lindsay, J., Alaggia, R., et. al., 2006 Canada	*Community-based arts program for youth in low-income communities: A multi-method evaluation*	Longitudinal over 18 months of activity, mixed methods predominantly interviews with young people and families as well as observations of sessions	84 young people 9-15yrs	74 art sessions explored over a year with young people and interviews throughout with young people	The study suggests increased confidence, enhanced art skills, improved prosocial skills, and improved conflict resolution skills.	Peer reviewed Not included in main literature review as outside UK Large age range of young people (big differences between 9yr – 15yr) No follow up exploration to consider long term impacts or changes The study recognised that it wasn't targeted enough to apply the theories of change to specific communities/demographics of young people
Xanthoudaki, X 2007	*Educational Provision for Young People as*	Survey of museum and galleries practices	14-25yrs	Survey of museums and galleries to compare their approaches to	Cultural awareness, lifelong learning, training and employment are found to be the main	Peer reviewed Unspecific survey

Europe and North America	*Independent Visitors to Art Museums and Galleries*			education for young people	objectives of the institutional educational policies for young people… these studies argue that parental choices, schooling, peer influence, limited specialised youth educational services and lack of understanding of young people's way of life are the main factors determining their attitude towards visiting museums and galleries. The findings of the survey suggest that the museums' 'mission' towards adolescents should "no longer [be] limited to backing up schools in their role as dispensers of knowledge"	Notable lack of young people's perspectives Cross – Europe and North America, large in scale but potential to lack specific impacts

10.3: Characteristics of Studies that met one of the exclusion criteria but no more

Author, date, country	***Title***	**Study design**	**Sample size, age range**	**Activity**	**Results**	**Comments**
Andrews, K., 2014 UK	*Culture and Poverty Harnessing the power of*	A variety of case studies from different organisations	Unknown	12 case studies – numbers unknown	Arts can benefit social inclusion – clear social inclusion agenda on display	Not peer reviewed Rejected because work involved children, adults and young people

	the arts, culture and heritage to promote social justice in Wales	(notably all publicly subsidised), undertaken by Welsh government				Aimed to develop KPIs to measure social impact (this work never happened – perhaps suggesting the work is too complicated to develop KPIs) Social inclusion and government agenda led the document – not objective
Bradley, B., Deighton, J., 2004 Australia	*The 'Voices' project: Capacity-building in community development for youth at risk*	Action research, documentary analysis	10 young people	Documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews with young people	Involvement in theatre activities has the capacity to change the community that young people are in. Researchers involved in this kind of work can alter policies to the benefit of young people.	Peer reviewed Lack of visual art utilised Not longitudinal – there is no follow up to the research once the theatre project has ended to explore any potential lasting impacts
Brooks, M. et al. 2020 Australia	*Artspace: Enabling young women's recovery through visual arts: A*	2-year Qualitative evaluation: interviews with young women and staff	13 young women (13-25yrs)	Semi-structured with the 13 young women (as well as support staff) undertaken	Long term sustainable arts projects positively impact young women by providing them equitable access to space, specifically within a health setting	Peer reviewed Rejected because of its setting in acute settings Artspace works with and informed by clinical workers, it cannot/would be problematic to

	qualitative study					imply that all arts projects can have these impacts without the support and connection to medical professionals – not typical of gallery outreach interventions Is critical of the ability of art to impact on social worlds if economic/social changes don't happen elsewhere for young women
Catterall, JE., Chapleau, R.,1999 USA	*Involvement in the Arts and Human Development*	Large longitudinal survey based study– focus in school and mainstream education	25,000 young people 11-18yrs	Surveys results from 25,000 young people over ten years of engaging in arts and humanities at secondary schools	Music can support cognitive development of young people and children in particular.	Peer Reviewed Sits in formal education settings – what does this mean for organisations not based in them? Significant lack of visual art used within study Lacks qualitative findings and depth, but large in scale and longitudinal which is probably easiest done within a formal education setting
Coholic D, Fraser M,	*Promoting resilience*	Reflective narrative case	8-18yrs	Some (not specified) art activities and	Art projects "appeared to have benefits", but there	Peer reviewed

Robinson B, et al. 2012 Canada	*within child protection: The suitability of arts-based and experiential group programs for children in care*	study of art interventions in care settings		interviews reflecting on ongoing art interventions in care settings	was no return to young people after the study to explore lasting impacts. Also delivered in partnership with trained carers, different to typical outreach work done by galleries etc. Supports ideas of 'resilience' - could this be disempowering young people? Trying to make them resilient to the world around them which needs to be fixed? Discussed the importance of partnership working and long-term working as being able to deliver positive impacts such as resilience building.	Not included in main literature review as outside UK Also included work with young people in care settings and with professional psychologists – difficult to replicate and not typical of art interventions in galleries Not longitudinal, does not return to participants after activities took place
Coholic, D., 2011 Canada	*Exploring the feasibility and benefits of arts-based mindfulness-based practices with young people*	Qualitative study of 17 six-week, and 3 twelve-week groups Over a four-year period	50 x 10-15yrs	Semi structured interviews 2 weeks after the projects had finished Interviews with carers	Despite this study's limitations, the qualitative data analysis points to the development of an arts-based group program that is feasible and suitable for children in need, acceptable to the children	Peer reviewed Not specified the tAlex B of arts projects involved Interviews undertaken during and just after project but none go back to explore lasting

	in need: Aiming to improve aspects of resilience				and their parents/foster parents and perceived by them as beneficial.	impacts – with a focus on resilience within the research this is problematic as that is a longer term impact
Cummin, S., Visser, J., 2009 UK	*Using art with vulnerable children*	6 month qualitative research with refugee children taking part in an arts program at school	6 children 5-11yrs	4 art workshops during school time, young people were observed and a questionnaire was utilised to gather experiences	The workshops are a way of encouraging the children to negotiate boundaries, co-operate within their own space and show consideration to others in a group.	Peer reviewed School setting so hard to replicate in arts organisations Small sample size and only 4 workshops developed Working with children who are refugees: very specific sample Visual art was utilised and is primary arts activity Lack of in-depth interview data with young people involved, young people not centred in their own stories – rely heavily on observations
Dyer, G., Hunter, E., 2009 Australia	*Creative recovery: Art for mental health's sake*	Reflexive narrative evaluation of the creative recovery project	Indigenous people taking part in art activities to promote health and wellbeing	Documentary analysis of creative recovery project	Despite inevitable ethical concerns regarding mental health promotion in the absence of improved social circumstances, and	Peer reviewed Lacking input and insights from those who have taken part in the project

					practical concerns regarding its feasibility without social justice for Indigenous Australians, there remains a need to start modestly.	Doesn't discuss the reasons why indigenous people may be suffering poor mental health, and so doesn't aim to tackle racism, colonialism etc.
Franks, A., Thomson, P., 2016 UK	*Serpentine Galleries Education World Without Walls*	Report on Serpentine Galleries project:	70 young people/children. 4-12yrs	Survey responses from 70 children who took part, interviews with artists and staff	From observation, it was apparent that children were exercising and stretching their expressive and communicative capacities through words, gestures, and choreographed movement. Reflective discussion contributed to their ability to conceptualise their experiences in the sessions and relate them to their everyday lives. Over the course of sessions, children's ability to work collaboratively was clearly enhanced.	Not peer reviewed Worked with children as young as 4yrs – too young to be applicable to NGS outreach Relied heavily on what teachers reported about the project – a lack of young people's perspectives
Hall, C., Thomson, P., Russell, L. 2007	*Teaching like an artist: the pedagogic identities and*	Qualitative ethnographic	30 school children, 5-12yrs	Observations, interviews with staff, artists, and children as well as focus	Artists require the support of teachers to deliver projects	Peer reviewed Not included as work included children as young as 5

UK	*practices of artists in schools*			groups with children during 3 arts projects in the same school (dance and music, writing and visual art)	On one important level, arts activities in schools are about interior decoration, surface-level demonstrations of welcome and inclusion, contributing to a school ethos, learning techniques, creating events that celebrate occasions and bring together different elements of the school community But they can also be about establishing ways of expressing yourself in different forms, exploring different perspectives on the world, appreciating the art and crafts of a range of cultures, expressing different identities for yourself.	Work within a school – so constraints and considerations need to be made when reflecting in the research Notable lack of 'confidence' etc. discussed of young people, a focus on expressing themselves, and different perspectives Multiple arts interventions used, including performance based work and visual art
Hampshire, K., Matthijsse, M., 2010	*Can arts projects improve young people's*	Qualitative research exploring the impacts of	48 children and young people	18 months of observations of a singing project, with a questionnaire and	Arts projects can impact positively on young people's social and emotional wellbeing, but cannot assume that the	Peer reviewed Singing not visual art

UK	*wellbeing? A social capital approach*	singing projects on young people		interviews of young people	changes will be unequivocally good or straightforward. Arguing that social capital operates in association with economic and cultural capital, and cannot be understood in isolation from the wider constraints of people's lives. Community arts project aren't a quick fix to poverty or social issues	Interesting that social capital is critiqued and not asserted as a singularly positive thing but part of a wider network of needs
Johanson, K., Glow, H., 2012 France, Denmark and Australia	*It's Not enough for the work of art to be great, children and young people as museum visitors*	Qualitative research based on interviews	3 senior members of gallery staff	Interviews with three senior staff members at galleries	Practitioners from the museum see their task as a two-way process involving the incorporation of what children bring with them to the museum or the exhibit. From preserving artefacts and teaching their meanings, museums have become public spaces for live conversations that are inspired by (but not	Peer reviewed Significant lack of young people's experiences – no interviews with them Strong possibility of bias – galleries may be unwilling to share insights which may be detrimental to gallery Interesting that there is an acknowledgement of the shift in knowledge giving and museums

					limited to) their collections.	being places of conversations and not just knowledge givers
Lomax et. al., 2021 UK	*Creating online participatory research spaces: insights from creative, digitally mediated research with children during the COVID-19 pandemic*	Online based, participatory action research	16 children 9-10yrs	Animation, collage, drawing and other creative predominantly visual based work	Research suggests that 'animating methods' through bespoke digital animations and scaffolding creative activities, alongside online asynchronous chat, can support children to participate in ways of their choosing.	Peer reviewed Smaller sample than the above research Specific wellbeing lens to work undertaken – not as open ended as above research Interesting that it encourages engaging in ways of their choosing Not included in main literature as children too young
Pringle, E., 2006 UK	*Learning in the gallery: context, process, outcomes*	Reflective piece exploring multiple organisations practices through a narrative text	Unknown – includes adults and young children	Variety of visual arts activities	It states that the arts can have positive impacts on social and educational aspects. Reflects that collecting data about these kinds of projects is labour intensive and that needs to be considered in projects.	Not peer reviewed There was little to no information on who was involved, scale or projects All information came from snap shot evaluations of projects, not from longitudinal analysis Large age range scale

Rizzo et. al. 2022 Global	*Young People's Perspectives on the Value and Meaning of Art during the Pandemic*	Online based, participatory action research	Online based groups, worldwide 14-18yrs documenting their experiences of covid (art, videos, diaries and more)	Action based research, sharing and discussing work made reflecting on young people's experiences of experiencing Covid pandemic	Young co-researchers embraced art as a powerful form of communication. Sharing their artwork and establishing a 'two-way relationship between the maker of the piece and the viewer' was seen as a core part of the artistic process. Art was considered 'an exciting way to open up new discussion points about new ideas on a certain topic that you may not have thought of yourself', demonstrating the role of creative media in inquiry-based approaches to research.	Peer reviewed Young people's experiences and voices centred, co-researchers in the project Visual data important in the project – interesting to see this and an interesting way of sharing findings Not included in main literature review as not impact focussed, not within the UK
Rudolph, S., Wright, S., 2015 Australia	*Drawing out the value of the visual: children and young people theorizing time through art and narrative*	Qualitative visual analysis	Groups 5-8yrs and 12-14yrs	Policy review and visual analysis of children's drawings who took part in two projects	Expanding our view of the use and value of visual forms of learning and expression can contribute to a more layered and complex understanding of the capacities of children and young people.	Peer reviewed Based outside of the UK Children as young as 5 involved Based within school settings – so a lot of the focus was on navigating school situations

						Interesting as it's the first article to critically engage with policy and discourse creation of young people and children Very creative insights – not interview based like many other studies, but without the children's insights there's the possibility for visual analysis by two adults to misrepresent or not accurately represent children's experiences
Skingley, A., Clift, S., 2012 UK	*Researching participatory arts, wellbeing and health*	Quantitative and qualitative research into participatory practices	Large age range and unspecified sample size, six singing clubs involved	Questionnaires, interviews and observations from a singing project	Researchers should define the scope of the art(s) under study, they should adopt a concept of health appropriate for the target sample group; language used to evaluate and explore impacts may not be suitable for the people involved in the study	Peer reviewed Music as primary arts method being used – lack of visual art Whilst not hugely impacts focussed, it does highlight the tension between evaluative language and the language used by participants to describe themselves
Skudrzyk, B., Zera, D. A., McMahon, G., Schmidt, R., Boyne, J.,	*Learning to relate: Interweaving creative approaches in*	Qualitative design, all observation of sessions	8 young men 11-16yrs	3 arts activities, one poetry, one visual art, one music	The scenarios described provide examples of creative exercises that can be incorporated into group work with	Peer reviewed Acute setting – using councillors and psychologists in art settings

& Spannaus, R., 2009 USA	*group counselling with adolescents*				adolescents in order to promote interpersonal learning and deeper insight.	Very short time frame and small scale No follow up to explore longer term impacts of work
Slayton. S, 2012 USA	*Building community as social action: An art therapy group with adolescent males*	Reflective narration of activity sessions	14-18yrs 6 young men	9 week art therapy session as a group	Psycho-social problems experienced by the individual group members were articulated visually, capacity of this group to engage in the construction and ultimate articulation of its own community in a visual manner grew	Peer reviewed Not included in main literature review as outside UK and therapeutic and not easily replicable in gallery contexts as using trained art therapists – not typical art outreach activity Does not return to participants when therapy has finished in the 9 weeks All male sample

10.4: Interviewees other than the Young Artists

Other Interviewees	**Information**
Outreach Officer	Outreach Officer; lead on Project A NGS employee for over a decade
Senior Outreach Officer	Senior Outreach Officer; lead on Project B NGS employee for over two decades
Partner M	Youth worker Project A First time working with NGS, has been a youth worker for over 1 year, knew 2 of the young artists before taking part on Project A through youth clubs and support networks. Works closely with the young artists.
Partner R	Senior manager Project A Has worked with the NGS to deliver projects in their local area for over 5 years. Does not work closely with the young artists, instead manages staff and projects.
Partner B	Youth Worker Project A Has worked with the NGS on previous projects before, and knew some of the young artists before taking part in Project A. Works closely with the young artists.
Partner B2	Youth Worker Project A Has worked with the NGS on previous projects before, and knew some of the young artists before taking part in Project A. Works closely with the young artists.
Partner S	Senior Manager Project A First time working with NGS. Does not work closely with the young artists, instead manages staff and projects.
Partner C	Community Centre Manager Project B First time working with the NGS. Knew some of the young artists before Project B started. Does not work closely with the young artists on the outreach project, but does work closely with some of the young artists outside of Project B.
Partner L	Youth Worker Project B First time working with the NGS. Knew all the young artists before Project B started. Works closely with the young artists.
Partner H	Teacher Project B First time working with the NGS. Knew all the young artists before Project B started. Works closely with the young artists.
Partner E	Alternative School Teacher Previous Outreach Project Worked with the NGS on 2 outreach projects. Works closely with the young artists.
Partner A	Youth Worker and Manager Previous Outreach Project

	Worked with the NGS on 2 outreach projects. Works closely with the young artists.
Partner D	Teacher Previous Outreach Project Worked with the NGS on 2 outreach projects. Works closely with the young artists.
Partner T	Senior Manager Previous Outreach Project Worked with the NGS on 2 outreach projects. Does not work closely with the young artists.
Partner R2	Senior Manager Previous Outreach Project Worked with the NGS on 4 outreach projects. Does not work closely with the young artists.
Partner M2	Senior Manager Previous Outreach Project Worked with the NGS on 1 outreach project. Does not work closely with the young artists.
Artist K	Artist on Project A First time working with NGS on outreach project, worked closely with the young artists.
Artist I	Artist on Project A First time working with NGS on outreach project, worked closely with the young artists.
Artist W	Artist on Project A First time working with NGS on outreach project, worked closely with the young artists.
Artist B	Artist on Project A Second time working with NGS on outreach project, worked closely with the young artists.
Artist M	Artist on Project B Regularly works with the NGS on outreach projects (and other projects), worked closely with the young artists.

10.5: Previous outreach projects young artists participated in

This details the NGS outreach projects as described by the NGS outreach 'catalogue', which 6 young artists I interviewed took part in:

Project 1: To open up a discussion about their mental health and wellbeing, we asked Scots teenagers how art could help them express their emotions and 'get the inside on the outside'. To get going they looked at weird and challenging works of art from the national art collection; drawings by surrealists, abstract paintings and phrenological heads. By just 'going for it' – including bashing clay, blotting paint, dressing up, and playing with a doll called 'Twin' – they were able to 'escape' into the art, 'get lost in it' and 'free their thoughts'… The art they made in response formed a kind of mind map. These creations included clay heads, abstract action paintings, collaged satires, graffiti doodles, and etched perspex landscapes (NGS 2020a, p.21).

Project 2: This exhibition is the culmination of the *Image Liberation Force* initiative, which connects young people in employability training to the Scottish art collection. It features

multiple video projections housed in the form of a ruin, inspired by the Scott Monument. This ruin will house all the events and ghosts from Scotland's past, uncovered by the young people as they explored the collection's artworks. Their videos and artworks reinterpret and remix themes from Scotland's past that resonate today: including false heroes and heroines, wicked tyrants and bloody martyrs, the angry mob, hard borders, sad religions, unwatchable violence and the mystifying Scottish landscape itself. The exhibition aims to attract a young audience with its irreverent You Tube aesthetic and its uncanny power to travel between the past, present and future (NGS 2020a, p.6).

Project 3: Can you paint a portrait by playing football? The Outreach Team partnered with **alternative school**, to produce this dramatic exhibition featuring a set of giant table football figures created by the students. The gallery was transformed into a version of a five-a-side football arena for the display, with accompanying video projections. These action-painted figures have been created as avatars to help their makers face the challenges and opportunities that their futures hold. The project promoted play and physical activity to facilitate character building and creative self-confidence, in a radical alternative to normal school (NGS 2020a, p.12)

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