Making 'Culture Vultures':

an investigation into the socio-cultural factors that determine what and how young people learn in the art gallery

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Declaration

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

This thesis focuses on the Raw Canvas youth programme at Tate Modern (1999-2011). Data is drawn from peer-led workshops and interviews with gallery education professionals. The material has been sifted to extract understanding of the ways in which pedagogies imagine and construct learners in voluntary and unaccredited educational environments. The particular educational context of the art gallery, in comparison to learning in formal educational environments, is central to the research. The title refers to Peterson's (1992) conception of the 'cultural omnivore' as an individual whose tastes span popular and high cultures. This term describes the work of youth programmes at Tate Modern whilst simultaneously revealing the underlying problem: that such cultural infidelity is primarily a middle class characteristic. Was the aim of this youth programme to make all young people middle-class? The thesis begins by exploring the historical context for gallery education before a detailed study of theoretical frameworks for the interpretation of art: hermeneutics. Specific interrogation of critical, constructivist and emancipatory pedagogies create a backdrop to the analysis. Audience development and inclusion initiatives are key themes that run throughout the study and are explored in relation to the political landscape, personal ideologies and the academic imperatives of learning in this context. The outcomes point to the fact that inclusion initiatives fail to be inclusive when they employ pedagogies that are not suited to individual learners and rely too heavily on the specific ideology of the learning institution itself. Ideologies define what we do and as such they must be made visible to young people and be open for discussion so that we avoid merely teaching acceptance of the dominant ideology of the time. I conclude that art educators must consider what we are doing for learning and the arts and whom we are doing it for?

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Preface

Whilst writing this thesis I have been actively testing the theoretical frameworks and models of practice through a series of conference papers, published articles and consultancy work. My active involvement in the field of gallery education has enabled me to underpin the research carried out here with an enhanced understanding of issues around access and engagement for young people in a range of cultural contexts. I have also found this on-going professional activity to be beneficial for testing my ideas amongst my gallery education peers.

List of conference papers from 2008 to 2013

Date	Title	Location
October 2008	*By young people, for young people*	Museo Belas Artes, Spain
March 2009	*Changing the demographic: the 'trouble' with engaging young people in modern and contemporary art.*	Keynote presentation at the Young People in Museums conference, Museum of Contemporary Art, Salzburg
March 2009	*Changing the demographic: the 'trouble' with engaging young people in modern and contemporary art.*	engage seminar series
May 2009	*'Culture Vultures': towards a pedagogy that constructs young people as independent learners.*	Paper for the European conference on Youth Education and Museums, UNESCO, Bucharest
September 2009	*Include Me Too: the conflict between populism and elitism at the gallery and its impact on the*	Paper presented at the LAACE seed fund seminar organised by King's College London and Tate

	development of young audiences	Modern and held at Tate Modern
Sept 2010	*Investigating the impact of contrasting paradigms of knowledge on the emancipatory aims of gallery programmes for young people.*	Paper for iJADE conference, Liverpool
October 2010	How does a young person make meaning from an artwork?	Paper presented at the Blik-Openers conference at the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam
October 2011	*Investigating the impact of contrasting paradigms of knowledge on the emancipatory aims of gallery programmes for young people.*	Published in International Journal of Art and Design Education Vol 30, Issue 3, start page 409; October 21, 2011.
November 2010	New pedagogies for new audiences: 15-23 year olds at Tate Modern	Seminar presentation at Kings College
October 2011	*Searching for equality: issues that emerge when engaging young people in gallery and museum activity*	Conference paper presented at Hands on Europe conference, Llubjana, Slovenia

November 2011	*Making 'Culture Vultures': an investigation into socio-cultural factors that determine what and how young people learn in the art gallery*	Presentation for the Centre for Art and Learning, Goldsmiths College.
November 2013	*What are we doing for learning and the arts and whom are we doing it for?*	Paper presented at the iJADE conference, Chester.
November 2013	*Making 'Culture Vultures': engaging young people in modern and contemporary art.*	Keynote address presented at the 3rd National Taiwanese Art Education conference in Taipei, Taiwan.

Research and Consultancy 2011 - 2014

From 1999 – 2011, I worked at Tate Modern. Firstly, I was one of the Artist Educator team delivering workshops in the galleries and working with the developing youth project. From 2002, I became Curator for Youth Programmes. These professional roles at Tate have provided me with the insight to write this thesis. Following my employment as at Tate, I have worked independently as a researcher, consultant and producer. The projects that I have taken on during the last three years have enabled me to continue to test ideas and to understand education in the gallery sector in greater depth. This has been valuable in providing me with the breadth of knowledge required to evaluate my research and to ensure the usefulness of this thesis to the sector.

Date	Role	Event	Location
2011	Producer for the 'avenue of portraits' installation and community street party	Festival of Britain	Southbank Centre, London
2011 - ongoing	Co-ordinator for Learning and Participation at Southbank Centre module	MA Education in Arts and Cultural settings	Southbank Centre and Kings College, London.
2011	Researcher: Looking for	Insight's Project	Camden Arts Centre,

	potential growth opportunities.		London.
2012	Researching Pierre de Coubertin and educational idealists from the1800s to present day.	Festival of the World museum.	Southbank Centre, London.
2012	Curating content for 'World Crates' an exhibition of arts for social change projects	Festival of the World.	Southbank Centre, London.
2012-2013	Modelling a curriculum framework for a proposed Art School as an extension of gallery activity.	Futurescope project.	Camden Arts Centre
2014	Evaluation research and recommendations for development of a project for young people with profound and complex learning disabilities in the Centre's galleries.	Get the Message project	Camden Arts Centre, London.

Chapter 1

The context for this study: a personal motivation

Family background

In 1981, passing the 11 plus exam in Staffordshire, entitled a child to access Grammar School education. I passed my 11+ in 1981 in Staffordshire and my parents (both educators and politically left-leaning) gave me the choice of attending the Orme Girl's School in Newcastle-under-Lyme or the mixed comprehensive, Malbank School in Nantwich, Cheshire. My parents were concerned about the divisive nature of the tripartite system of education and supported the introduction of comprehensive schools. The notion of fair and equal access to education for all was part of the ethos within which we were brought up. The decision I made to go to a mixed school, which had a good art department, was significant in three ways.

Firstly, it was predicated on the idea that, contrary to the educational hierarchy that prevailed, the best education for a child was not necessarily going to be at the Grammar school. Comprehensive Schools were good too, this idea was an anomaly in the Thatcher driven society of the time where personal aspiration for higher social status was highly regarded.

Secondly, that an eleven year old was given supported responsibility to make decisions on behalf of herself, this autonomy given to a young person was unusual at the time. It is much more familiar now when consulting young people forms part of government policies on the well being of children and young people.

Thirdly, that the value of art education was considered to be equal if not greater than a more traditionally academic route.

In many ways, my path was inscribed from that point on. It was perhaps inevitable that I would end up working in the field of art education and be interested in issues of access and the right to speak. However, I have often reflected on that choice as I have moved through further and higher education and into my career in galleries and Universities. Had I attended the girl's grammar I may have gone to a different University, studied something other than art, formed different social relationships etc. I worked at Tate Modern from 1999 – 2011 and whilst working at Tate I was aware of the contrast between me and those colleagues who had been to Grammar schools and Oxbridge Universities, who were in the majority, particularly in senior positions. My subsequent reading of Bourdieu was like a light bulb going on as I began to understand the impact of habitus on person formation. It is that which has predicated my interest in the impact of educational strategies on the way that young people learn and develop.

Although as a family we didn't have much economic capital we had lots of educational and cultural capital.

Bourdieu argues that, increasingly in the contemporary world, a new, educated middle class has arisen, relatively poor financially, but high in academic capital. In this case, one form of capital is contested by another as base currency in legitimating privilege. The uneducated 'rich' will be disdainful of everything 'scholastic', condemning by implication what they do not possess – formal education – while the educated 'poor' assert their right to privilege in terms of personal effort in achieving academic status, rather than access to economic means' (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007 kindle location 1052).

My educational capital has come from my parents, everything we did as children had a learning component: from going to the supermarket and mending the car to going on holiday. Everything was an adventure and observing the world was part of daily life. The learning processes that my brother, sister and I experienced as children was not overt it was subtle, conversational. We were prompted to notice things and talk about the things we saw which helped us to make sense of the world and develop conceptual skills. My cultural capital developed alongside this. On

holiday and days out we would go to galleries, museums, theatre and such like. I often complained about this bemoaning the fact that other children went to the beach on their holidays. I did not realise at that time how valuable these experiences would be later on.

We lacked economic capital, which meant that a visit to the theatre was special as an experience but it didn't feel like a luxurious activity. We always sat in the cheapest seats and brought our own picnic to avoid the additional expenses of buying refreshments. Although economic capital was limited, the cultural capital that such experiences developed in me as a child has in turn produced economic capital in the form of employment.

My reading of Bourdieu has helped me to recognise my own culture, status and distinction in terms of the social positioning. I have also come to recognise that there is an underlying theme of social mobility inherent within all cultural work that aims at inclusion. The 'struggle for recognition' (Swartz, 1997, 270) that I experienced at Tate as a non Grammar School/Oxbridge educated curator had the effect of making me feel to be 'other', petit bourgeoise in a bourgeoise world and as such my social positioning and status was fragile, it could go down as well as up. This recognition of my own otherness helps me to identify with the main 'knot' identified in this thesis where certain participants were constructed as 'other' by the gallery's symbolic structures. Unaware of my own privilege I lacked the ability to engage them as learning subjects. I did not recognise my own cultural status and unknowingly made certain assumptions when meeting participants that we would all be agreed on the basic premis that art was a good thing. I shall be exploring this 'knot' at length within my thesis. Bourdieu explores the idea of the hidden value placed on certain art forms more than others in his work on the social production of taste.

It goes without saying, for the petit bourgeois that Culture – however it might be defined – is a 'good' thing (Jenkins, 1992: 144).

Young people from a different social group to mine were socially constructed to identify strongly with their 'culture' but not to take account of 'Culture' in the same way. Small 'c' culture refers to things which are 'natural' whilst big 'C' Culture refers to forms of high art. The difference between 'Culture' and a young person's 'culture' need to be challenged in strategies for inclusion that aim to encourage participation by Black and young people from minority ethnic groups. Bourdieu dissolves 'Culture' into 'culture' and this is significant because it removes the hierarchy between the two and reveals the social structures that underlie them.

The classificatory boundary between Culture and culture becomes revealed as arbitrary and one more manifestation of the reality of class relations (Jenkins, 1992: 129).

It is tempting to adopt the same amalgamation of culture into one thing and as a theoretical position this is powerful because it allows the learning subject to bring their cultural positioning to the interpretations they make in the gallery. However, it is rather too neat and it denies the fact that the learner is constructed by the gallery and it's curators most of whom, and I very much include myself in this, are unaware of their own cultivated status as anything other than an innate predisposition.

Admiration for art is not an innate predisposition; it is an arbitrary, i.e. cultural, product of a specific process of inculcation characteristic of the educational system as it applies to upper- and (some) middle-class families (Jenkins, 1992: 133).

Some of the participants I worked with lacked the 'cultural product' necessary to appreciate modern and contemporary art. They did not have this innate predisposition that I was unaware that I had and that stumped me, I didn't know how to proceed. Should I try to teach them to admire art? Or should I start with the culture that they brought? The gallery's established approach was to start with the culture that learners brought which seemed open and inclusive but continued to leave participants none the wiser about the value system that informed the gallery and the judgements of taste made in relation to the work that is shown there. I had

not acknowledged that 'people *learn* to consume culture and this education is differentiated by social class' (Jenkins, 1992, 138). I had assumed that all it took was an interest and learned skills. I didn't see the power of what Bourdieu calls the 'cultural unconscious' whereby attitudes, aptitudes and knowledge are developed in young people at some schools and in some families. That 'interest' is learned along with the skills required to deconstruct an artwork. I underestimated how much the 'canons of legitimacy' in the fields of art and culture were considered to be universal and uncontested, by which I mean that the shared understandings of the nature of Art and Culture were not accepted by everyone, in fact there are big hierarchical distinctions between art forms and between personal tastes.

Cultivated individuals thus confront their own distinction as taken for granted and natural, a marker of their social value, their status (Jenkins, 1992: 133).

People who work in galleries and museums are 'cultivated individuals' they possess high 'social value'. They can easily take for granted their judgements about art and consider them to be 'natural'. Because of this it is easy for them to form a barrier between their selves and those they are trying to communicate with. The invisibility of such a barrier can cause a disconnection to occur between people who are not acculturated in that way and those who appreciate modern and contemporary art. This knot or problem has formed a guiding theme within my research.

Inclusion, access and broadening audiences

Attempting to widen participation in the arts has always been important to me. Art is something I enjoy and something that I think is important for children and young people to learn about and take part in. I have taught art or about art in many contexts as an Artist in Schools, College, University, Art Gallery, Community project, but it is the gallery context that has offered the most choice about what and how to teach. It is for that reason that the gallery is the context for my thesis.

After my BA in 3D Design, I felt that I lacked the ability to articulate ideas about the objects that I made. I was keen to learn how to speak critically about art so I did an MA in Fine Art, here I felt like an outsider, coming from a craft course. On my MA a strong contextual studies component gave me a thorough grounding in key theories for understanding contemporary art, at this point I began to form the language to talk about art and I realised then that it was something you learned not something that some people had and some didn't – Bourdieu's 'innate predisposition'.

Following my Masters, I went to work at Tate Liverpool where I led discussion based workshops in the gallery with secondary school groups. At this time, I was also working as an artist in schools and youth clubs as well as running workshops at the gallery. I was also teaching first year undergraduates on the Visual Art course at Staffordshire University. I became interested in 16-20 year olds who lacked confidence to talk about art as I had.

In my gallery work, I combined the theory I had learned with the knowledge that I had built up through my art practice, to construct pedagogies that helped young people to understand the art on show, in particular the work of Susan Hiller who was showing at Tate Liverpool at the time. I enjoyed the work in the gallery but I didn't like the planning meetings with Curators from the Exhibitions team. During these meetings, I always felt that my knowledge was lacking, inadequate because it was different from other peoples I did not acknowledge the rich resource of pedagogic knowledge that I had.

From Tate Liverpool I went to work at Camden Arts Centre where I spent 2 happy years immersed in artists and art practice, the unwritten ethos of Camden Arts Centre is about understanding the art in an embodied way, works are allowed to 'be' and the curatorial strategy avoids explaining to the public but instead immerses them in the art. But as is a common problem for cultural workers with limited economic means living in places like London where living expenses are high I could

not afford to remain in a low paid job. I didn't have any other source of economic capital and I needed a better income. I was asked to get involved in the new Tate Modern project. It was very exciting to be there from the start. The main directive was about having new ideas and doing high quality projects for lots of visitors. Funding from the Paul Hamlyn Foundation meant that the work with young people took off and for 5 years there were funds available to trial many different programme ideas. I initially worked there as an Artist Educator working with young people and in 2002 I became the Youth Programme Curator. Funds continued until 2005 and from then the programme received funding from the core gallery budget. The move to core funding indicated that *Raw Canvas* was a valued part of gallery activity but conversely it meant that the programme felt the full force of the inclusion agenda when the 2005-2008 agreement between Tate and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport was rolled out. This changed the direction and the activities became more specifically about audience development in order to ensure that funds were secure.

The need for this research

There have been many initiatives over the last 15 years aimed at increasing the audiences for art. From the Arts Councils 'Arts for All' initiative and 'Renaissance in the Regions', engage's 'Envision', through to the government's 'Taking Part' survey and many others in between. The notions of 'access', 'inclusion' and 'widening participation' in the arts have become commonly accepted bench marks within the cultural and creative industries. The success of Tate Modern and others in terms of visitor numbers and regeneration alongside the economic value of the creative industries that was laid out in the Work Foundations 2007 report all attest to a thriving sector (until the austerity measures associated with the economic downturn that began to affect arts programming from 2010 onwards). However, despite numerous high quality audience development initiatives you only have to visit a Tate exhibition or go to the Royal Opera House to see that the majority of visitors are still white, middle class and over 40 years old. There is very little in depth research that explores initiatives for audience development in terms of the

socio-cultural factors that effect their ideological and pedagogical direction. Neither, in galleries, is their any understanding of the ways in which the institution itself is constructing learners. For a long time I had suspected that perhaps the problem of inclusion existed within Tate as part of the symbolic structures that exist there. As a member of staff, I was too close and couldn't see it in perspective. I wanted to use my time as a research student to get under the surface of *Raw Canvas* to understand the barriers that disconnect young people from modern and contemporary art.

Understanding audiences

The advertising classification system that defines people by social status (ABC1 etc.) was used at Tate in the earlier 21st century to understand audiences. As a system for categorising visitors, it is inadequate and masks the real picture that many young people are invisible to analysis because they occupy hybrid positions across class boundaries. In Culture, Class, Distinction[1] Tony Bennett et al revisit the work of Pierre Bourdieu in the context of C21 Britain. The book, published in 2009, whilst not specifically about museums and galleries, has enabled me to develop a socio-cultural understanding of the gallery context and it's relation to the public. The study shows that the middle-classes show a greater diversity of tastes than other cultural groups and their tastes span the boundary between popular and high culture. The content and form of gallery programmes often blur the boundary between popular and high culture with the intention of making programmes more accessible. The assumption here is that the public are 'culturally omnivorous' (Peterson 1992) but Bennett et al 2009 claim that cultural omnivorousness is a middle class characteristic, this attitude to programming therefore is already loaded with codes and values that unwittingly promote exclusivity and potentially mystifies the audience that it's aimed at.

Contemporary cultural advantage is pursued not through cultivating exclusive forms of snobbishness or modernist abstraction but through the capacity to link, bridge and span diverse and proliferating cultural worlds (Bennett et al 2009).

Young Tate activities aim to give young people the ability to link, bridge and span diverse cultural worlds. They also aim to give young people cultural confidence, as there is a fundamental difference between those who pass judgments or hold views and those who do not. My research unpacks the pedagogies that were trialed in order to achieve this aim and gives an account of their value.

Developing the research questions

People visit art museums for many different reasons: connoisseur, expert, student, family, tourism, and professional interest. Learning programmes are often directed towards those people who would not visit the gallery on their own. Whilst cultural diversity is highly prized, the most valuable visitors are those from working class backgrounds. I am concerned about audience development that focuses on one group of non-attendees more than others as it appears to single out working class non attendees as more in need of the civilising affect of culture. 'Opening doors' policies could appear to be strategies aimed at cementing the authority of the ruling classes by educating the 'others' in *how* to appreciate such art forms rather than sharing the codes so that the 'other' can decide *whether* they appreciate such art forms or not.

The art museum is not a neutral space without codes and conventions, this research aims to acknowledge the 'invisible walls' and to talk about the identity of the museum in which some cultural activity is valued more than others and in doing so redefine accessibility so that the museums of the future are more truly 'open'. We need to engage with young people's culture and extend our use of language so that we can talk about signs and meaning in the entire visual world and not just that inhabited by high culture.

The research context

My research context is Tate, an organization with four public art galleries in England: Tate Britain and Tate Modern in London, Tate Liverpool in the North West

and Tate St Ives in Cornwall. Tate galleries house exhibitions and displays of the UK's collection of British art from 1500 and of international modern art. My research focuses on *Raw Canvas*, Tate Modern's programme for 15-23 year olds, which grew out of the *Young Tate* programme that started at Tate Liverpool in 1984. It is specifically about the public engagement work at Tate Modern, particularly in relation to programmes for young people. To consider the context of youth programming at Tate Modern it is important to acknowledge that it is primarily an art gallery, it is not a youth club, not a school; it is a place where the public can encounter original art works. It has refigured itself as a social space with cafes and restaurants people come to meet, as well as to look at art: socialising and learning go hand in hand. Young People's Programmes at Tate Modern are about engagement, agency and democratic participation. The programmes explore two-way transactions that take place between the gallery and the young public. The aim is to build new audiences for modern and contemporary art and to respect young people as contributors to discourses about culture.

Widening the demographic of gallery visitors has always been important to museums and galleries. The task in recent years has become centred on recruiting young people who have not visited the gallery before. This has meant connecting with and drawing themes from other aspects of their cultural activity; skateboarding, spoken word, rap, graffiti and live music by young musicians all as ways to grab the interest of the desired audience and in so doing introducing them to the gallery and then to the process of viewing art. The constant challenge is in building a productive association between the artwork in the gallery and the theme or content of the event.

Bennett et al (2009) write on hegemony that 'culture is a negotiation between the classes, with the ruling classes seeking to win consent of the popular classes not simply by imposing their own culture but by connecting popular cultural values to their own.'

Is the purpose of opening up the gallery simply to acculturate a new generation of young people to passively 'appreciate' the art on show or is it possible to engage young people in questioning the hegemony that exists in the interpretation of modern and contemporary art?

Initial intentions

Raw Canvas was established in 1999 and my PhD research began in 2008, nearly 10 years after the inception of the programme. At the beginning of my research process, I was interested in doing audience research that specifically focused on *proving* what young people had learned from taking part in *Raw Canvas*. My initial research focus was:

An investigation into the value of gallery education programmes for providing cultural capital to young people and exploring changes in attitudes and values through action research (Sayers, March 2008).

I wanted to measure the social outcomes of learning by focusing on: young people's personal development, changes in attitude, increase in knowledge, skills in constructing an argument and ability to voice opinions. I was responding to the fact that very little, if any, information on this is gathered or archived and all the evidence of such personal development is anecdotal. I imagined that my research would follow a qualitative case study approach (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). I felt that it would strengthen the status and value of the programme within Tate and externally if I could collect such data. Displaying 'effectiveness' in the workplace is an outcome addressed by Shirley Grundy in her chapter on empowering leadership in Zuber-Skeritt, (1996). The development of *Raw Canvas* had been organic and experimental and it had some similarities with the action research approach described by Richard Winter (ibid. chapter 2) in which 'action research is seen as a way of investigating professional experience which links practice and analysis into a single, continuously developing sequence' (ibid, 13). I thought an action research model might be appropriate. However, it was difficult to see how such a model could

be adopted part way through the action research, it would have needed to be a formal part of the programme development from the beginning.

Nevertheless, with qualitative case study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008) and action research models (Zuber-Skeritt, 1996) in mind, I began doing some pilot investigations in two areas: alumni research through interviews and structured observation of a *Raw Canvas* course (see appendix for details of both):

i)   'alumni research' was talking to past *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders, those who had done the training course and were now no longer involved. I started with unstructured interviews with a few, and intended to follow up by sending questionnaires to a large group and then selecting a group for in depth interviews. I wanted to extract information about their social context, their experience of the programme and what they were doing since leaving (I already knew that many of them had found employment in the arts and culture industry and had found *Raw Canvas* to be extremely beneficial).

ii)   observing a course was intended to find out what young people get out of learning activities in the gallery and their motivations for attending.

I realised quite quickly that the research methods and focus were limited in the following ways:

Firstly, the research *method*: as the designer of the programme I was not impartial, I already believed that *Raw Canvas* had value and I was doing the research to gather 'evidence' to support my pre-existing belief. Webb looks for an alternative to such rationality in research processes in Zuber-Skeritt (1996). The second problem was that my being there as researcher was influencing the content and structure of the sessions and as I was also the Programme Curator: participants didn't really have the chance to make objections or to question the research. On 12 January 2009 I wrote in my research journal:

I am concerned that my research may be over influencing the content of the session as the Artist Educator's are responding to my research agenda [when planning sessions]. Participants didn't get chance to object or question the research, they felt like they had to [take part]' (ES journal 12.01.09)

I already had prior relations with the Artist Educators and *Raw Canvas*. They were my friends and colleagues. My objective positioning as researcher, whilst still maintaining a position as head of the programme was artificial and limited the opportunity to do in depth research. The data I gathered from these pilot investigations was not as rich as the observations I made during my day-to-day work. Instead of setting up artificial situations from which to collect data, I began to focus on the wealth of documentary data that had been collected during the first years of the programme.

Secondly, limitations existed in the research *focus*. As a result of the initial data collection exercises, my research questions began to shift. In March 2009, I started looking behind my interest in evidencing learning outcomes and began asking more searching questions. Why was 'proving' that the programme provided valuable outcomes for young people so important? What did it say about the gallery's success with audience development? I became more interested in exploring the failure to attract broader audiences. I already had lots of anecdotal evidence that supported the success of the programme. I considered that whilst gathering evidence about success would be statistically helpful for supporting such programmes and securing funding it was not my intention to finance myself through a PhD in order to do so. The fact was: the audience still wasn't getting much broader and my pressing concern was to understand why. I wanted to get 'underneath' this issue and explore the complex barriers faced by young people especially those from hard-to-reach groups and to do that I had to look at the gallery, its ideology, the staffing and the professional and pedagogical discourses produced there to see what kind of learner

was anticipated and how they were moulded by the agendas that informed decision making at the gallery.

Re-focussing my thesis

Following my decision to explore the rich bank of data that I had collected over a number of years it was clear that I needed to use some data for my thesis that was not originally gathered to do a PhD. Previously I talked about my original intentions and how and why the focus changed. As a result of these changes, alternative data became relevant for my study. I looked back through the archive of documentary photographs, videos and audio recordings that had captured the *Raw Canvas* programme in action. I found that interviews conducted as part of a *Raw Canvas* video project, *Us and the Other*, were much richer in content than they would have been if they were made by me as a research student with some specific questions to ask. My re-focusing has pointed to the value in using this archive directly as a resource for my research.

Research method

I am aware that my PhD methodology does not follow the usual pattern; as I have explained my training was in Art with a BA in 3D Design and an MA in Fine Art. I am an artist and my research has been conceived in the way that I conceive an artwork where the methodology does not constitute a separate predetermined approach but is an intrinsic part of the developing ideas (Sullivan in Smith and Dean, 2012). In this case the work or 'object' is my thesis and I have very much approached it as I would an art work where practical and theoretical methods are constantly informing one another causing amendments and adjustments to take place.

Practice-based research

The nature of this research is time based and spans a twelve-year period. It has been generated in the manner of an artwork. That is, it has been allowed to evolve and open up in a way that is responsive to the research material. It does not follow the

regular research pattern in which a research question is set at the beginning and then explored and written up.

Although my PhD has followed the traditional text-based model and this is a written thesis; I maintain that this research is practice-based in two specific ways:

1. It is based upon the gallery education practice and pedagogy on which it focuses and has been an instigator of change within the development of youth programmes at Tate.

2. It utilizes arts-based methodologies, which explore 'ways of knowing' (Eisner, 1985). This is in contrast to some social science methodologies, which generate knowledge around a pre-designated subject.

Whilst exploring research methods for the arts the authors of two systematic reviews for the *Evidence for Policy and Practice Centre* in 2002 and 2006 contested that:

The value of the arts is most likely to be revealed through approaches that accord most closely to the creative nature of artistic expression (Mason in Hickman, 2008, pg. 45).

An arts-based approach has enabled me to be responsive to my participants' experiences and to construct the research questions in a way that is relevant to their situation as learners at the gallery. The gap 'between [an] ideological analysis and lived experience' (Buckingham, 2003, 216 cited by Eglinton in Hickman, 2008) is an evident area of concern throughout social science literature. Eglinton exposes the dangers of ideology within pedagogical practices. She writes:

Drawing too heavily on ideological critique, without taking into account the lived local experiences of young people, risks making our pedagogical practices in visual arts education, paradoxically, ideological (Eglinton in Hickman, 2008, 54).

I share her concern about ideology and, throughout my research, I have become extremely aware of the potential for educators to reinforce their political predilections through pedagogy. If I had followed a more linear approach to my research, I would not have been able to respond to the emergent theme of ideology: as I would have been restricted by my preset research questions. Instead by using an approach akin to art making in which new knowledge is arrived at by inquiry and interpretation I was able to rewrite my questions and adapt my methods and continue to search for an appropriate data source long after the start of the thesis. The responsive, iterative, productive nature of using a practice-based methodology has enabled me to continually formulate and reformulate the key questions until they accurately interrogate the areas with which I was concerned. As Sullivan (2009) claims in relation to practice-based research:

Practice-led researchers share the goal that research involves the quest to create new knowledge, but do so by making use of a series of inquiry practices that are theoretically rich, conceptually robust and provoke individuals and communities into seeing and understanding things in new ways (Sullivan, 2009, 62).

I have attempted to be inventive with my use of data and my methods of inquiry and, whilst the methods that I have used are not conventional they are theoretically thorough, formed conceptually throughout the processes and consequently they can provoke new insights into gallery education policy and practice.

Research questions

The main research area is to do with the ideology of gallery educators and the pedagogy that emerges as a result of such ideology. I am using 'ideology' here to describe the values, beliefs and ethos held by gallery educators. Tensions concerning the impact of widening participation on pedagogy are explored. I have coded my data using the following headings: ideology, pedagogy, the social, philanthropy, audience and the space. These themes were narrowed down from a

much longer list that grew out of the research questions and from listening to the data over and over again until common threads began to emerge (see appendix).

When I started analysing the data, I reworked my questions. I wanted to be sure that they were carefully crafted tools that would enable me to search through the data in the most efficient way. The refocused research questions are:

1. How does the ideology of gallery educators' impact on the teaching and learning that takes place, and the way it is structured?
2. How is the learner as subject imagined in this pedagogical practice?
3. Does this pedagogy presume a particular subject? Is this ethical?

The elements of the research

The thesis is comprised of ten chapters that explore the field of gallery education and its unique position at the intersection of education, cultural and social policy.

The key research focus is upon *Raw Canvas*, Tate Modern's Youth Programme for 15-23 year olds (1999-2011), as a particular kind of public gallery youth initiative with individual and experimental approaches to pedagogy. I shall use interviews with Education Curators and the Head of Department at Tate Modern (1998-2005) to provide insight into the ideas and pedagogies of the department. This gives a basis from which to look at data recorded from dialogue during Raw Canvas workshops. My analysis interrogates the 'talk' about art that occurs between young people in peer-led workshops to understand the ways in which the specific attitudes to pedagogy inhibit or emancipate participants. The focus of the thesis is on *Raw Canvas* and the dialogue that takes place when young people engage with art directly without an overt 'teacher' or 'master explicator'. The historical and social context of gallery education and pedagogy that I give in the early chapters provide a background for the understanding of Raw Canvas pedagogies.

In chapter 1, I have positioned myself in relation to my research. In chapter 2, I go on to explore the historical development of art gallery education from the 1850's to

the present day. I investigate the socio-cultural and political factors that have influenced the contemporary context for learning in the museum. In chapter 3, I introduce Tate gallery and the *Raw Canvas* programme. In chapter 4, I review theory relating to interpretation to introduce hermeneutics as a tool to explore the frameworks and ideologies of gallery education practice. In chapters 5 and 6, I review theory relating to emergent pedagogies. Firstly, in chapter 5 by looking at social constructionist and critical pedagogies to investigate how and why certain pedagogies emerge as a result of such interpretive practices. Secondly, in chapter 6, I refer to Freire, Rancière and Bourdieu to explore theory that relates to the ways in which learning communities are defined by strategies that aim to attract a more diverse audience. Chapter 7 is an explanation of methods and chapters 8 and 9 present and analyse the research data. In chapter 8, I focus on the evidence of ideological pedagogical positioning and in chapter 9 I explore the construction of the learning subject. I use a series of coded themes and theoretical texts as the tools for analysis. In chapter 10, I review the outcomes of the research and consider implications for gallery pedagogies and practices of learning. This involves a searching critique of the 'well-intentioned' programmes in terms of how successful they really are and whether the gallery really can provide emancipatory programmes. An alternative view is: that the gallery is inevitably trapped by particular ideological forces which prevent this.

Likely outcomes of the research

I hope that this research will make visible the currently invisible walls that surround the culture of modern and contemporary art and create barriers to access. I would like this thesis to contribute to the development of gallery pedagogies and learning initiatives that attempt to engage new audiences. To support other educators who have like me felt a sense of frustration and disappointment as new audience initiatives have failed to engage with particular learners. To add to the small amount of existing research that avoids political rhetoric and identifies genuine attempts to engage young people in art.

We will all always be constructed by new experiences and by education. For this to have a lasting impact in terms of life long learning the experience should embrace not limit the individual. I hope this thesis offers some understanding that helps to refine pedagogy in ways that make it genuinely 'learner-centred'.

Can the discussion based learning programmes trialed by Raw Canvas lead the way to pedagogies in which dissent and speculation are possible rather than consensual and convivial appreciation?

Chapter 2

The art museum as a site for education

Museums have always been 'educational' although the interpretation of that term into their core purpose and activities has changed many times over the last 150 years. Museums saw a growth in popularity during the late 19th and early 21st Century. The big question which recurs frequently but remains unanswered is, 'should they be for everyone?' This research looks at how this question has affected the provision of educational activities during the first 10 years at Tate Modern.

Chapter two aims to explore the context for young people's learning in the museum. It charts the origins of museum education, the social, cultural and political factors that have influenced its development to illuminate the approaches favoured inside the museums of today. One of the important themes to emerge through my research has been the impact of ideology on the pedagogical approaches employed by museum education departments. Such approaches are highly influenced by each educator's ideas about the value of art in society. For this reason, I have elected to explore the history of the museum and its education department from a socio cultural perspective.

An historical perspective on museums

In 1845, the British government first allocated money to museums: before that they had been supported by philanthropists for the aristocracy. The move towards museums for the middle classes rather than just the aristocracy started in 1832 when the Reform Act cemented the rise of modern democracy in Britain. G.M.Trevelyan hails 1832 as the watershed moment at which "'the sovereignty of the people' had been established in fact, if not in law. Sir Erskine May notes that the 'reformed Parliament was, unquestionably, more liberal and progressive in its

policy than the Parliaments of old; more vigorous and active; more susceptible to the influence of public opinion; and more secure in the confidence of the people' (Reform Act of 1832)

The Museums Act of 1845 and the Museums & Libraries Act of 1850 enabled local boroughs to allocate a portion of the Rates to the provision of public amenities. Now in the public realm, museums and galleries were popular with working as well as middle classes. New galleries were built as expressions of civic pride and regional prosperity: private benefactors could demonstrate their wealth and cultural nobility by supporting such schemes.

Working and middle class visitors inundated museums but the aristocracy did not welcome this new popularity. Sara Selwood, Sue Clive and Diana Irving talk about the exclusivity of public art galleries when they first opened. The Royal Academy which opened in 1768 and the National Gallery in 1842 were very popular and 'charges had to be introduced to discourage attendance and police surveillance was required to monitor the behaviour of visitors. (Selwood et al, 1994: 17)
The room was:

… crowded and incommoded by the intrusion of great numbers whose stations and education made them no proper judges of statuary or painting and who were idle and tumultuous by the opportunity of the show (Macmillan, 1975, 15 in Selwood et al, 1994: 17).

Similar views are still held today as some 'expert' visitors object to devices or interpretation materials aimed at enabling access to an uninitiated public. No teaching is allowed in the paying exhibitions at Tate Modern as it is said to interrupt the experience of paying visitors. These ticketed exhibitions are usually frequented by 'repeat' or 'experienced' visitors (Meijer and Scott, 2009) or 'aficionados' (Morris & Hargreaves, 2004) as audience research studies have explored.

In 1849 social reformer James Buckingham voiced a commonly held belief that museums are edifying for people, especially the poor. The belief that as a result of visiting a museum regularly it is possible to become a better person is still commonly held today. Much of the work that goes on in extending audiences is linked to that thinking, particularly the government attitude towards the museums that are state funded.

British society of the 1860's was very keen on self-improvement: it was hoped that museums would 'support the national interest by inspiring the development of a motivated and hard working labour force. Thomas Arnold wrote about the value of culture to bring stability to people's lives, he recommends culture as 'the great help out of our present difficulties' (Arnold, 1869, 5). Reformers realised that the new popularity of art could be harnessed as a powerful vehicle for the dissemination of moral values. They believed that art could improve the lives of the poor, and that access to cultural and leisure facilities could diminish the gap between the classes.' (Selwood et al, 1994: 22)

Reverend Samuel Barnett mounted a series of exhibitions in Whitechapel, which were intended to convert the poor to the bourgeois values of aesthetic sensitivity, cleanliness, political conservatism, piety and restraint. In short, it was intended that they should be able to pass by a public house without going in (Borzello, 1987 in Selwood et al, 1994: 22).

In this new cultural climate, educational art galleries were regarded as civilising agencies providing cultural and moral nourishment. This idea of art as edification is still prevalent today and underlies not only the programmes that are run but also the funding streams that are available.

After 1944

'The formation of the welfare state made accessibility to the arts into a democratic right. The 'post-war consensus' presumed that the arts were provided for the national good, and should be supported by public subsidy. As in the nineteenth

century, it was considered desirable to increase access to cultural 'goods' such as literacy and knowledge, and to democratise the appreciation of previously inaccessible forms of art' (Selwood et al, 1994: 36)

The 1944 Education Act was optimistic: schools were encouraged to experiment, to promote children to laugh and grow in confidence. Herbert Read's influential publication *Education through Art* (1943: 5) suggested that art would 'contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of the community'. His discussion of art education centres around two slightly oppositional theories for the value of education: these are the development of the individual's specificity and their integration into society.

'Education must be a process, not only of individuation, but also of 'integration', which is the reconciliation of individual uniqueness with social unity' (Read, 1943: 5).

Although this notion of 'opposition' of the individual and the social has been extensively rejected and the relation is now considered much more fluid and not essentialist; Read's observation that the process of learning has two opposing goals *is* relevant for my study. I am exploring the apparent ambivalence of the gallery as it attempts to both celebrate the 'other', the new audience, whilst simultaneously changing them into gallery-goers. The ambivalence that is apparent in the power relations of a publicly funded gallery is an integral backdrop to my research. To better understand this ambivalence we need to consider Bourdieu and his notion of 'symbolic violence' in which the existing social order is made to seem legitimate. Where the dominant social or cultural order denies or marginalises other socio-cultural values and practices. Here cultural domination is achieved and maintained by the categories of thought and perception that are imposed upon those who are dominated. Governments have supported high-culture for the betterment of the people: we need to consider the background of why that should be the case.

State funding for the Arts

The Council for the Encouragement of Music and Art (CEMA) was established during the Second World War, with the aim of taking music, drama and pictures to places that were cut off from the rest of society by the war. CEMA went to air-raid shelters, wartime hostels, factories and mining villages. It was at first supported by private funds, and soon supported by the Board of Education and entirely funded by a Treasury grant. In 1946, CEMA was transformed into the Arts Council. The shift, led by John Maynard Keynes was in collaboration with senior civil servant Sir Alan Barlow.

A semi-independent body is provided with modest funds to stimulate, comfort and support any societies or bodies brought together on private or local initiative that are striving with serious purpose and a reasonable prospect of success to present for public enjoyment the arts of drama, music and painting. (Keynes in1945 extract from Fry, Craufurd & Goodwin, 1999: 60)

The idea was to create an institution that would distribute public money to the arts on the recommendation of expert advisors and without political interference. Barlow steered clear of making a connection in the public mind between arts and education: the arts 'should make an appeal as being pleasant rather than wholesome.' At first a 'raise and spread' motto took art into Butlin's Holiday camps, schools, canteens, factories and shops although there is little evidence of that today.

In 1964, the Labour Government took office. Jennie Lee was appointed as Minister for the Arts: this was the first time that a minister presided over cultural activity. The White paper, *A Policy for the Arts: First Steps* was published in 1965, arguing for an increase in funding to enable working class people to access culture.

Conservative governments of the 1980's and 90's forced the arts to reconstitute themselves in market terms by reducing and removing state subsidies. Museums and galleries came under attack. The consequence of this was that it became increasingly necessary to justify state support for their activities, in political,

economic and cultural terms, particularly those attracting small audiences. Public sector support relied on the expansion of audiences, and issues of cultural and social inequity and diversity affected decisions about the funding of arts institutions. *The National Arts and Media Strategy* of 1991 suggests the range and diversity of constituencies vying for recognition of their needs through state funding; young people are one such group.

The state continues its project of enlightening its citizens. Galleries, via their education officers, work hard to attract excluded or disenfranchised groups to participate. Far from simply wanting to expand a passive audience, some describe their objectives as being to 'empower' these groups and give them ' a voice' (Selwood et al, 1994:36)

Until 1997, when Labour came back into power cultural policy was determined by the Museums and Galleries Commission and the Arts Council. Within the first six months of the new Labour Government, the Department for National Heritage was turned into the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. In 1997, DCMS established performance measurement as a way to make those in receipt of public money more accountable to the whole public.

In a lecture at the Royal Society for the Arts in London in1999, Chris Smith Secretary of State for Culture (1997-2001) reiterates the civilising effect of art and calls for wider participation in gallery, theatre and music venues.

The fine arts matter 'simply because of what they do for our feelings, our mood, our imaginations, our understanding, our enjoyment, our inner selves. They are an integral part of our self-definition. They provide a window through which we can see others and a mirror through which we can see ourselves. And because they lead us, sometimes gently, sometimes forcibly, sometimes imperceptibly, to self- knowledge, they also inevitably help both to shape and to characterise a society. The arts are a civilising influence' (Smith, 1999: 14)

In 1997, the overarching aims of the Labour government were access, equality and community, representing a shift away from the Conservative party's focus on the individual. We can see the repercussions of that emphasis in the development of

cultural opportunities for the public over the following 10 years. The delivery of Chris Smith's ideology of 'widening participation' has not been taken up by organisations as a whole. Instead it has remained the work of learning teams to build and diversify audiences because of the assumption that educational activities can reach out to the public more than exhibitions or other gallery offers like catering or retail provision. This is linked to the edification programme and assumes that the first time visitor has a knowledge deficit and needs to be educated. In fact exhibitions, retail and catering could be more successful at attracting a wider audience than educational activities, which can be perceived as 'wholesome', 'good for you' and therefore off-putting for the casual visitor. Tate has a limited idea about 'access' as all of the provision could reach out to new audiences through varying the commercial offer made in the café and the shop and potentially delivering 'block-buster' exhibitions to attract wider audiences. Such ideas are hotly contested within the gallery, as they would impact on the gallery's image and reputation, potentially damaging its function within the art world. Certainly visiting school children would be delighted with a Burger King in the Turbine Hall at Tate Modern: it is not commercial reasons that prevent this happening but ideas about what is 'appropriate' in a cultural space. In an institutional context, the fact that widening participation is not seen as a priority for the whole organisation reflects the relatively minor importance of such endeavours alongside academic or commercial activity.

Art for All

Jennie Lee's appointment in 1964 as Minister for the Arts signalled a change in the relationship between government and the arts and mirrored changes in the education system. The Labour Government wanted to create a more equal society, one in which access to culture and education is key. Recognising the inequalities created for young people's education by academic selection, the tripartite system of secondary education became questioned, in favour of the Comprehensive School system. The Labour Government also wanted to tackle inequalities in access to art, theatre and music. To enable this, an additional 2 million pounds was granted to the

Arts Council. There have been many objections to left-wing policies that focus on making art accessible to a wider public.

Advocating public funding for the arts on the grounds that it benefits the working class was both ineffectual and dishonest. It was not new. That public museums, galleries and libraries would better the lower orders was argued in the nineteenth century. It is a claim that returns again and again in differing forms to justify arts expenditure (Brighton, 2006: 115)

Many claims are made for the beneficial social impact of the arts and such claims are quoted by government 'establishing a near consensus among cultural policy-makers.' (Merli, 2002, 107) Francois Matarasso's report 'Use or Ornament?' in 1997 identifies 50 distinct social impacts of the arts. The methodology proved to be flawed, but the new Labour Government still picked up and reused many of the key impacts to justify their arts policies.

In order to discuss the notion of art for everyone we need to consider the function of art in society, either it is for social emancipation, revolutionary, an instrument of social vision or an aesthetic realm beyond social factors or issues, occupying a purely aesthetic position. Since New Labour came to power in 1997 debates about the function of art have continued to circulate notably in Wallinger and Warnock, 2000. Here a collection of art works, texts, transcripts of speeches by artists, policy makers, academics and art historians explored the arguments for and against the apparent instrumentalisation of the arts under the Labour Government. Most useful in relation to understanding the gallery's relationship with young audiences is Chris Smith in 1997 who sets out the government's attitude towards the arts and its desire to achieve equality of access in the cultural sector.

Access is the cornerstone of all this government's cultural policies, including those for museums and galleries. A priority is attracting those from socio-economic groups that are underrepresented amongst museum visitors. (Smith in Wallinger and Warnock, 2000)

It is easy to see the development of this ideal vision in the attitude of the museum towards its audiences over the last 10 years. However, a method for collecting socio economic data has never been achieved. In the same publication, Andrew Brighton writes *Towards a Command Culture: New Labour's Cultural Policy and Soviet Socialist Realism* where he cites and responds to Smith from the perspective of the situation in art museums from his perspective at the time as Senior Curator for Public Programmes at Tate Modern.

The most salient predictor of arts audiences is not wealth, nor income, it is education. It is the relatively well-educated, teachers, academics and professionals, who constitute the dominant core of regular arts consumers. They constitute the cognoscenti, the elite audience for the arts. However, museums and galleries are now required to classify their visitors by class and ethnicity and then seek to mirror in their attendance the proportion of each of the designated groups within society as a whole. (Brighton in Wallinger and Warnock, 2000: 40).

The terms elitism and elitist are often used critically to label people or art forms, which are not focused on developing audiences as a primary goal. The critical use of these terms only start to be used after 1945 when *socially dominant* was no longer *socially better*. It follows the 1944 Education Act, which made secondary education free to all and compulsory to age 15, enabling working class people and girls to benefit from state education. The increase in education illustrated the stark contrasts in opportunity and quality of life between lower and upper classes causing people to question existing social hierarchies.

The function or purpose of an art museum could be polarised into elitist versus populist viewpoints: populists aim to provide access to the art to as many people as possible whilst the elitist view is that art museums are concerned with conservation and scholarly research. In the populist view educational programmes are a core activity, whereas in the elitist view education or learning is an additional activity for children and for the uneducated. This difference in many ways reflects the difference between Grammar School and Comprehensive School education. Selwood et al talk about the perennial conflict between elitism and populism.

The proponents of populism, concerned to provide greatest access to the arts to the maximum number of people, identify education as the most important function of the museum. To this end, they frequently target disenfranchised members of the community... The opposite view is that museums are fundamentally concerned with collection, preservation and scholarly research. (Selwood et al, 1994: 40)

Creating new publics is a daunting task if we are to avoid jeopardizing the 'status' of the art in 'our' care. (Zolberg, 1994: 61)

There is, however, the persistently evoked danger that democratisation is being accomplished at the expense of the 'elite' experience. Some fear that the museum may become, instead of a serious institution, a place of popular entertainment with no standards of quality to govern the selection of artworks (Zolberg, 1994: 61)

Vera L.Zolberg talking about the Pompidou Centre

There have always been conflicting ideas about the role and function of the museum. This conflict is so entrenched that it has become a contingent part of the museum's identity, with senior managers actively encouraging development in both elitist and populist areas simultaneously.

I don't think we have ever really stood back from the problem and recognised the difference between an educational establishment and what a museum is primarily here to do, which is to display works of art. In some respects, being an educational establishment is at odds with being a Museum in that definition. I feel that the rights of the adult museumgoer need to be protected... It isn't fair that he or she should have to trip over small children making copies of Joan Miro or Picasso (Andrew Wilton, Keeper of the British Collection at the Tate Gallery, BBC Radio 4 Kaleidoscope broadcast in 1990).

These polarised positions cannot be resolved, and, whilst frustrating for staff, are not necessarily a bad thing for the development of the museum. Operating within polar positions provides a space between the poles where some of the most interesting and challenging work can exist.

The reception of the art object.

Visitors to museums come from various constituents from the aesthete to the school child, corporate visitor or tourist. Whilst the history of education in museums is shared across artefact based and art based institutions, it is important to consider the specific ways in which the reception of an art object by a broad audience has changed over the last 160 years.

For arts institutions, the emergence of an art-viewing public implies a transition from private collections to a much more meaningful social function (Vidokle and Rosler, 2009)

Public exhibitions of art started in 1789 at the time of the French Revolution when the King of France and his wife were evicted from the Louvre and executed. Following that event, a part of the Palace was opened as the first public exhibiting hall for the work of contemporary artists. In mid 19th Century Britain the gallery going public were passive consumers of the exquisite or historically valuable objects in museums and galleries. Museum collections centred round the sovereign collector or philanthropist, so the rationale for the collection was generated by the predilections of the collector. Visitors appreciated the beauty of individual objects, and the way in which the viewer related to the objects mirrored their relationship with society. You viewed art works for your own enlightenment or enrichment and the primacy of the art object was about 'truth' rather than meaning making or constructing your own interpretation. As Tony Bennett points out, once museum collections became the property of the state the visitor related to them as citizen and as such as stakeholder in the state, ownership became more democratic. (Bennett, 1995:35) Alongside this democratisation occurs a 'semiotic recoding' of works of art, it is no longer possible to simply read the display in relation to the choices made by the collections founder, Henry Tate. The structure of collections allows us to see that what is on display is valuable and meaningful because of the access that it offers to the significance of what cannot be seen. (Pomain, 1990, cited in Bennett, 1995: 35) For example, it is not accidental that Claude Monet *Water-Lillies* (after 1916) were placed opposite Richard Long's site specific installation,

Waterfall Line (2000) created a century apart the two works illuminate the artists' solutions to representing the physical qualities of water, we can use this to shed light on expressive devices used in other art works that we have seen. Collections only function in this manner for those who possess the appropriately coded ways of seeing and the power to see.

Collections, no longer thought of as a means for stimulating the curiosity of the few, are reconceptualised as means for instructing the many (Bennett, 1995: 35)

Alongside this pedagogical function was an increased awareness of the visitor, and so museums began to structure their displays in a more pedagogic way as they aimed to make the collections intelligible to everyone. This contrasts with the 'cabinet of curiosities' approach, which enabled access to knowledge only to those who shared the same sensibilities and cultural reference points as the collector.

In the public museum, art objects are removed from the context in which they are made or owned in private collections and are placed in a public environment in which they are open to the possibility of plural meanings. The gallery environment is not neutral. Visitors to exhibitions 'get something out' of the experience, the objects are brought together because they are part of a story that the curator is trying to tell be that historical or thematic (Serota, 1996).

Exhibitions address the public, pedagogically they address themselves to an audience: their aim is to be educational in the broadest sense. Peter Vergo (Vergo,1997) distinguishes two polarised positions in relation to differing views about the amount of information and explanation that people feel should be available. On the one hand, there are proponents of 'aesthetic' exhibitions who think that 'understanding' is essentially a process of private communion between ourselves and the work of art. In this way, viewers experience the exhibition on their own terms and without contextual information to guide their thinking. On the other hand, there are advocates of 'contextual' exhibitions in which the object displayed is of relatively little intrinsic significance and regarded purely as an object of contemplation. Here contextual information provides a frame for looking at the

work: the viewer looks for the contextual frame to explain the work. Art museums occupy a slightly different position as objects are displayed so as to demonstrate their uniqueness. Rather than telling a story in relation to other objects, each artwork is positioned to be considered on its own terms.

Contextual information is readily available in national, public museums like Tate as they aim to cater for a wide public. The danger of this is that the uninitiated public is 'straight-jacketed' by an overload of information and not encouraged to achieve what Csikszentmihalyi (1975) calls 'flow' experiences. This is a 'concept of intrinsic motivation, leading to "flow" experiences, periods of intense involvement that can lead to learning.' (Hein, 1998: 145). Exhibition design could enable this for more of the public if the gallery re-thought the way that the art object and the information are displayed. For example, contextual information displayed at the beginning and end to avoid visitors reading the labels more than looking at the art.

One evident cause of our difficulties, to my mind, is the fact that most exhibition-makers would, I believe, be hard put to define their audience at all. (Vergo, 1989)

Conceptual art

In 1917, Duchamp's Fountain marked a significant change in the way that art works were received and understood. Art became self-reflexive. It is possible to trace the development of conceptual art from this point. The development of gallery education programmes that focus on thinking skills over practical art making skills have something in common with the shift in art after Duchamp. Not only through an understanding of art in which skill is critiqued through the use of the readymade. Conceptual art also questions the art object and its function as something we can own and know: a non-conceptual work of art behaves as if it is a statement. Conceptual art presents itself as a question or challenge, it starts without a proposition about what it is: readymades for example can be understood to be exactly what they are, but the context of the gallery and the deliberate selection by the artist imbue meaning onto an otherwise everyday object. They question the idea

of art in a capitalist mode of production. Readymades,problematise the 'idea' of the art object, and, in so doing question the 'idea' of art and artist. This introduces a critical dialogue that has affected the form and content of gallery education programmes.

Gallery education follows two distinct strands: one comes from modernist ideas about the art object being purely visual; the other comes through conceptual art where language is an essential part of the work, serving to open up and connect art to the world through philosophy, social science and popular culture. This division affects pedagogy in art museum education and can be traced back to the 'Coldstream Report' in 1961 which examined the same polarity occurring in teaching in art schools and advised on the development of art and design history to be taught alongside studio practice linking the subject of art and design to academic disciplines.

Dave Beech (2006) describes postmodernism taking a similar line to Bourdieu in terms of the possibility of amalgamating big 'C' and little 'c' culture. Beech talks about a moment at the end of 20th and early 21st Century when post modernism emerged, creating an art world which borrowed from high and low culture, ripping apart the tensions between them. It 'leveled culture' (Beech, 2006). Postmodernism was a popular theory but whilst it works when related to images it doesn't work when applied to society as it suppresses the politics of cultural division. It made it seem as though high and low cultures could easily merge, that we were living in a classless society when social cohesion is much more difficult to achieve than this.

The postmodernists' reconciliation of culture's deep historical rift came too early and too easily. If the crudeness of the concept means it's advisable to forget elitism, it is not acceptable to forget the social process of cultural distinction that it seeks but fails to explain (Beech, 2006).

An altogether more participatory relation with the art object emerged in the form of 'relational aesthetics'. The term describes an 'art of the generic social encounter'

(Beech in O'Neill and Wilson, 2010, 49). Bourriaud (1998) describes it as 'a set of artistic practices which take as their theoretical and practical point of departure the whole of human relations and their social context, rather than an independent and private space. Artists are facilitators rather than makers and art is seen as information exchanged between the artist and the viewers. This relation between artist and viewer urges us to rethink the role of the audience and the educational function of the museum. Relational aesthetics points to a practice that engages with art in a space between the polarised positions of populism and elitism. Clare Bishop (2004) critiqued relational aesthetics for the fact that it relies on conviviality. For Bishop projects that reveal real antagonisms need to be addressed and those which elicit 'sensations of unease and discomfort rather than belonging' (Bishop, 2004: 67). Beech presents 'three theories of the art encounter '(in O'Neill & Wilson, 2010: 51) 'relational, antagonistic and dialogical practice' (ibid.). Bourriaud's relational aesthetics is described as 'convivial', Bishop's as the promotion of antagonism and the third model, offered by Grant Kester (2004) is one that 'operates between art and the broader social and political world' (Kester, 2004: 9). Beech suggests that we can see 'the emergence of a new ontology of art' (Beech in O'Neill and Wilson, 2010: 51) through these practices of the art encounter. In O'Neill and Wilson's (2010) book 'Curating and the Educational Turn' they offer a collection of essays that explore the new terrain of art that has been emerging over the last 10 years and has in some practices replaced the art object altogether. In their introduction they describe the way that 'curating increasingly operates as an expanded educational praxis' (ibid.: 12). They propose that:

Curating, and art production more broadly, have produced, undergone or otherwise manifested an educational turn (O'Neill and Wilson, 2010: 12).

So the reception of the art object has and is changing and with it the pedagogies that surround it.

The social and cultural context of the museum.

In recent times, the value of the arts to society has been seen by the British Government to be about improving 'the poverty of aspiration' (Jowell: 2006). This is thought to be happening through the regeneration of inner city areas around established cultural and creative hotspots, for instance Shoreditch and Bankside in London, Albert Dock in Liverpool and so on. Government also hold the belief that arts activities have a positive impact on communities. The third benefit of culture and creativity is in its potential to increase the wealth of the country. In 2000 the Creative and Cultural industries in the UK were thought to contribute 6% of the gross domestic product, in 2007 Will Hutton compiled a report for the Work Foundation which valued the Creative and Cultural Industries at 7.4% of the UK's GDP. In some ways, economic benefit has taken over from moral or social improvement as the primary reason to justify arts spending.

Yet the majority of people who visit art galleries and museums still have higher educational attainments, more elevated occupational status, and larger incomes than the average citizen (ABSA, 1993).

Social philosopher Theodor Adorno in his book *Aesthetic Theory* 1970 (into English 1997) did not share the positive view of the relationship between culture and economics. He first used the term 'the culture industry' as a way to describe the process of integrating culture into civilisation, which he saw as a negation of true culture.

Transforming culture into a gigantic institution of popular education creates an affirmative conception of culture, which serves as a means of manipulating the masses into accepting the hegemony (Adorn, 1997, 102).

His overriding concern was that capitalism blurred the distinction between false needs and true needs and that the culture industry within capitalist societies manipulated the population by producing and circulating cultural commodities and so creating a need. He argued that people became passive because the consumption

of popular culture was 'easy pleasure' making people 'docile and content' and consequently they accepted their economic circumstances rather than rising up against the power structures and seeking more emancipation.

Gramsci talks about museums as places of education through which the state creates citizens with the aims of developing civilisation. (Bennett, 1995) He saw culture as a way for the ruling elite to create new ideologies that kept dominant groups in power by mutual consent.

Museums have been instruments for achieving government aims in relation to bringing art to the people. In 2006 Secretary of State for Culture Tessa Jowell talked to the Museums Association conference about 'the culture offer'. As a conference delegate I listened with interest and speculated about my own programmes and how much they faced outwards, towards the public or inwards at the museum itself. The implications of this term 'cultural *offer*' signaled a shift for publicly funded museums: they became proactive and rather than a service *for* the education sector they market their activities *toward* the public. Government funding is available only to those who can demonstrate that the services they offer have been taken up by the public, especially those groups who are marginalised or who are not regular museum goers.

From 1997 when the Department for Culture, Media and Sport was established, the Labour government made a clear commitment to making those organisations in receipt of state support accountable to the public in terms of what was achieved. DCMS required Performance Indicators to record the number of visitors to each exhibition or event. Recently the way in which these figures are collected was changed so that they now want to see visitor numbers divided by age. The previous division was about whether the activity took place onsite or offsite. This signals a change in emphasis where it is considered to be important that young people are accessing cultural activities. It is also a requirement for data that museums are not able to collect, because unlike the theatre going public who buy tickets, audiences

for non-ticketed arts events and exhibitions can come and go without leaving their demographic information. The DCMS funding agreement from 2005–2008 required increased arts attendance by 'priority groups', that is, social class C2DE and black and other ethnic minorities and the disabled. In order not to endanger the level of DCMS funding arts institutions were required to increase attendance by these groups.

In *Culture, Class, Distinction* 2009 Bennett et al revisit the work of Pierre Bourdieu in the context of 21st Century Britain. Bourdieu is still very useful when we try to talk about what culture is and I will go into more detail in chapter 6. He says that we need to talk about culture in the anthropological sense, to reconnect 'elaborated' taste with 'elementary' taste if we are to properly understand cultural practices. Pleasure is a key factor for most gallery visitors as attendance and participation are voluntary. The theme of events which are especially popular with young people, draw on cultural forms that exist outside the gallery and are found in everyday situations like food, music, dance.

One cannot fully understand cultural practices unless 'culture', in the restricted, normative sense of ordinary usage, is brought back into 'culture' in the anthropological sense, and the elaborated taste for the most refined objects is reconnected with the elementary taste for the flavours of food (Bourdieu, 1984: 1).

This is particularly useful in understanding the kinds of events that have been successful at bridging the gap between a public who are non-gallery users and the artworks that they are being encouraged to see.

Education programmes in museums

When museums were first opened up to the public in the mid C19 it was the curator of exhibitions who talked to school groups. At this time, museums were the main vehicle for educating the populace. With the advent of mandatory education for children, schools quickly took over the function of educating the public. This brought with it debates about how and by whom educational activities should be

conducted. Issues about who was best trained to educate in the museum begin to surface and in 1853 Professor Edward Forbes argued that curators 'may be prodigies of learning and yet unfit for their posts,' if they don't know anything about pedagogy (Hein, 1998: 5).

After the 1920s, the new generation of curators were less interested in the public's use of museums and more interested in collections. Increasing demand for museum tours was considered too much of a drain on a curator's time. This soon led to the employment of education officers to do this work; in addition, school teachers were encouraged to teach their own students within the museum environment. The first school's officers were appointed in museums in 1900, the first educational post at the Tate Gallery was appointed in 1915. The number of education officers increased during the 1930's and by 1963 there were 34 museum education services. That increased to a total of 48 by 1967. In 1983, there were 362 specialist education posts in Britain in 154 museums. It was also during the 1980's that using museum collections became a requirement of the National Curriculum in History at KS 1 and 2 and Unit 9 Art and Design.

The insistence that education lies at the heart of museums is made in the Museums Association Annual report of 1992-93. A report commissioned by the Department for National Heritage led to two surveys carried out in 1994 and 1995. The findings were collated into a report by David Anderson and published in 1997 and republished as *Museums in the Learning Age* in (1999) for DCMS. The report identified 755 specialist education staff in 375 museum services. It also found that one-third of the 566 museums responding to the survey made provision for museum education 'on a limited level', and that half offered absolutely no service at all. Only 23 per cent had a museum education policy. 3 per cent of all paid and voluntary staff were education specialists and only 37 per cent had received any help from local education authority advisers. Since 1997 the Labour government has been much more centrally directive calling for museums to develop their provision for learning. (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007)

This has been driven by the ideological convictions of government that culture must be socially inclusive, accountable and used more by schools (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 6).

For education officials in government, museums and other cultural bodies lie beyond the known world of formal education and, what's more, are institutions which themselves often do not want educational responsibilities. Both traditional views of the role of museums in learning fail to acknowledge the vast body of research that now exists on the value of informal and self-directed learning through culture. Cultural democracy can only be achieved if museums and other institutions now give priority to public learning (Anderson, 1997).

As we can see from the Anderson report the status of educational work has remained relatively low. We can see that a very limited number of specialist educators are appointed at senior levels and that the allocation of staff, resources and specialist training are inadequate for an area of work considered central to the museum's purpose. In relation to the state funded education sector, Education Curators in museums are paid 42% less than teachers in schools after 10 years of employment (Charman, 2005) and they are paid less than curators in exhibitions teams. This demonstrates the relative value that is placed on this work in relation to other functions of the museum and to the formal education system.

Intellectual hierarchies have been very prominent at Tate: this means that academic, collection based areas of work have at times been more highly valued than those in which people, visitors and audiences are the focus. These internal hierarchies have meant that museum education programmes have been distanced from the primacy of curatorial decisions about the object. Instead, they have focused on learning about the objects themselves rather than thinking about the museum as a site or context in which we encounter certain pre-selected cultural objects.

In her essay, Education versus Entertainment Mary Jane Jacobs discusses the complexity of engaging the public in a way that is meaningful to them:

To respect audience is also to understand that people 'do' come to museums to learn. The public doesn't have to have a type of anaesthetized learning, to be entertained and then surprised they were educated in the process. The information we give does not have to be simplified and reductive because we are addressing a broader, so-called uninitiated public. More complex, deeper meanings do not necessarily mean more information (have more art history packed in), but can come about through a participatory process. We don't need to prescribe to a deficiency syndrome by which we view the audience as lacking knowledge. Learning, understanding, and appreciating art can start with what people already know and build other meanings from there. In encouraging visitors' stories to emerge, museum staff can become both teacher and student in an exchange that can re-inform our practice (Jacobs, 2000).

There has been a shift in the way in which we think about our relations with the audience. In the past attitudes to learning in the museum were more about didactic, transmission models in which the public would be filled with facts about an object. In recent years, there has been a shift towards recognising the background and personal cultural history of the public as a vital part of the way in which they encounter works of art. Learning activities are sometimes criticised as dumbing down the 'truth' about the work as a means to open the doors to a new audience. Education Curators would argue that in good education practice widening the demographic is not an end in itself, instead the focus is on allowing for multiple readings to take place and for many different voices to be heard speaking about art.

Willis talks about de-institutionalising museums and galleries. He insists that to make high-art institutions relevant to young people they must colonise them (Willis, 1990). This is happening: I have witnessed over a number of years, that the culture at Tate moved from a dominant pre-occupation with the art-object and associated scholarship, to a culture that embraces young people's activities. The advent of Young Tate as a senior management priority in 2005 (Jackson et al, 2006) to create a young people's programme across all four Tate sites demonstrated the importance of this work to the institution as a whole.

The status of education work has been low but is currently improving. The rhetoric of 'learning at the heart' of new conceptions of the modern museum is writ large.

Conclusion

It is clear that the changing values of societies have a profound impact on the cultural landscape of their time. It is also clear that in the UK since the mid 1900s all governments, albeit with different emphases, have recognised the importance of making cultural heritage available to the public. The direct impact of this on gallery programmes has not been analysed in any depth.

There exists a dual purpose for the art museum running throughout its history on the one hand to educate and edify the public and on the other for preservation and for scholarly research to produce expert knowledge. As I have discussed in this chapter collections that were previously seen only by the aristocracy were opened up to working and middle-class visitors, after the mid 19th Century with the aim of making 'better', 'improved', more 'stable' people, museums were seen as 'civilising agencies'. Whilst middle class people *did* start to frequent cultural events there has been little success in opening up to working class visitors. Connoisseurs, experts and intellectuals continue to appreciate museum collections and whilst increased interpretive material means that the 'cabinet of curiosities' approach is no longer commonplace, they are still not intelligible to everyone. Attempts to expand audiences could be seen as a way to legitimate the existing social order, cultural domination and Bourdieu's notion of 'symbolic violence' will be considered in more depth in Chapter 6.

The purpose of my research is to gain a better understanding of what and how young people learn in the gallery. When the emphasis is on peer-led learning, meaning making and building cultural confidence: how does the socio-cultural, political and art context of the gallery impact on their learning? Through historical and contextual study combined with theoretical underpinning and research I will examine the value of this type of informal learning, as well as better understand the barriers that disconnect some young people from modern and contemporary art galleries. I will explore the question of the gallery's purpose. Is the purpose of

opening up the gallery simply to acculturate a new generation of young people to passively 'appreciate' the art on show or should we encourage young people to question the hegemony that exists in the interpretation of modern and contemporary art?

In particular, my research will focus on the following questions:
How does the ideology of gallery educators' impact on the teaching and learning that takes place and the way it is structured?
How is the learner as subject imagined in this pedagogical practice?
Does the pedagogy presume a particular subject?
Is this ethical?

In the following chapter, I will introduce the specific context of Tate as a learning environment; key issues that relate to the development of gallery policy and educational practice there and my research context: the *Raw Canvas* programme.

Chapter 3
Young people learning at Tate Modern

Chapter 3 provides an introduction to Tate; to the specific issues around youth programmes in galleries and to *Raw Canvas*, Tate's initiative for young people, which forms the basis for this study.

In 2000, the first group of *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders participated in a branding exercise. This consisted of 10 workshops facilitated by *Upstream* a young start-up design company. During the branding process, the peer-leaders were asked to situate *Raw Canvas* in relation to other brands. Significantly, they were asked to think about where *Raw Canvas* sat in relation to Tate itself; was it positioned inside, part of, the Tate brand or outside of it as an independent organization? There was much discussion about this and an overall consensus that Raw Canvas was not entirely separate – the peer-leaders wanted *Raw Canvas* to sit apart from Tate but to still be connected: under the umbrella of Tate but with their own identity. It is the context in which such a symbiotic relationship was established, between parent organization and young offshoot that I would like to tease out in this chapter. The rest of the thesis shall explore whether that symbiosis was in fact nourishing or restrictive.

An introduction to Tate
Tate is a family of four art galleries housing the UK's collection of British art from 1500 and of international modern art. It is a group of four art galleries linked together within a single organisation. In addition to the galleries is Tate Online, which provides content and what's on information to support and extend the gallery offer to visitors and to those who, for reasons of geography, may never visit one of the Tate galleries.

Over the decade from 1992-2002, Tate's overriding aim was to develop galleries in London and the regions in order to display more of the national collection to ever-broader audiences. In the decade to 2012, the priority was to create a more stable financial position and to enhance the Collection of artworks held by Tate to represent a greater number of international artists.

Access is a high priority for Tate with a diversity working group set up in 2006 to tackle issues of widening participation across the organisation. A report entitled *Tate for All* was published setting out the organisations aims in relation to creating a more diverse workforce, greater access for diverse audiences and an enhanced range of art works.

What does Tate do?

Tate is a place of scholarship with it's own research centre, Collection, acquisitions and conservation departments. The organisation has extensive relationships with Universities, other museums, schools and media partners.

Tate is also a place of learning with education and visitor services departments in all four galleries creating opportunities for the public to engage directly with art works. Visitor numbers at Tate have far exceeded expectations and have instigated the reinvention of the art gallery as a destination for leisure and tourism as well as for art connoisseurs.

Nicholas Serota has been the Director of Tate since 1988 and is committed to the art on show being available to as many people as possible. Highlighting Tate's attractiveness as a place where original art work can be seen by first time visitors and regular gallery goers alike. He said:

A first encounter with a work of art can be a revelation, but being able to return to it can lead to a profound relationship over a lifetime (Serota in Tate Report 2004, 5).

The focus of my research is Tate Modern as I worked there for 12 years. I am particularly interested in the ways that educational practice developed there and I will illuminate the context in which that took place during this chapter.

Tate Modern opened in May 2000. Tate gallery policy has evolved quickly during the 14 years since Tate Modern opened. This has been largely to adapt to the needs of increased audience demand; to meet government requirements for measuring the number and demographic profile of visitors; engaging with diversity agendas; responding to a general increase in internationalisation and changes in economic circumstances.

The change to Department for Culture, Media and Sport's reporting process that was introduced from 2005-8 meant that the gallery was required to provide Performance Indicators (PI's) on an annual basis. This impacted on the nature of educational provision particularly in relation to youth programmes whose underlying remit was one of audience development. With the introduction of PI's gallery staff were required to count the numbers of people attending each activity. This attention to counting the number of visitors over emphasised the importance of 'bums-on-seats' and this was, at times, to the detriment of providing quality, in depth experiences for participants.

In 2001, government funding was made available that provided free entry to museums across the UK. With this came a greater accountability to government and a greater insistence from government to engage with increasing numbers of hard-to-reach groups. This emphasised the importance of the galleries engagement with non-attenders and non-traditional audiences which effected the provision available to young people who were already motivated and had come to gallery of their own volition.

Learning at the Centre

During the period of my research, there has been a dramatic shift in the status of learning in the gallery. Once seen as an additional activity, education is now seen as the museums core purpose. The idea that learning enhances the economic and cultural standing of the museum: if moved to the core of an organization is a recent notion.

The desire to place learning philosophically at the centre of the organisation is a popular ideology across many organisations in the cultural sector. In 2009 plans were being developed for an extension to Tate Modern, significantly new spaces in which learning can take place are proposed as follows:

New, high-quality areas for learning, discussion and reflection will be placed among the new building's gallery spaces (Tate Annual report, 2009-10: 55).

It is significant that these spaces are to 'be placed among the new building's gallery spaces'. As such, they are an integral part of the new building rather than an addition or an afterthought. Previously popular has been the model of an education wing where educational activities are separated and arguably ghettoized by such separation. To be integrated across the building and with the galleries is significant.

There will also be state-of-the art learning spaces integrated into the galleries. (Tate Annual report, 10-11: 2)

By 2010, the proposed learning spaces are not just 'placed among' but 'integrated into' the galleries.

In April 2011 the opening of the Clore Learning Centre marked the start of a more integrated approach to learning and programming at Tate. The impact of the spaces will be felt across the current gallery and in the new building, where learning will play a central role (Tate Annual report, 2010-11).

And in 2011, 'learning will play a central role'. This is the outward sign of a tough internal battle that has been waged over many years. The struggle has been to elevate the status of educational activity at the gallery. To make it more than just an add-on for those who are lacking in knowledge but an integral and equal part of the organisation's scholarly and conservation roles.

Each organisation navigates their multiple public roles in different ways. The nature of the art on show at Southbank Centre and the lack of a collection base are some of the reasons why there is an easier relationship between art, participation and learning in that organisation. In the following quote learning is described as 'the foundation of the organisations work' and this is supported by the organisational structure, see following.

Southbank Centre's artistic programme encourages visitors to learn, contribute and take part. The learning and participation programme, which is the foundation of the organisations work, ranges from: free events and exhibitions to in depth learning projects and longer-term participatory work (Kings' College, London & Southbank Centre press release, 11.02.2011).

Where the varying roles of the organisation compete for status it is possible for hierarchies to become established between departments. These have been described as 'intellectual hierarchies' by Jung (2011) and can significantly influence the activities and processes of the organisation. In her paper *The art museum ecosystem: a new alternative model* (2011), Jung draws on Bateson (2000) and Rancière (2009).

A museum that imposes what it believes to be relevant knowledge through its exhibitions and programs presupposes an intellectual hierarchy, with museum professionals at the top and visitors at the bottom (Y.Jung, 2011: 332).

She presents a familiar, hierarchical model of museum structure in which the Director sits at the top and passes directives down to Exhibition Curators who then pass to the Education team. This diagram illustrates the low status of education in

relation to curatorial and conservation activities. This hierarchy is one which Tate Modern has been actively trying to address through the new building extension.

Diagram 1. Mechanical Museum (Y.Jung, 2011)
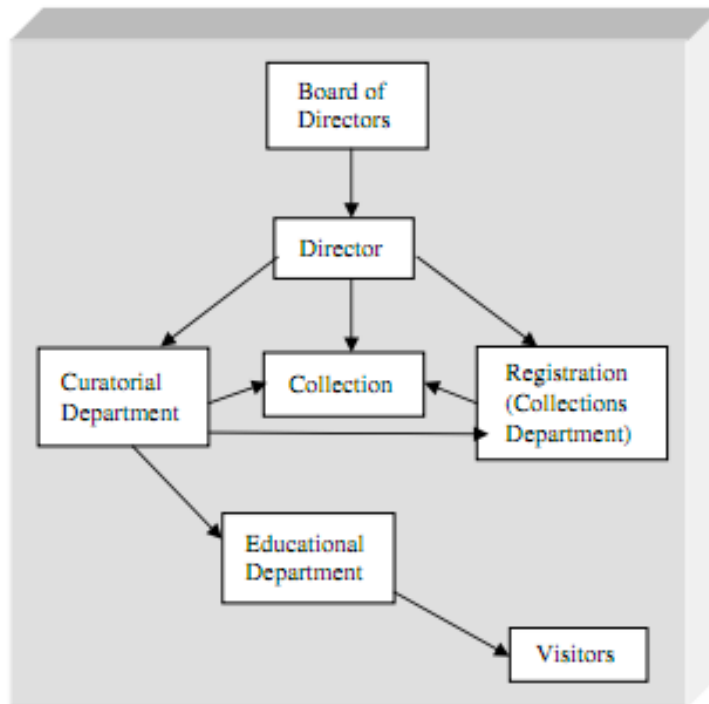
1. Mechanical museum model.

Jung goes on to propose a new and less hierarchical model in which dialogue and exchange characterise the relations between departments. Jung's discussion is an attempt to shed light on the hierarchical models that already exist and to propose some non-hierarchical structures for museums through which learning can be brought to the centre.

By failing to embrace diverse perspectives, museums may limit their potential audiences, creating an intellectual hierarchy between them and their audiences (Jung 2010b).

Diagram 2. Ecological Museum (Y.Jung, 2011)
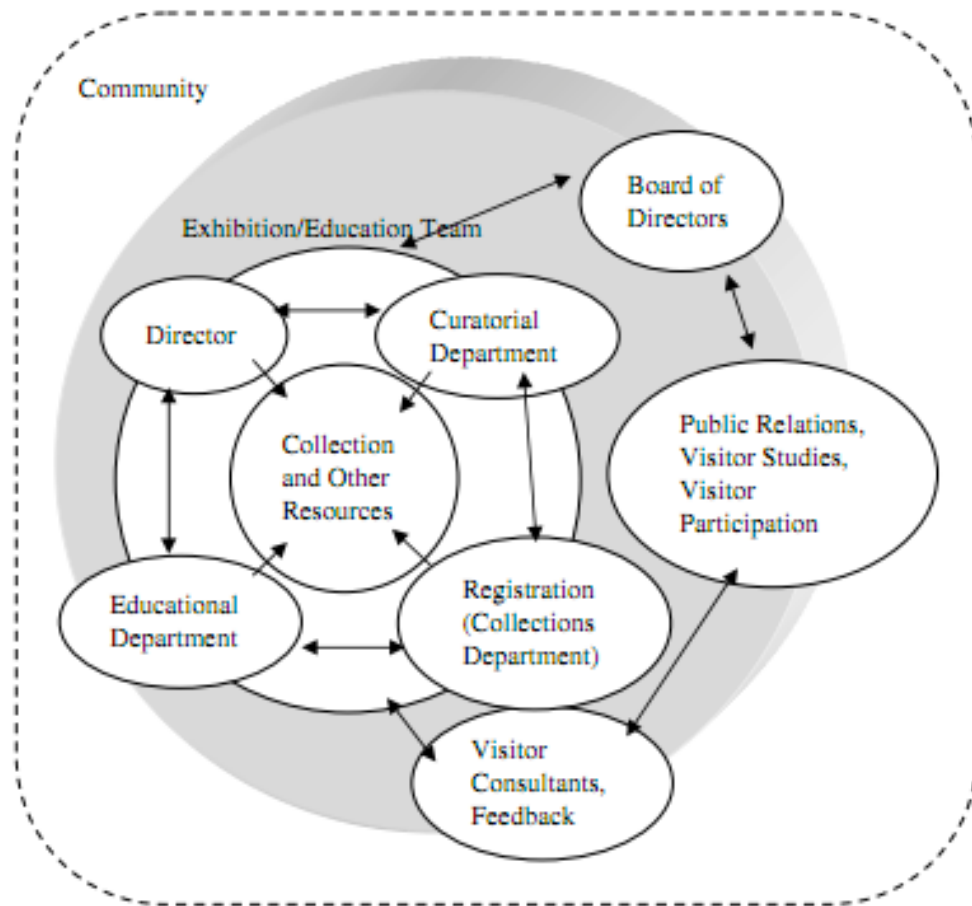
gure 2. Ecological museum model.

The people who have achieved a place at the top of intellectual, economic, and social hierarchies tend to sustain the system for their own gain, and they benefit from their privileged position and often do not feel the need to challenge the flaws of the system or consider the well-being of the people with less power (Fleming, 2002 referenced in Jung, 2011: 334).

During my research period from 2000 – 2011, Tate was a context where intellectual hierarchies flourished. The Tate organisational structure (2011), as seen below, resembles a tree with the branches and leaves 'growing' from the Director who is seen at the top with the next line of staff at arms length and in a line. This diagrammatic portrayal is not circular it is layered with Learning placed at the bottom, and far from the centre. It is also telling that the Director of Learning is

more closely affiliated with the other audience focused positions, that of Director of Visitor Experience and Estates, rather than with the more scholarly roles of gallery Director or Director of Conservation Care.

Diagram 3 Tate organisation structure (www.tate.org.uk accessed 4.11.11).

Tate Organisation Structure
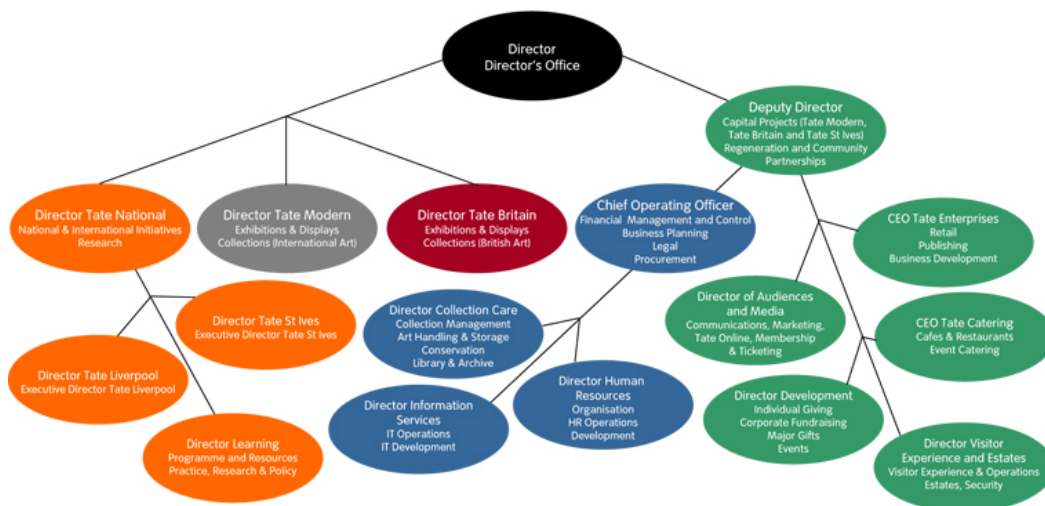
I hopefully anticipate a new organizational diagram to accompany the new building extension at Tate Modern, one which illustrates the change is status of learning within the organisation.

The Southbank Centre in London shows different forms of arts and culture alongside one another. Whilst for the public this creates an exciting cacophony of performances, events and exhibitions the picture internally within the organisation displays some of the familiar problems associated with the hierarchies of knowledge. One example of this is that the Hayward Gallery which, on occasion, considers itself to be marginalised in the broader narrative of the Southbank Centre as a whole. Is this because the gallery has been asked to sit alongside the other art forms rather than occupying its previous position as jewel in the crown? The visual arts have traditionally occupied a position of high status in relation to other art forms and Southbank Centre is trying to create a more level relationship between the arts.

Introduction to Raw Canvas

Raw Canvas is the key research focus discussed in the rest of the thesis. Initially funded by the Paul Hamlyn Foundation *Raw Canvas* was a key project for Tate Modern. It was established well before the gallery opened to the public as a means to engage local young people in the building and design process. As such, *Raw Canvas* occupied a critical role at Tate Modern, connected but distinct from the main gallery activities. What follows is a detailed overview of the programme. The analysis of data that comes later in this thesis is based around the content, structure and philosophy of *Raw Canvas*. This insert should enable the reader to grasp the purpose, aims, organisation and content of the programme*.*

Raw Canvas was invented as a learning programme for Tate Modern in 1998-99 and based on the Young Tate programme at Tate Liverpool (1994-2012). It was devised by: Toby Jackson Head of Interpretation and Education; Caro Howell, Curator for Youth Programmes at Tate Modern (1998-2002) with advice from Naomi Horlock, Curator for Youth Programmes at Tate Liverpool (1992-2010). I worked on both the Tate Liverpool and Tate Modern youth programmes as an Artist Educator before taking over as Youth Programmes Curator in 2002. The aim was mainly to increase the number of 15 to 23 year olds who were visiting the gallery. The methodology was to do this collaboratively 'with' young people rather than constructing a programme 'for' them. It had a specific pedagogic approach that aimed at inclusion. Broadly, the remit was to attract young people who were disengaged, perhaps disenfranchised, not currently users of the gallery. There was no specific audience 'group' as young people would come as individuals, on their own terms, outside of the school or college setting. Much of the work to be done was marketing, outreach and audience development. A year-long programme of public events for young people based locally and those who travelled from across the UK or were visiting from overseas. Raw Canvas attracted young people from a range of contexts. The only stipulations were that they were between the ages of 15 and 23 and they came on their own or with friends. The programme consisted of large-scale events in the

Turbine Hall, café areas, outside the gallery on the river bank or in multiple locations across the gallery simultaneously. There would be 4 -6 such large scale events during each year. In addition there were weekly workshops which took place in the gallery and consisted of 1 or 2 workshops per week for groups of around 20 people; a week long summer course for 15-17 year olds and one for 18-23 year olds and a 12 week training course. All events were organised to attract new audiences and try to retain them. The ambition was that the young people would become regular gallery visitors and that word of Tate Modern would spread 'virally' through their friendship networks and in so doing attract newcomers.

Raw Canvas sat alongside Tate Modern's schools programme. The schools programme focused on providing opportunities for teachers and pupils to 'learn to look', by developing skills for critical observation, rather than creative workshops. The programme was distinctive in its attention to critical looking, discussing, sharing ideas and 'making meaning'. *Raw Canvas* shared this interpretive approach but did not involve teachers and school groups. *Raw Canvas* sought to reach young people as individuals and to provide opportunities within the gallery, which were not associated with the academic or institutional character of schools or colleges.

Aims, context and structure of Raw Canvas

Aims
Raw Canvas was a programme designed for young adults and run by young adults at Tate Modern from 1999-2011. The aims were written in 2001 by; myself, Caro Howell and the first cohort of *Raw Canvas* who engaged in the aforementioned branding workshops to articulate the purpose of *Raw Canvas* and explore strategies for communicating that with the public. The direction and purpose of the programme was derived in consultation with Toby Jackson, Head of Education at Tate Modern and Naomi Horlock, Curator for Youth Programmes at Tate Liverpool. These aims were originally articulated in a funding application to the Paul Hamlyn Foundation in 1999.

The aims of the programme were:

1. To provide a programme of activities that is run by young adults, for young adults.

2. To encourage 15 – 23 year olds to use the gallery as independent visitors.

3. To create a structure from which young people's ideas and opinions about art and the way it is displayed can be heard.

4. To advise Tate on issues concerning young people as users of the gallery.

5. To continually develop new strategies for peer-led education.

6. To provide a framework of activities through which young people can access modern and contemporary art.

7. To create a forum for learning about and discussing key debates in modern and contemporary art.

Context

The programme was intended to attract 15 – 23 year olds, from any socio-cultural group, but with particular emphasis on those who were not regular gallery visitors.

Raw Canvas was accountable to The Paul Hamlyn Foundation with the submission of six monthly reports. After 2005 it was accountable to Tate via the submission of 'P.I.'s' 'Performance Indicator' figures, compiled as part of the annual submission to the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. *Raw Canvas* fitted into the Government strategy for the arts to reach out to 'marginalised' groups or communities (Arts Council England, Taking Part briefing, 2008). *Raw Canvas* received support from the Learning and Visitor services teams and was considered to be an important component in Tate's mission to reach new audiences.

The definition of a 'new' audience is ever changing. Originally, following the Gulbenkian Report of 1999 'new' were young people between the ages of 15 and 23. The definition of a 'new' audience changed in 2005 to be young people from hard to reach groups rather than those of a specific age. Like many learning curators I accepted this shift without question as it fitted with my aspirations for art becoming more accessible, it fitted my political aspirations for a fair and democratic society. I

did not anticipate what a fundamental pedagogic shift it would make to the programmes that I ran.

In 2005 Tate's Senior Management pushed for Young Tate to be a national programme and declared young, out of school, audiences a priority for the gallery, this coincided with the DCMS funding agreement 2005-2008 which required increased arts attendance by priority groups that is social class C2DE, black and other ethnic minorities and the disabled. This had the effect of promoting an increase in large-scale, popular events that drew upon young people's street culture as a way into gallery programmes.

Structure
The staff structure and roles meant that as far as possible young people were working alongside the Curator and Assistant Curator to develop and deliver the programme. The staff team consisted of:

Curator: 3 days a week, coordinator, programmer and chair.

Assistant Curator: 2 days a week, administrator and contact person for young people.

Artist Educators: sessional work, leading training course and coaching peer-leaders to deliver own events.

10 *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders: sessional work, planning, organising, marketing and delivering events.

20 *Raw Canvas* trainee peer-leaders: who attended a 12-week training course, on a part time basis. Learning to work at the gallery and put on events.

Operationally, *Raw Canvas* held a monthly General Meeting, in the evening. This was attended by peer-leaders and artist educators; chaired by the Curator for Youth Programmes with minutes taken by the Assistant Curator. This was the meeting in which programming took place. *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders pitched in ideas for events and activities and small groups were formed to deliver projects. Attendees shaped the public events programme during the meeting by reporting back and reflecting

upon recent events and using this evaluation to plan forthcoming activities. The Curator for Youth Programmes brought information about forthcoming exhibitions and shared with the group, after which ideas were pooled and plans began to form in response to specific exhibitions. Small working groups were formed at the General Meeting and those groups then met regularly to plan and devise specific elements of an event. Roles included: marketing, research and workshop delivery. In chapter 5, I will elaborate on the monthly General Meeting through a case study to demonstrate how a project to build a skate park emerged through Raw Canvas' discussion of an anticipated 'Futurism' exhibition at the gallery.

There were training activities, public events and team meetings. Public events were varied: from in-depth, week long summer courses to drop in afternoons. Participants could choose to come in a fairly passive role as an audience member, just there to observe. Or they could take a more intrinsic and participatory role in practically focused courses, like video editing or animation. Following that, they could sign up for a training course and become a member of the peer-leaders team. The type and level of participation was up to the individual to select, all routes were open to everyone.

There were 400 participants each year in the pilot years: 2000 – 2003 rising to 10,000 young participants in the year 2008 and settling at around 5000 participants thereafter.

Young people and inclusion
The underlying emphasis of the *Raw Canvas* programme was that it would include greater numbers of young people in contemporary cultural learning. Initiatives that aim to include young people have been widespread over the past 10-15 years and, as Milestone points out in a newspaper article in 1999, 'youth' is 'now a new social category defined by age'.

...the collision of increased standards of living, more leisure time, the explosion of post-war consumer culture and wider psychological research into adolescents all contributed to the formation of this new social category defined by age (Milestone, 1999).

Post-war Britain embraced Youth culture but the drive to make all things accessible to this new social category, has been fuelled in recent years by a middle-aged idea of what youth needs and wants rather than by a youth led agenda.

During the 1990s, much evaluation was carried out and many reports were written about young people's cultural habits. The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, London commissioned Paul Willis to develop this line of enquiry and in 1995 they published Paul Willis, *Moving Culture: An enquiry into the cultural activities of young people*. In that year, Willis also published *Common Culture: Symbolic work at play in the everyday experiences of the young* through the Open University Press. Both publications explore the cultural consumption of fashion, media, style and music consumed by young people in their everyday lives and the relationship between their day-to-day cultural interests and 'high art' as experienced in the institutions that show and promote it.

... for the majority of the young, the institutionalised and increasingly standardised arts have absolutely no place in their lives. Many have a negative view: the arts are seen as remote and institutional, the preserve of art galleries, museums and concert halls that are 'not for the likes of us (Willis, 1995: 9).

Paul Willis's findings have been influential on the development of youth programmes at Tate; much of the evaluative work written about young people and the arts centres on participation rather than appreciation. Willis however 'blurred the distinctions between the two types of activity by proposing that young people 'consume' cultural products 'creatively' by imbuing them with personal symbolic values.' (Selwood et al, 1995) The desire to creatively consume cultural products demonstrates why constructivist ideas have influenced galleries who are seeking to engage young people.

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Contemporary cultural advantage is pursued not through cultivating exclusive forms of snobbishness or modernist abstraction but through the capacity to link, bridge and span diverse and proliferating cultural worlds (Bennett et al, 2009: 39).

Young Tate and *Raw Canvas* activities aim to give young people the ability to link, bridge and span diverse cultural worlds. They also aim to give young people cultural confidence as a means to becoming more in control of their own life choices. Bennett et al acknowledge that there is a fundamental difference between those who pass judgments or hold views and those who do not. In fostering young people to be *critical* consumers and consultants about issues that concern them at the museum, the ability to form opinions is key.

The evolution of educational practice at Tate Modern

The education department at Tate Modern, led by Toby Jackson from 1998 - 2004, incorporated the interpretation team as well and all of the activities of the department were considered to be essentially about interpretation. Some art historians have talked about the importance of the viewer in making meaning. As a department we talked a lot about the idea of the audience coming with their own lived experiences and that these experiences form part of the way that we look at art.

The question at the time was what does it mean to be in a gallery space and not a classroom? What kinds of interaction are possible here? Art & Design teaching in schools and colleges was in crisis, nothing worked. We had the opportunity to create new sites for learning. To experiment with different ways of engaging with contemporary practice (from interview with Jackson, 2009).

We were very much involved in thinking about the audiences for art, probably because there were so many visitors but also because with the re-hang and the new programmes, we had turned around the usual model of museum artefact being received by the public. We had given the public a voice and asked for their ideas about the gallery but also asked them to produce meaning about the art. As discussed earlier this was a huge departure from the idea that the compliant, 'uneducated' public who would be given meaning by the experts at the gallery. This

approach to constructing a new role for the viewing public came out of Gramsci's philosophical and social concept 'cultural hegemony'. The idea of the ruling class dominating and their ideas becoming the norm struck a chord with curators in the education team who had for a long time felt like the ruled rather than the rulers. We didn't want the new gallery-going public to be dominated by existing ideologies.

When Tate Modern opened in 2000, it took an approach to collection displays that was thematic rather than chronological as had been traditional in collection-based art museums. At that time, the learning team were very much involved in thinking about new audiences for art. In this context, the thematic hang was helpful because it allowed for discussions to take place in the gallery that referred to 'old' and 'new' works simultaneously. The context provided opportunities for discussions that focused on the process and the art object without the need to begin every discussion with the historical context of the work. Whilst this approach does not follow traditional, academic approaches to looking at art the aim was to engage new audiences and for that the non-chronological display created a productive site for discussion. The public nature of the context was very different from a school, college or university. The number of visitors far exceeded the gallery's expectations and new programmes had to be created that could cater for large numbers. With the opening of Tate Modern came a new environment for viewing modern and contemporary art, a place that was popular and untraditional. As Jackson (2009) states, 'we had to turn around the usual model of the museum artefact being received by the public'. The learning department was committed to giving the public a voice and to hearing their ideas about the gallery and the art. This was a huge departure from the idea of the compliant, uneducated public who would be given meaning by the 'experts' at the gallery.

Maurice Merleau-Ponty was also important to our ideas about looking at art: in particular the idea that the public experiences the gallery and the physical qualities of the work in space as much as the intellectual focus on what it might mean seemed important. This involved considering the human body as a perceiving and conscious

entity. The idea that the person is always 'becoming' was important to the way we thought about knowledge as something you gather and not something you learn in a finite way.

Enabling multiple voices to speak about the art was an important feature and with that the primacy of the non-expert voice. One of the key concepts that defined the department was about *giving authority to those who have none*. Mary-Jane Jacobs asked*:*

who is given authority to speak in the space of the museum? Everyone has a 'voice' and, everyone should be heard and be given the opportunity to be challenged (Mary-Jane Jacobs, 2000).

Ideas about giving a platform from which the public can speak came from Socrates and the rhetorical tradition: Socrates was the practitioner of an art of dialogue that seeks not positive knowledge but a solution to the ethical problem of how we should live our lives 'as a means of testing one's own and others' ideas, at times contesting others ideas and at times joining with others to create new ideas.' (Zappen, 2004)

Toby Jackson (2009) also discusses the importance of working from people's experience:

How experts, specialists come to know art, open this up to non-experts. Condense the theory or the philosophical thinking, use these nuggets as intellectual cues and then offer them up through text, language, image or objects as ways in to looking at the work. Starting from where people come from, what do I know, what can I bring (Interview with Jackson, 2009).

He continues:

In terms of innovation – I got away from the idea of progress in a modernist sense, the idea that progress is made in a linear way. I'm more interested in the idea of Darwin's tree of life, a tree of knowledge that spreads out and interconnects rather than one thing following another. Learning is a process of making mistakes, speculating, trying things out, testing against a hypotheses. I've always been interested in ways of

participating in culture that are different from what you may do in school or at college (Interview with Jackson, 2009).

Peer-led strategies have played an important role in diversifying audiences. Toby Jackson introduced front-end evaluation to the gallery which came from an industry led model in which new product designs would be evaluated by specialists before production started. In the context of the new gallery we did this by going directly to the target group, by asking young people what the new gallery should offer to them. Apart from consulting the audience, we also involved them to produce and direct their own programme. It was important that young people designed their own learning experiences and passed on their enthusiasm for art to their friends and peers. This produced an authentic marketing approach that was 'viral' and preceded the web-based social networking phenomena that was to follow.

Since1995, museum education has begun to emerge as a specialism in its own right and not simply a resource for the compulsory education system. Since 2006, Anna Cutler as Head of Learning at Tate Modern (and currently Director of Learning, Tate) has supported programmes that develop a greater understanding of the specificity of cultural learning and to demonstrate a clearer demarcation between the work of galleries and the formal education sector. The name of the department has changed from 'Education and Interpretation' to 'Learning'.

Cutler remarks:

If you say you're in education you're saying you believe in formal education systems and structures and hierarchies that promote an ideology that's about social conditioning… in relation to that I think this department has been a site of resistance in lots of ways
(from an interview with Cutler, 2009).

The current direction for learning at Tate Modern in 2014 is defined by Anna Cutler in her role as Director of Learning, since January 2010. The notion that the department can offer alternative approaches to learning that compliment the dominant education system holds much potential for refiguring the gallery's unique

purpose. It is also characterised by an imperative to make art accessible without ignoring the inherent complexity of the subject. Much of the work is focused on developing thinking skills that enable meaningful engagement with the art on display. In addition, a new focus on working with artists and towards opportunities for making art in the gallery is intended to open up dialogue with audiences who are currently difficult to engage with.

Conclusion

Gallery Education has only been widely practiced since the 1970s and has seen a significant increase since 1997. As such, it is still a very young area of specialism. It is important at this stage to see the ways in which the past has informed the present and to cut through a sea of rhetorical talk to examine with a critical eye what is really happening and the impact that has on young people, for good and ill. I will gather data to shed light on the question: what are the learners learning?

Current ideas on learning and equality navigate the space between the dual functions of the museum where education programmes translate scholarly knowledge for the public in a variety of ways. The drive towards equality of access has transformed the galleries relationship with the audience, through my research I aim to explore the assumptions about inequality that exist in programmes for young people in order to develop new pedagogical approaches.

Raw Canvas occupied an, at times, precarious position in relation to Tate as a whole. It was not by accident that I described Tate as the 'parent organisation' and *Raw Canvas* as a young off-shoot at the beginning of the chapter. This familial relationship describes well the status and balance of power that existed between the two. A kind of benevolent acceptance of the somewhat unruly nature of *Raw Canvas* events that the activities and ideas of young people were at times celebrated and at other times tolerated. The fragility of this relationship masks the power relations that cause learners' subject identities to be constructed in particular ways. It is the

construction of the learning subject that I shall go on to explore in greater depth through the following chapters.

This chapter has considered the evolution of policy and educational practice at Tate Modern and the impact of that for *Raw Canvas* programmes. In chapter 4, *Hermeneutics and learning in the gallery* I will develop this through theory relating to the processes of interpretation, meaning making and the conflict that arises between canonical and negotiated knowledges when devising approaches for working with young people. Chapter 6, *Pedagogies for emancipation* will explore social constructivist and critical pedagogies.

Chapter 4
Hermeneutics and learning at the gallery

Introduction

This research aims to find out what and how young people learn through gallery based, peer-led programmes and what factors influence how the gallery constructs these young people as learners.

Chapter 4 will propose some theoretical models that explore the frameworks and ideologies of gallery education practice. The theory discussed here will provide the analytical tools to understand how young people learn at the gallery, and once data is collected, to answer the overall question of what young people learn in the gallery context.

I will begin by exploring semiotics, the interpretation of art works and the production of meaning. I will give an explication of hermeneutics to understand how meaning is produced. I will go on to investigate 'canonical' versus 'negotiated knowledge' in Tate's dual role as a site for scholarly research alongside it's emancipatory aim to construct new audiences for art, I will explore the inherent ambivalence of these roles. Chapter 5 will indicate how and why certain pedagogies emerge as a result of such practices.

The interpretation of art works and the production of meaning.

It is self evident that galleries contain art works and that those artworks are made by artists. When the artist makes the work its meaning is often fluid, ambiguous and sometimes opaque. The artist presents the viewer with a proposition; this is open and left for the viewer to draw their own conclusions. As a result, a particular relation is established between artist and viewer around the 'object'. The artist investigates an idea through their work and offers the investigation up to the

viewing public, often they don't know entirely what it's about, it is shown in order for the viewer to complete the circle – to add their own ideas to the work thus constructing an interpretation and new 'circles' of meaning.

All of the works on show at Tate have been seen somewhere before or are made by well-known artists. Known to collectors and the art markets they have a significant value as cultural commodities. Once constituted as 'culturally significant' the works become authoritative, they are written about and have a dual existence as a visual object and as a text, through language they are accepted into the canon of art history. I will return to the powerful impact of language on the process of interpretation, for the time being I will continue to explore the way in which meaning is constructed by and for the learner.

An artist may or may not choose to write about their work, often the major body of texts will be written by art historians, journalists and curators. By the time it is shown at Tate there already exists a lot of art historical critique about any given work. The artwork, the artist's intentions (if known) and the production of texts around it all contribute to the contextual information that explains the work. This contextual information is seen as authoritative and un-contestable, it becomes canonical knowledge. Art historians Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson (1991) question the authority of the art historical voice. They talk about the 'intention' of an artwork, that the viewer makes their own interpretation and that the artwork holds no implicit meaning within itself. In their view it only starts to have meaning when a person looks at it.

Rather than being a 'relay' conveying an intention from artist to viewer, the work is thus an occasion for performance in the' field' of it's meaning – where no single performance is capable of actualising or totalising all of the works semantic potential. However coherent or persuasive a given interpretation may be a remainder not acted upon, a 'reserve' of details that escape the interpretive net (Meike Bal & Norman Bryson, 1991: 3).

Helen Charman and Michaela Ross explore some difficulties for learners in the acceptance of a non-canonical, non-authoritative voice in their 2006 study of teachers in the Tate Modern Summer Institute.

The notion that works of contemporary visual art can have multiple interpretations which are created by the viewer is the alternative to a traditional approach to understanding an art work which emphasises the transmission of meaning from teacher to pupil (Charman and Ross, 2006: 31).

The concept of multiple interpretations is treated with suspicion by some because of anxiety about the possibility of a viewer making meanings that are not intended by the artist. Charman and Ross (2006) talk about teachers learning strategies for reading art works.

the group exhibited an enthusiasm to identify a single authoritative voice to deliver what was considered the definitive meaning of the work. Most often this 'true' voice was taken to be the artist's intention. If this strategy failed, another authoritative voice was substituted, most commonly that of the art historian (Charman and Ross, 2006: 32).

In Youth Programmes at Tate Modern, young people are encouraged to form their own interpretations of art works and not to rely on the pre-existing canonical knowledge about a work. The interpretation is made as a result of the facilitator inviting the participants to make a personal response to the work and their responses are then tested against and challenged by canonical knowledge. Participants formulate their own opinions of the work, they also discover their own areas of interest and these personal points of interest are developed into proposals for events and activities. The proposals are presented to curators and to their peers for approval, modification or rejection. This loosely constituted group validate (or not), by providing funding and support to fulfill some ideas and not others. There are no specific criteria here but the artwork itself provides an anchor point against which the idea is tested. A successful proposal is one, which remains 'true' to the work whilst also providing a new perspective on modern and contemporary art. Mixing the intention of the work with a new cultural form, about Picasso for

example is seen as a successful idea (see fig. 1). Here a productive relationship is formed between the cultural forms of painting and rapping facilitating a dialogue between Picasso and the contemporary world of the interpreter. 'Truth' here is not universal 'truth' but is limited to that which has local significance for the viewer. Hermeneutics provides a useful framework to examine the processes by which an artwork becomes meaningful to the learner. 'Truth', in the educational model at Tate Modern, is produced locally through a negotiation between the object, the past and current experience of the viewer and the contextual information about the work. That triadic relation could be described in hermeneutical terms as the object, the 'fore structure' of the interpreters understanding and the tradition of art history. Although temptingly neat, the triadic relation is disrupted by the bipartite interpreter in gallery learning programmes, because, when coming across an artwork for the first time, the interpreter is both learner and facilitator simultaneously, I will attempt to model these ideas later in my diagram of the hermeneutic circle.

The emancipatory function of youth programmes, places great importance on the potential of meaning making for giving power to the disenfranchised individual. Before the 1832 Reform Act galleries and museums were only open to the upper classes, it was thought that only the upper classes had the sensibility to appreciate art (Selwood, Clive and Irving, 1994), the general public was only allowed into museums from the mid C19. The ideology of emancipation argues that learning to interpret the visual and to make meaning from the world around you is a vital part of person formation. Semiotics is a vital part of the meaning making process. Since C.S. Peirce explored the idea of semiotics in the 1860's it has been widely accepted that 'reading' an artwork doesn't come naturally, it is learned. Peirce states that "all thought is in signs" (Peirce, 1868: 104) and that semiosis is "action, or influence, which is, or involves, a cooperation of three subjects, such as a sign, its object, and its interpretant, this tri-relative influence not being in any way resolvable into actions between pairs". (Peirce, 1907) In order to 'read' an artwork a viewer doesn't interpret the object without a sign, or make sense of a sign without an object,

equally without the interpreter's 'interpretant', object and sign have no meaning therefore the process of interpretation involves all three elements.

Post-structural principles (Barthes, 1977) assert that an artwork doesn't have an essential meaning, although the artist/author has an intention, the work only exists in the space between the viewer and the work itself, it is the reader or viewer who creates a proliferation of meanings around the work. Therefore, what the viewer brings to the work will play a significant role in any readings that are made. It follows that if you introduce more people to art with a range of different backgrounds then you will get a plurality of readings. If we accept that the identity of each viewer is active in the process of meaning making then it follows that identity affects the interpretation reached. As such, group work is extremely beneficial when discussing possible meanings for an artwork, to enable many interpretive voices to suggest different possibilities. Different interpretations are made and with them an acknowledgement of varying viewpoints, it is up to the facilitator to summarise by repeating the range of views back to the group. And in order to establish a pool of possibilities that are relevant to all the interpretive agents peer-to-peer discussion is particularly valuable. It is here that the educator must decide how much 'conviviality' as described by Bourriaud (1998) and how much 'agonistic' debate as described by Bishop (2004) to allow.

Hermeneutics

I have found that hermeneutics offers a theoretical tool which helps me to analyse the role of the individual in the production of meaning. Hermeneutics is the study of interpretation and meaning. The word 'hermeneutic' comes from Hermes, the messenger of the Greek Gods. Hermes task was to interpret what the gods wanted to say and translate it into terms that mortals could understand. Hermes' predicament helps us to understand the nature of hermeneutics. Hermes was the god of those who travel dark and difficult roads; he is always on his way to somewhere and has no fixed place to stop. He meets Aphrodite who arouses interest in him (as an art

work may arouse interest in the viewer). The myth of Hermes helps us to understand the nature of our engagement with art, our role as facilitators of learning and our understanding of our predicament as human beings: 'our perpetual need for understanding and guidance, our sense of trying to find, follow and keep to a path, the experience of 'being-drawn-on', of 'being-excited-by' the anticipation of where a dedicated route might take us' (Heywood & Sandywell, 1999: 6). I am familiar with young people's interpretive processes when an initial 'spark' arouses interest, motivates further investigation and the different paths such investigations take. Gallagher uses hermeneutical principles to explicate this learning experience.

Hermeneutics can be loosely defined as the theory of interpretation; it has its roots in biblical and theological interpretation. Heywood and Sandywell talk about three phases in the history of hermeneutics. The first phase until the late 1800s is biblical and theological, Schleiermacher and Dilthey talk about hermeneutics as a universal method of cultural and social understanding, followed in the second phase, mid 1900s, by Heidegger and Gadamer where Heidegger defines hermeneutics as an analysis of how we subjectively respond to our ontological position. Gadamer respects this but in the third phase, from 1990, he turns it around asserting that it is the 'substantiality', the self-knowledge, that arises from what is historically pre-given that constitutes hermeneutics. Gadamer gives us the basis for contemporary hermeneutic thought 'to discover in all that is subjective the substantiality that determines it' (Gadamer, 1975: 302). Gallery pedagogy is constructed around the learners subjectivity, a personal response is taken as a starting point, the substantiality that Gadamer talks about is vital if we are to make learning to look at art valuable and challenging. Hermeneutics accepts that experience is vital to understanding. This respect for experience is acutely relevant when thinking about educational strategies in the gallery as they have established an approach to learning that uses the learner's past experience as an interpretive tool.

Gallagher offers eight possible definitions of hermeneutics taken from the ideas of key thinkers: Schleiermacher, Palmer, Ricoeur, Dilthey, Heidegger, Gadamer,

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Bleicher and Habermas (see Gallagher, 1992, 3-4). These definitions are very varied and many have not been resolved. He finds that an integral part of hermeneutics is 'definitional vagueness', which is only to be expected in relation to the idea of 'no' fixed meaning. Gallagher is reintroducing the connection between hermeneutics and education which was lost after the 1700s when Schleiermacher 'excluded exactness of explication' from the realm of hermeneutics. This is important because it meant that from this point hermeneutics became more about interpreting what is received rather than how it is given and so distancing it from didactic pedagogies. In Hermenuetics and Education (1992), Shaun Gallagher proposes four types of hermeneutical approach: conservative, moderate, radical, and critical. These are useful in helping to unpack the ways in which the object, the interpreter and tradition are framed at the gallery.

Conservative

'Through correct methodology and hard work the interpreter should be able a) to break out of her own historical epoch in order to understand the author as the author intended, and/or (b) to transcend historical limitations altogether in order to reach universal, or at least objective, truth' (Gallagher, 1992: 9). This approach asserts that interpretation is concerned with 'cultural reproduction'.

Moderate

'No method can guarantee an absolutely objective interpretation of an author's work because, as readers, we are conditioned by prejudices of our own historical existence. A dialogical conversation, a 'fusion of horizons', 'a creative communication between reader and text.' The reader participates just as much as the author does in putting together meaning or in creating the aesthetic experience' (Gallagher, 1992: 10). This approach seeks to define interpretation as a 'cultural conversation' where meaning is produced rather than reproduced.

Radical

'A displacement of certain metaphysical concepts such as unity, identity, meaning, or authorship, which operate in and around the text. The hope is not to establish some other version of the world as the proper or correct version, but to show that all versions are contingent and relative' (Gallagher, 1992: 10). This approach demonstrates that interpretation is bound by a 'contingency of meaning'.

Critical

'A means of penetrating false consciousness, discovering the ideological nature of our belief systems, promoting distortion free communication, and thereby accomplishing a liberating consensus.' 'It is also conservative to the extent that it expects actually to accomplish an ideology free situation of consensus' (Gallagher, 1992: 11). In this approach interpretation is concerned with achieving 'emancipation'.

Traditionally there have been two distinct strategies of interpretation evident at Tate, one following a conservative and the other following a moderate hermeneutical approach. Although a number of exceptions are evident particularly with the opening of the new 'Tanks' as a project/display space. It is still the case that the majority of exhibition displays and text panels are organised within a conservative hermeneutic. Exhibition Curators have authorship over displays and the learner is expected to break out of their historical or cultural epoch to appreciate the display as the author intended, objective 'truth' is asserted. Educational activities take a moderate hermeneutical approach where the learner participates with the author/artist in putting together meaning and no objective 'truth' is sought after. The Tate strategies involve a conflict between 'cultural reproduction' and 'cultural conversation'.

Gallagher highlights three debates or aporia within contemporary hermeneutic thought. The one about 'Reproduction' is particularly relevant in the contemporary museum and galleries sector.

Reproduction

Given the prejudicial nature of interpretation, is it ever possible to achieve an objectively valid interpretation? (Gallagher, 1992: 12)

In this debate, Gallagher sites the conservative hermeneutics of Betti and Hirsch and the moderate hermeneutics of Gadamer. The two hermeneutic positions disagree about whether or not there is an ultimate truth that an interpretation must uncover. Starting from the assumption that any interpretation is biased in some way, this debate acknowledges that an interpretation can be constrained by the prejudices of the author, a key question in this debate is 'Is the interpretation correct?' The conservative hermeneutics of Hirsch are concerned that the interpretation must be objective (not arbitrary). Gadamer argues that it is not possible to make an entirely objective interpretation and that the interpreter plays an intrinsic part of the meaning that is made. Hirsch argues that meaning is fixed within the object and that we should not confuse 'meaning' with 'significance'.

There is a difference between 'the meaning of a text' (which is unchanging) and 'the meaning of a text to us today [its significance] (which changes) (Hirsch, 1965: 498)

The conservative idea of the interpreter corresponds to Eileen Hooper-Greenhill's (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 190) 'knowing subjects' in her model of C19 visitors who engaged in 'learning at a glance' and could assimilate knowledge from an exhibition through their already constituted position as 'knowing subjects'. In this model the visitor already has a high level of knowledge about art, they can 'enter the conversation' at a scholarly point, similar to that of the Exhibition Curator. In this instance meaning is fixed, it exists within the canon and is agreed by both parties. When the meaning that is reached corresponds to the canonical knowledge about the work then the interpreters' subjectivity remains concealed, as such, the interpretation can be described as objective. The overriding orthodoxy of exhibitions at the gallery go along with Hirsch's conservative hermeneutic insisting

that there is an essential truth within the art work that viewers should return to in order to make a valid interpretation. Gadamer disagrees with Hirsch, he asserts that meaning is not reproduced by the interpreter, but, rather new meaning is produced. Gadamer supposes that 'every attempt at reproduction involves a production of new meaning, and thus, strict reproduction is not possible' (Gallagher, 1992: 15).

The debate around reproduction and production in contemporary hermeneutic thought sheds light on an area of gallery education pedagogy where confusion exists. Some gallery activities are governed by a conservative approach to learning in which participants search for meaning, others are characterised by a moderate approach in which 'local significance' is considered to be more important than 'meaning'. Often the learning for participants who are more familiar and confident with art is structured in a conservative way and moderate strategies are used for those who are less familiar and less confident. For example, during a workshop the facilitator is constantly making decisions about how to engage participants in the work. If we imagine that there is a scale where the artwork exists at one end and the viewer at the other. With a confident participant the facilitator, metaphorically, stays close to the artwork and through questioning draws the participant out of their subjectivity and 'into' the work. With a more reluctant learner, the dialogue is more conversational and stays closer to the viewer looking for 'hooks' to emerge between their subjective experience and the artwork.

In contemporary gallery education, youth programmes attempt to engage disenfranchised and disinterested young people. The strategies used challenge the orthodoxy of canonical knowledge and uphold inclusive pedagogies where all workshop participants are invited to produce their own meaning. To understand this approach Gadamer's moderate hermeneutical approach is useful. The aphorism 'there is no right or wrong answer' is often used in gallery workshops to encourage multiple interpretations to take place. In the emancipatory aims of gallery education conservative hermeneutics has been rejected because of it's concern for the status of the learner, in the conservative model Betti placed importance on 'the subjectivity of

the interpreter and his awareness of the preconditions of his ability to understand in a manner adequate to the subject-matter'. (Betti, 1962) This notion sits uncomfortably with gallery approaches to learning that aim to offer equality of access regardless of the learner's status or level of education. When considered in the context of the museum the hermeneutic aporia of 'Reproduction' highlights a point of conflict, in that the audience is invited to respond to works of art and make their own interpretations. The gallery occupies two different hermeneutical approaches that of conservative and moderate, this creates ambivalence towards the learner, as I will discuss later.

Play

Another central concept in hermeneutics is 'Play'. It explicates the way in which we are constantly learning about ourselves in the light of experiences. 'Play is the dialectical interchange of transcendence and appropriation' (Gallagher, 92: 54) 'Transcendence is a projection of possibilities, and appropriation is a retrieval of these possibilities as one's own possibilities' (Gallagher, 92: 55) In Raw Canvas sessions an experienced Artist Educator works closely with peer-leaders to devise workshop activities. The activities are designed to allow participants to be social, to be relaxed and be themselves. They are intended to 'open up' participants so that their responses are personal and meaningful. To achieve this artists and peer-leaders ask open questions that project possible meanings onto the work and, conversationally, ideas, comments and interjections from the leaders are left hanging in order that the participants can appropriate them and make meaning of their own. The conversation is dialogical, the educators project possibilities and the participants appropriate them. There is no pressure for any individual to respond to one particular question instead the collegiate nature of the group is fostered to enable an exchange of ideas. I suggest that in hermeneutical terms the workshop dialogue takes place at the 'dialectical interchange' between transcendence and appropriation.

Circle of understanding

Interpretation is a fundamental human process. It is how we make sense of ourselves in the world. Through hermeneutics, we can clarify the conditions in which understanding takes place and the conditions, which allow for interpretation. The hermeneutical circle helps us to understand the interchange of interpretation between object, interpreter and tradition.

The hermeneutical circle, sometimes expanding, sometimes shrinking, in the dialectical interplay between fore-structure and reality, between transcendence and appropriation, keeps open the possibilities that define our experience as educational experience Gallagher, 1992: 80).

Husserl's 'horizon structure' shows us how 'we are always already actively understanding the world even before we attempt to grasp anything in a thematic or cognitive fashion' (Gallagher, 92: 55). 'Pre-knowledge', 'fore-structure' or 'schema' are necessary to allow interpretation to take place and already condition the learning process. The learner comes with some prior knowledge: they are neither all knowing nor totally ignorant.

Gallagher's hermeneutical circle looks like this:
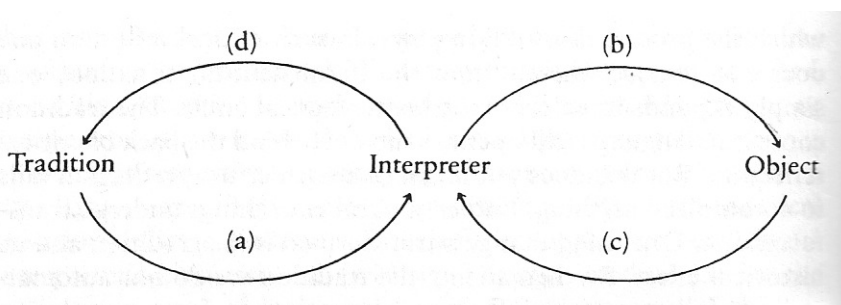
Diagram 4: Gallagher, 1992, 156

	← (d)		(b) →	
Tradition		Interpreter		Object
	(a) →		← (c)	
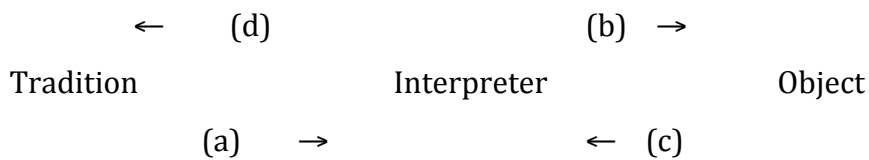
(a) refers to the hermeneutical constraint of tradition on the interpreter

(b) refers to the fore-structure of understanding on the interpreters interpretation of the object

(c) refers to the response of feedback that causes readjustment of the interpreters fore-structure of understanding

(d) refers to the re-adjustment of the interpreters relation to tradition

The diagram is useful for us to understand what is happening during a singular learning experience however a change is required for the situation of a facilitated workshop around an art work as in this situation the interpreter is bipartite, two people interpret the artwork - participant and facilitator, they also interpret one another through question and answer. An alternative diagram could look like this:

Diagram 5: Sayers, 2011

<div align="center">

← (d)　　　　　Interpreter/Facilitator　　　　　→ (b)

Tradition　　　　　　　　　↑↓ (e)　　　　　　　　　　Object

→ (a)　　　　　Interpreter/Learner ← (c)

</div>
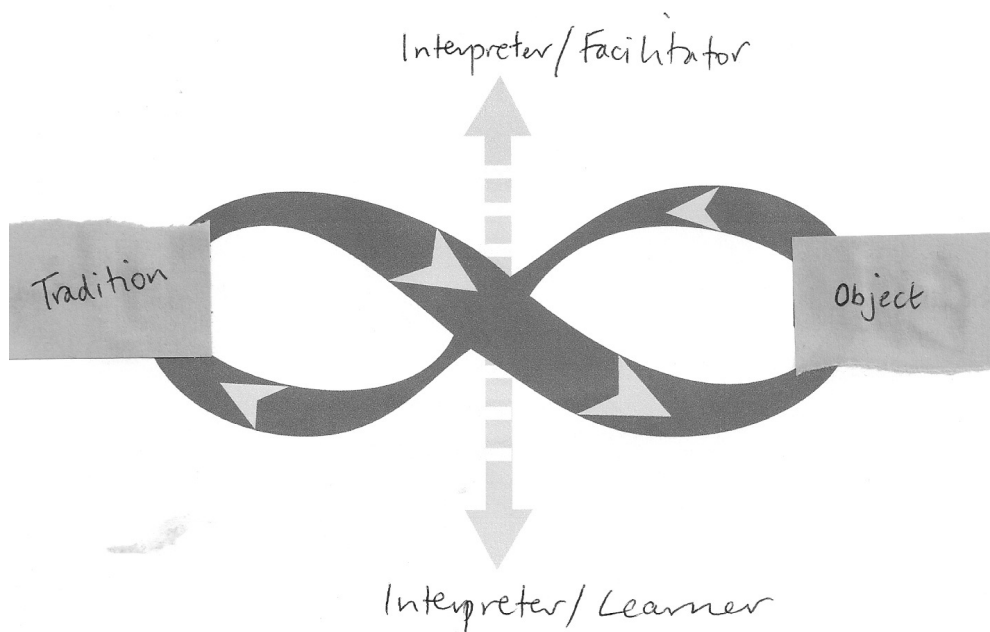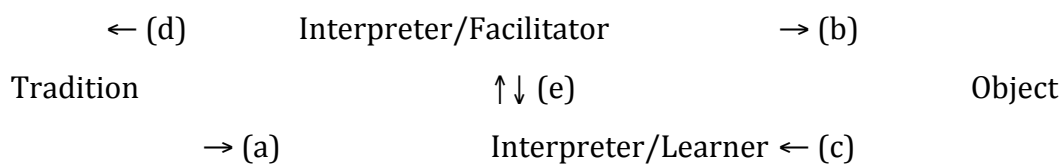
The double interpreter includes an interchange (e), which reflects the feedback that causes readjustment to the pedagogy or line of enquiry taken in relation to the work.

As I have discussed knowledge is conveyed at the gallery through conservative and moderate hermeneutical approaches simultaneously. The learner is asked to use both approaches during a facilitated workshop where their interpretations are celebrated and encouraged for their uniqueness whilst being simultaneously controlled by the apparently non-negotiable canonical knowledge. Educational activities at Tate are concerned with interpretation and understanding artworks and not replication or copying. The artist on display directs the interpretation, and, within a gallery education framework the viewer participates creatively in putting together meaning. Gallagher's model of moderate hermeneutics is most suited to my research area where knowledge is negotiated by the viewer rather than upheld by the canon.

Moderate hermeneutics proposes an optimistic view of interpretation. Interpretation involves creativity and not just reproduction; the reader participates just as much as the author does in putting together the meaning (Gallagher, 92: 10).

Language, interpretation and memory

For art to open our eyes to the world it has to do something other than to remain in the purely sensible. It has, to borrow a hermeneutic metaphor, to speak, and it can only do so if it successfully enables us to understand that there is more to be seen in it than what is immediately before the eye (Nicholas Davey in Heywood and Sandywell, 1999: 8).

Over the last 15 years, there has been a dramatic shift in the pedagogy of gallery education departments. A traditional approach to workshops would centre on participants making their own art in the gallery using the art works on show as both inspiration and research material on the use and treatment of specific materials. Critics of the traditional approach find that it lacks the potential to fully engage with contemporary art practice; that students become overly concerned with the material properties of the work and do not engage in the ideas expressed by it. Education Curators at Tate have explored alternatives to this approach and have sought new pedagogies that reveal the subject of the work as well as its material presence. To focus on the subject of the work is to engage with language to describe what is seen and in so doing to throw light on that which is not seen. To explore this further I will use hermeneutics to consider the relationship between language, interpretation and memory. Gallagher talks about memory or recollection by referring to the myth of Meno and the discourse of Socrates. Socrates asserts that absolute knowledge is not the way to become educated but that recollection forms a context from which we learn. Meno on the other hand asserts that one is either knowledgeable or ignorant. As I mentioned in the last chapter Socrates' ideas have informed gallery activities at Tate Modern. In gallery workshops, facilitators and participants draw on memory to establish some common ground from which to make interpretations of artworks. Gallagher talks of shared recollections and names them as 'truisms' or 'preconceptions', beliefs that are taken for granted, common ground that allows conversation to be meaningful (Gallagher, 1992: 196). Gallagher talks about Socrates and the slave boy scene in which Socrates' careful questioning guides the boy to see and to think for himself using his 'fore knowledge'. The boy is motivated by the questioning and starts to think for himself, aspects of this are mirrored in gallery workshops where it is not knowledge that precipitates further enquiry but motivation and independent thinking that lead to successful learning. Hall and Meecham talk about research from a gallery context that 'reveals the importance of the viewer's prior knowledge in meaning making' (Hall and Meecham, 2003: 154). They describe pupils incorporating the language acquired during maths lessons to the abstractions of a Fernand Leger painting. Here 'young pupils have a

way into the artwork from their own experience' this provides an example of 'negotiated, local meaning' and the use of 'fore knowledge' or 'schema' in making an interpretation.

The pupils quickly incorporated what they knew into what they saw thus abandoning any notion of the reified art work, a process that is still considered heretical in some quarters (Institute of Ideas). (Hall and Meecham, 2003: 154)

Through this example of young people using their knowledge we can see that even very young children can engage in complex assimilations of knowing and seeing when encouraged by sensitive teaching in the gallery. The Institute of Ideas[2] occupies a conservative position in which there is a strong desire for the cultural sector to be scholarly and elite. Educational activities are occasionally criticised for allowing too much subjectivity into the readings that are made, the converse view is that Education Curators benefit the learner by seeking a balance between the learner and the object. A successful facilitator acknowledges the learner's position and creates challenging opportunities for learning. Gadamer describes this balance in his work on the hermeneutics of conversation. He observes that too much emphasis on subjective dialogue limits the potential for new ideas to be arrived at.

Were the conversation merely an exchange of subjective preferences no conversation would have taken place, but if it does occur – and this is the crucial point – its' participants will have undergone an intimate and 'unexpected' alteration in their outlook (Nicholas Davey on Gadamer in Heywood and Sandywell, 1999: 9).

For a gallery based discussion to be challenging for participants it needs to centre around the observation of the work and the individual preferences of those involved in the talk, a subjective response is a good starting point but is followed by objective looking too. The personal response is taken back to the work to identify where it has come from, this often generates a more analytical formal approach to looking, a searching for clues. For example: in my data taken from a Raw Canvas workshop it is

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[2] The Institute of Ideas has been a forum for debate since 2000. They are committed to 'Art for art's sake, knowledge for its own sake, and education as an end in itself.'

clear to see the workshop group start with their own responses to the work, they explore the physical object and then, prompted by the artist educator, they are guided back towards an analysis of the form of the work overall. They are asked a question about what they think would happen if you picked it up and hung it straight. The work is a square frame cut from felt and it is hanging unordered in soft curves. By considering an alternative method of display, participants are able to uncover some of the decisions made by the artist about the form of the work. Telling them directly about the form and why it is like that would not have been anywhere near as engaging for the group. Similarly, if they had only made personal responses they may not have considered alternatives to the form of the work itself. The process of their interpretation leads to a richer resource of ideas than a more didactic process would have.

Hermeneutics gives us the means to understand interpretive processes. Gallery education is sometimes described as 'iterative'. This term is used to describe the way in which meaning builds slowly over time. Visitors don't suddenly experience 'eureka!' moments in the gallery when ideas drop into place and an art work makes complete sense, instead understanding is built through looking, sometimes discussing and combining what is seen with the other things that a person has seen in the past. The physical presence of the work and the subject matter are reflected upon. There is a strong link between discussion-based approaches in the gallery and the use of language in hermeneutical enquiry, in particular the way in which both strive to explore more deeply than subjective looking will allow. Seeking not just to reproduce works and in so doing learn techniques but looking to educate young people to think for themselves, make their own interpretation and be heard and seen doing so.

Hermeneutics uses the model of linguisticality in order to show that aesthetic experience is not a solitary monologue on private pleasures but is an integral part of a shared discourse concerning the realisation of meaning. Far from subordinating image to word, hermeneutical aesthetics is concerned with the sensitive use of words to bring forth what is held in an image (Heywood and Sandywell, 1999: 10).

An artwork is a relational 'event' and not an object, it has the potential to disrupt the ontology of the subject. It is non linguistic, there is more to art than knowledge about it and language about it. It is more than language but it is reduced to it, in Badiou's view, it is straitjacketed by it (Badiou, 2010). The pedagogies developed in galleries during the last 15 years have involved the use of language, through discussion. Activities are informal and learner centred, dialogue between facilitator and participant is intended to construct a meaningful understanding of the work for participants. The exchange between facilitator and participant is dialogic, the dialogue is marked as informal and learner centred by the use of a conversational style.

When underway, conversation discloses of itself subtleties of association and nuance which logical analysis could not foresee. What is said is not as important as the unsaid which the said 'brings to mind (Heywood and Sandywell, 1999: 9).

Canonical and negotiated knowledge at the gallery

In this chapter, I have identified that galleries employ 'conservative' and 'moderate' hermeneutic strategies in relation to the artworks in their care. As well as being places where the public can learn about art national galleries are sites for the conservation and storage of artworks, they also have a scholarly role contributing to the knowledge that exists about their collections and sharing this expert knowledge with the people. As museums and galleries have gradually 'opened up', over the past 150 years, public interaction is increasingly sought after and galleries seek to attract visitors from all parts of society.

In the 19th Century, learning in museums was for connoisseurs and intellectuals. Hooper-Greenhill (2007) presents a view of this period in which the generation of knowledge in the museum centred around the idea of 'learning at a glance', that the knowing subject would relate the objects in the museum to the knowledge that they already owned. Museums did not set out to assist people who didn't already have a

high level of knowledge about art and the notion of 'Arts for all' was not on the agenda at this time. In the 21st Century, museums are for everyone, accessibility is very important and the non-expert has become a valuable visitor. In the contemporary gallery we can see display strategies that are aimed at the expert visitor, for example the interpretive material seen in ticketed monographic exhibitions, is often text based and didactic. Displays aimed at the regular or non-expert visitor are often interactive and multi-media, for example the 'interpretation zone' outside the permanent collection displays on Level 5, Tate Modern.

There are two paradigms of knowledge at work in the gallery. They determine attitudes towards the art and the programmes that seek to illuminate it for the public. The two models have different dynamics, one is driven by elitism, which has been upheld within the gallery since it's inception in the late 1800s. The other is egalitarian, philanthropic, aimed at those who don't have access. The elitist approach embraces the fact that some people have a priori knowledge, which allows them intellectual access to exhibitions. This knowledge is that of the middle class, highly educated subject, here the art works and the way they are displayed serve to reconfirm the educated subject's position. The egalitarian approach to knowledge is that any participant can have a meaningful exchange with cultural objects if the circumstances are managed effectively. Although it implies an initial deficit, a lack of culture, one could say that this approach presupposes an idea of equality of intelligences; non gallery-going audiences are encouraged to come and make their own interpretations of the work. Gallery education departments attempt to be non didactic, to be open and inclusive. Education programmes are located within a constructivist epistemology they emphasise the creative activity of the learner and not the status of the knowledge.

The relationship between the two pedagogical approaches is not always an easy one. Hooper-Greenhill refers to the hierarchies in society that place activities of the mind as more important than activities of the body. In the 19th Century, attitudes to learning were 'informed by the enlightenment view that mind and body were

distinct entities, and that mind was superior to body' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 13). Mind/body dualism is still very evident today in the way in which more value is attributed to cerebral activities at the museum than to practical, interactive ones. The 'effect' of art works rather than their 'affect'. Internal hierarchies exist between the specific pedagogy of cerebral and interactive programmes. In Gallagher's terms this would point to a conflict between 'conservative' and 'moderate' hermeneutics where the former relates to a reproduction of established and valued knowledge and the latter refers to 'negotiated knowledge'. I am interested in the 'tension' between canonical knowledge and negotiated knowledge where meaning is negotiated by the individual. This site of 'tension' provides an opportunity to disrupt the mind/body dualism highlighted by Hooper-Greenhill and to rethink those binary positions in relation to emancipatory pedagogy at the gallery. All visitors use a priori knowledge to make sense of the work, for the elite this 'schema' corresponds to the scholarly voice and reproduces the meaning written about the work, for others the 'fore-structure' of their understanding builds local significance and this motivates further enquiry.

The gallery could be described as ambivalent toward knowledge and the public: on the one hand inviting in the non-specialist audience whilst simultaneously asserting power and authority over their so called 'ignorance'. Where the aim is to provide culture for everyone, then that culture ought to be embrasive not ambivalent. Neil Hall and Pam Meecham (2003) talk about the pressure on museums to include 'everyone'. Whilst some are looking for ways to improve public access 'others still insist that they have little to contribute to broader social roles and that their education services exist to dispense knowledge about their special holdings to an unknowing, uncritical and compliant audience' (Hall and Meecham, 2003: 156). I am looking for a pedagogy that disrupts the hierarchical divisions within the art museum in which scholarly programmes and accessible ones are placed at opposite ends of the scale.

Conclusion

There are many ways to think about the educational remit of galleries. This chapter aims to provide an initial set of assumptions describing my approach to the subject matter of this study.

The production of meaning during educational activities at the gallery is not intended to contest or alter the art history written about the work, the goal is not to challenge this. However, knowledge takes many forms, the aim of the learning activities in this study is to create a meaningful exchange between an artwork and a young person so that they can negotiate knowledge and produce meaning that has local significance for them. The 'truth' about the work is constantly in flux; meaning cannot be fixed, and without the viewer's presence may not exist at all. In this research, I will explore the role of the facilitator in guiding participants towards their own understanding and to constructing their own 'truth'.

To consider the production of meaning by learners my chosen tool is hermeneutics. I have established that a moderate hermeneutical approach is appropriate to illuminate the different approaches to interpretation at the gallery, and enable me to see how the learner negotiates their own localised meaning in this context and what barriers exist. The aim of this research is to construct a new pedagogy for the 21st Century art museum that centres on personalised learning and is relevant to young people. At present there is little research on this kind of learning. This research hopes to shed light on how these learners are constructed through peer-led gallery experiences in order to create a museum that is still relevant and meaningful to young people 20 years from now.

Hermeneutics recognises the social dynamic of meaning making. In chapter 5, I will investigate learning as a social practice and explore pedagogies from a critical and social constructivist perspective.

In chapter 6, I will focus on the construction of the audience and explore the value of pedagogies that strive for 'local significance' on the formation of learning communities.

Chapter 5

Pedagogies for Interpretation

Introduction

In chapter 4, I established that the intention of learning and interpretive strategies employed by youth programmes at Tate Modern is to take a moderate hermeneutic approach enabling multiple voices to be heard. This learner-centred approach aims at inclusion and is located within an emancipatory ideology that seeks to empower young people. Chapter 5 attempts to understand the pedagogies that have come out of a moderate hermeneutic approach to looking at art. In this chapter, I will investigate the complex role of the educator in learner-centred praxis and the specificity of the gallery context.

Even with the best intentions of educators, attempting to broaden the reach of their programmes and work with more and more diverse groups, a tension continues to exist with pedagogies for learning about art. It is important that we look carefully at approaches that have evolved from classical 'appreciation' and look for new ways of working with modern and contemporary art that are discursive and allow for dissent, otherwise we simply train young people to accept what they are served up in our 'great houses of culture', and, rather than automatically engaging new audiences this approach is more likely to turn them away. This chapter explores such issues as preparation for the analysis of data in chapter seven where I will draw themes from the arguments pursued here.

To understand such learner-centred approaches to pedagogy it needs be observed from the perspective of the gallery educator *and* from the point of view of the learner. The gallery educator/education curator has a great deal of autonomy over why, what, when and how learning activities take place and who they are for. I will return to these themes throughout this chapter, and through the data presented in chapter seven, as I explore the aims and purpose of the activities and why different approaches are employed; which activities take place and how the educator uses their expertise to decide what the learning experience should involve; how the approaches that have been trialed in the gallery are affected by the context and location in which learning takes place; who takes on the role of 'teacher' whether they are an artist, gallery educator, education curator, exhibitions curator or young person; and finally the question of whom the activities are for, and how they self-select to become involved, will be returned to throughout this chapter.

I begin by giving some background to a selection of youth programmes and projects that have engaged young people in modern and contemporary art. With reference to the broader fields of social-constructivist and critical pedagogy, I examine how and why different approaches to learning and teaching might emerge as a result of the hermeneutic practices discussed in chapter three. I explore some of the pedagogic strategies that have been devised by young people and facilitators during *Raw Canvas* events, and I describe approaches that have been trialed by myself as an artist educator and as a programme curator working in partnership with peer-leaders. [3]

Pedagogy at the gallery

Education in art galleries is unlike schools, colleges or universities whose activities are bound by curricula, course outlines and assessments. The art gallery setting has particular attributes that affect the mode, aims and content of the teaching and

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[3] I started working at Tate Modern as an artist – a gallery educator (1999-2003). In 2002, I became Curator for Youth Programmes (2002-2011). I also took the role of Curator for School Programmes (2003-2005).

learning that takes place. For example, courses and workshops are short, ranging from one to 12 hours in length, often spread over several weeks. Before a session, educators do not know who they are going to be working with and learners are not all at the same level of attainment when they arrive. As a result, educators must be flexible and equipped to teach beginners and experts together. The learning that takes place is not instructional, the goal is not to impart knowledge per se but to provide catalysts for conversations in which learners share ideas, tackle assumptions and form opinions. 'Education' in the gallery is aimed at building confidence, so that each learner can unlock their own ideas about art. Learning or attainment in this context in not measured by the institution or by the government; a programme's success is measured by its popularity and the participant feedback, often gathered informally and conversationally during or after the event. Participants seek self-fulfillment rather than qualifications.

The language used to describe conventional educational activity is inadequate for this setting. Words like; 'teacher', 'learner', 'education', 'student', 'study', 'teaching', all speak of activity in the formal education sector, by which I mean schools, colleges and universities. This sector is fundamentally different to the gallery in a number of important ways. It is bound by curricula set by government through the national curriculum or by exam boards. Outcomes must be decided in advance and written into schemes of work or syllabus', and all activities lead in some way to an assessment where the progress of the student is measured. Teachers and students are distinct from one another, teachers 'know' and students 'learn' from them.

In an art gallery, education curators, artists and educators decide what to do: what to teach and how to teach it. The programme curator dictates the parameters, such as, whom the project or event is for, how many, how often and how much it will cost. Decisions are influenced by funding agreements, but there is a lot of autonomy in how the aims of such agreements are interpreted by the programme curator.

Pedagogy in simple terms is defined as the study of teaching or 'leading' the learner, but the complexities involved in the process obscure a straightforward relationship between teaching and learning. Mortimer (1999) defines pedagogy as 'any conscious activity by one person designed to enhance the learning of another' (Mortimer, 2003: 3), Leach and Moon (1999) and Loveless (2002) acknowledge that there are many factors that affect the practice of teaching and they are variable in many ways, In particular, Leach and Moon (1999) talk about the pedagogical setting (Leach and Moon, 1999: 267) and suggest that pedagogy is a joint activity in which the learner has an active role. As such pedagogy *builds on* a complex combination of subject knowledge, knowledge about teaching and learning, and the processes involved in implementing or effecting development in the learner. Shulman (1987) discussed in Coghill (2008) defines seven categories of teacher knowledge, which offers a framework within which pedagogy can be understood in simpler terms. The National Strategies (2007) developed the following working definition:

Pedagogy is the act of teaching, and the rationale that supports the actions that teachers take. It is what a teacher needs to know and the range of skills that a teacher needs to use in order to make effective teaching decisions (National Strategies, 2007).

This definition may resonate in formal education and teacher training but in galleries the rationale and skills are constantly evolving, they are not thought out in advance and set down for others to follow but instead they are devised, on the job, by the gallery educators themselves, often in dialogue with the, so-called, learners. Although gallery educators are entirely responsible for what is learned and how it is taught, galleries in the UK, in contrast to those in Sweden, Germany or the Netherlands, actively avoid the word 'pedagogy' when talking about exhibition design, interpretation or learning. Instead, UK galleries choose to talk about their learning activities with terms like: the approach, strategy or method. I think that pedagogy *is* an important term to use in this context because identifying the specificity of the learning process claims some important intellectual territory for learning. The discussion of teaching and learning is thereby enabled and given

status. In the context of the museum where departments compete for resources, this is important. 'Pedagogy' in this context describes the ways in which the art museum constructs learning for the viewers. This is often strongly influenced by the way that the museum relates to its audience. For example, a large national art museum like Tate relates to its audiences in various ways attracting scholars through conferences and academic monographic talks; families through games, trails and activity days; schools through guided workshops, general visitors through text panels in the gallery etc. Each of these requires a different pedagogical approach.

In the hierarchical context (see chapter 3), 'expert' knowledge is sometimes limited to the scholarly understanding of artworks (subject knowledge), *whereas the expert professional expertise and* knowledge of learning curators (knowledge of teaching, learning and audiences) is often not recognised in it's own right. However, *I would argue that* if pedagogic expertise is *not* valued within the institutional framework then the specialist knowledge of educators is undermined. This is because although they must also have a broad and thorough understanding of art, their key skills in pedagogy are vital aspects of their success as learning curators. This is particularly relevant at the moment when some art establishments are keen to get exhibition curators and education curators working together in curatorial teams. In order for successful discussions to take place between teams, their status within the institution must be equal and not reflect what Charman (2005) describes as the traditional hierarchies where the educational activity exists in an ancillary role as a support for the main collection.

Engaging young people with art

In chapter four, I talked about the importance of 'negotiated meaning' in a moderate hermeneutical approach. This pedagogical approach, discussed by philosophical theorists; Barthes (1977), Derrida (1974) and Spivak (1976) is predicated in a

number of young people's projects. Here are some significant examples of art programmes for young people that exist outside of school settings, they are:

Young Tate, Liverpool
Such pluralist approaches to meaning making led to the development of Young Tate in 1994 when young people were invited to 'read' artworks collectively, socially whilst also acknowledging their own personal perspective as well. This enabled them to form their own opinions about art. At that time projects in other places were starting to engage with young people in arts based, informal settings as well.

Room 13, Scotland
Founded in 1994, by artist Rob Fairley at Caol Primary School, Scotland. 'It is an art studio that is part of a school but has been entirely run by us pupils right from the start' (Souness in Atkinson and Dash, 2005). Each Room 13 studio facilitates the work of young artists alongside a professional adult Artist in Residence. Simply by approaching children as artists and intellectual equals, Room 13 combines artistic development with the basic skills required to run a successful business, since each management team must meet the running costs of their own studio.

Walker Arts Center, WACTAC, Minneapolis, USA
Since 1994, the Walker Art Center has been the innovative leader in teen programming, providing cultural institutions around the world with a successful model for engaging teenagers. The mission of Teen Programs is to connect teenagers to contemporary art and artists. The Walker was the first art museum in the country to devote full-time staff to working with and building teen audiences.

Tim Rollins and K.O.S., South Bronx, New York, USA
Did their first UK based project in Riverside Studios, Hammersmith in 1994. Rollins and K.O.S. had been working since the early 1980's when political struggles about

economic and social inequality dominated. Tim Rollins and K.O.S. (Kids of Survival) have worked together collaboratively since Rollins was a special education teacher assigned to public school 52 in the South Bronx. There he established the Art and Knowledge workshop for students with learning disabilities. Out of this grew a collective art practice based on texts, which the group studied together.

I am interested in the ways in which Tim Rollins 'taught' art making skills to K.O.S. as a means to explore their responses to the novels they were creating work about. Rollins uses discursive tactics in which everyone contributes in order to engage the learners but also to bring contemporary meanings to their collaborative art making. Through this activity, young people learn to take a critical perspective on art, politics, economics and cultural issues (Anderson and Dash, 2005: xiv).

Raw Canvas is indebted to these initiatives as they informed the development of the programme. The conventional approach (pre-1985) to working with young people has been to provide specially designed activities, events and services, designed, that is, by adult specialist staff. Increasingly, organisations in the cultural sector have introduced planning and delivery processes that involve consulting with young people from the outset. The role of the staff in this approach is to facilitate the process whereby young people can voice their opinions and take charge of their own activity. Consultation, peer leadership and participation in planning and delivery have superseded traditional approaches in which gallery staff create events *for* young people.

The Young Tate programme originated from Tate Liverpool in 1994 where, from the galleries inception in 1988, new approaches towards the audience had been trialled.

The inclusion of voices other than the authoritative voice of the museum was one of a series of projects in which we opened up the Gallery and its collections to critical debate (Jackson in Horlock Ed., 2000: 24).

Toby Jackson, who was Head of Education at Tate Liverpool at the time, cites the 1988 Surrealism display as a good indicator of the importance of the visitor to the gallery.

In 1936 Roland Penrose invited the public to exhibit their own 'surreal' objects; Tate Gallery Liverpool repeated this invitation, advertising in the local press and in the Gallery. Every surreal object was accepted – from young children's to international artists' submissions – and the results were displayed in the galleries and celebrated at a private view attended by participants, their friends and families (Jackson in Horlock, 2000: 24).

What is significant about this approach to exhibition making is that the invitation to contribute went out in the local press, therefore addressing a local and potentially non-art audience, as the larger national galleries rarely used local media for advertising at the time. To accept all of the work and display it in the hallowed halls of the gallery was unusual, as this space was usually reserved for professional and highly reputed artists. Tate Liverpool pioneered a model in which education and exhibition curators worked together, collaboratively, in project teams akin to the 'ecological museum structure' described by Jung (2011). This collaborative approach was employed again in the 1990s.

The Gallery also attempted to show that modern art has many readings; using the 'Modern British Sculpture' display, young people were encouraged to research issues around 'primitivism' and the representation of women in twentieth-century art, and presented their findings in extended labels placed adjacent to selected sculptures (Jackson in Horlock, 2000: 24).

My own pedagogic approach began to develop after I had finished my MA in Fine Art at Staffordshire University in 1993 when I began leading workshops as an Artist Educator at Tate Liverpool and became involved with delivering the Young Tate Training Course in 1995/6. At that time, the idea of plural approaches to meaning making seemed a sensible extension to the contemporary art theorists that had influenced my thinking during my MA. During postgraduate study I had become interested in Derrida's ideas about the frame in *The Truth in Painting* (1974) in

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which he famously asserts that 'there is nothing outside of the text' and Roland Barthes Death of the Author (1977) in which Barthes asserts that an image or text doesn't possess an essential meaning; 'to give a text an Author is to impose a limit on that text, to furnish it with a final signified, to close the writing' (Barthes, 1977,147). Although the artist/author has an intention, it is the reader or viewer who creates a proliferation of meanings around the work:

 'The reader who reads the text brings to it other voices and reads into it textual material which transforms this area of meaning far beyond the author's intention' (Olsen, 1990) or as Spivak (1976) asserts 'The text belongs to language and not to the sovereign and generating author'. Therefore, what the viewer brings to the work will play a significant role in any readings that are made. It follows that if you introduce more people to art with a range of different backgrounds then you will get a plurality of readings. Stuart Hall elaborates on the theoretical context of audience studies. He rejects a linear model for the transmission of meaning from author to audience and sets up the idea of two parallel processes working simultaneously, encoding and decoding (Rose, 2007):

The moments of 'encoding' and 'decoding' though only 'relatively autonomous' in relation to the communicative process as a whole are determinate moments (Hall, 1980: 128-38).

This idea of plurality is an important precept for group work, in which participants are discussing meaning in art works. Different interpretations are made and with them an acknowledgement of different viewpoints; it is up to the facilitator to summarise by repeating the range of views back to the group. And in order to establish a pool of possibilities that are relevant to all the interpretive agents a peer-to-peer approach to discussion is particularly valuable. These ideas have continued to be important corner stones in the pedagogical approaches that I developed with *Raw Canvas* from 1999 - 2011.

Participation

That young people have a democratic right to culture informs the thinking that led to *Young Tate* and *Raw Canvas* where participants discover their own areas of interest in art and these personal points of interest are developed into events and activities. This creates an inclusive pedagogy where, rather than providing activities that are *for* young people the events programme is designed and delivered *with* young people. This approach is pedagogically distinct from an expert or academic model where the aim is to transmit knowledge or to enlighten the learner. Instead, the peer-leader must learn about the artistic and cultural interests of the young people that they are working with. Peer-leaders and participants work together to construct an understanding rather than the 'experts' enlightening the 'other'. Paul Clements talks about the role of the educator as 'mediator' in his article, *The Recuperation of Participatory Arts Practices (2011).*

The reduction of learner dependency on the teacher is a prerequisite for student self-determination and underpins creative participation and radical cultural activism which thereby enables transformation (Merizow, 1991 in Clements, 2011: 27).

The focus within participatory creative education is on inclusion and developing a sense of community which then becomes the ideal forum for decision-making, debate and identity construction. Here the educator is the mediator (rather than the determinant) of participants cultural needs and their creativity, facilitating individual and collective potential which can then be explored in a non-authoritarian manner (Clements, 2011: 27).

Key features of such pedagogic approaches are the extent to which young people gain ownership of the programme and are given the support needed to realize their ambitions. Along with the freedom to make decisions comes knowledge about the structure of the organisation where they learn about and how to deal with the constraints and compromises associated with working in a national gallery. *Raw Canvas* aimed to provide opportunities for young people to conceive, plan and deliver programmes for their peers. This was not straightforward. Curating

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education events is a specialist field, and its associated skills and aptitudes are hard won by gallery staff, acquired through undergraduate and postgraduate courses and learned on the job, initially in junior positions. For young people to become peer-leaders a steep learning curve has to be negotiated, one that entails graduating from a training programme before learning through the practice of curating activities supported and mentored by specialist staff.

Youth programme pedagogy

Learning in youth programmes is voluntary, open-ended, learner-centred and loosely structured. It could be described as 'informal' learning although in using that term I would stress that 'informal' here relates to the nature of the learning *and* to the environment in which it takes place and does not simply describe the context as discussed in (Hohenstein, 2007). New pedagogies have been developed that are not didactic but conversational, peer-led and social. The peer-to-peer approach means that language that is familiar to young people is used and workshop activities are delivered informally. For example one activity can flow into the next, the tasks are not separated and targets are not explained at the start but rather emerge through the process; young people enjoy the open-ended feeling that apparently 'random' activities provide. Such learner-centred and dialogic approaches have been attractive to new audiences.

Over the past 20 years, there has been a shift in the way in which gallery professionals think about relations with the audience. In the past, attitudes to learning in the museum were more about information-based transmission models in which the public would be filled with facts about an object. In recent years there has been a shift of recognition towards the background and personal cultural history of the public as a vital part of the way in which they encounter works of art, such ideas fit within the social constructivist framework where the learner drives their own learning process as discussed in Claxton (1999), Falk and Dierking (2000), Hein (1998) and Hooper-Greenhill (2007).

Echoing the shift in perceptions of the audience a number of pedagogical issues emerge from *Raw Canvas* activities: the most striking is the rejection of strategies that are strictly about the object and that could be associated with a didactic, canonical approach. Instead, a pedagogy of relations 'between' participants and 'around' art objects is emphasised. This relational pedagogic approach is more in keeping with current trends in art practice in which the role of participant is transformed from viewer to collaborator. By attending to the relations between participants and the art object, during workshops, the facilitators' task is complex: they keep discussions conversational in order to encourage participation and they need to listen carefully and drop in questions or 'nuggets' of additional information about the artist, the work or the context in which it had been made. One aspect of this pedagogic approach is the decision to stand back and say nothing at times. In *Raw Canvas* sessions, an experienced Artist Educator works closely with peer-leaders to devise workshop activities. The activities are designed to allow participants to be social, to be relaxed and to be themselves in order to elicit personal and meaningful responses. To achieve this artists and peer-leaders ask open questions that project possible meanings onto the work, or lead towards preconceived lines of enquiry. Conversationally ideas, comments and interjections from the leaders are left unresolved in order that the participants can appropriate them and make meaning of their own. There is no pressure for any individual to respond to one particular question instead the sociable nature of the group fosters an exchange of ideas.

Engaging new audiences

Whilst museums have been 'open' for 150 years, recent research suggests that they are still mainly attended by the 'highly educated' middle class and the elite (Bennett, Savage, Silva, Warde, Gayo-Cal, Wright, 2009). The difficulties for contemporary

youth programmes stem from issues that arose during the mid-nineteenth century when museums and galleries were newly constructed as social places in which:

The working class – provided they dressed nicely and curbed any tendency towards unseemly conduct – might be exposed to the improving influence of the middle classes (Bennett, 1995: 28).

The drive to 'improve' the working class populace is as strong today as it has always been. We can see this through the desire of cultural institutions, government and funding bodies to encourage new audiences from 'hard to reach' groups, who do not normally engage with such types of cultural activities, and encourage greater diversity in attendance. For governments this participation in culture is connected to the desire for people to engage in civic life and become 'civilised' as a result. Chris Smith MP, Secretary of State for Culture (1997-2001) said 'because [the arts] lead us, sometimes gently, sometimes forcibly, sometimes imperceptibly, to self-knowledge, they also inevitably help both to shape and to characterise a society. The arts are a civilising influence' (Smith, 1999 in Wallinger and Warnoc 2000,14).

In the on-going debate about teacher training Robertson (2005) talks about the role of education in the development of young people's abilities to participate in civic life. She identifies two main positions. On one hand there are those who believe that schools should transmit 'deeply cherished democratic values' Ravitch and Viteritti (2001). Those who hold this view are concerned that 'today's students fail to acquire core civic knowledge, such as an understanding of how government works' Robertson (2005: 28). On the other hand, there are those who believe that education should involve a commitment to social justice. Robertson cites Walter C. Parker (2003) who 'holds that democratic citizens require a conception of justice that includes a "capacity for recognising patterns of domination and unfairness that may be lodged comfortably in everyday life and for working toward alternative ways of living together" (Parker, 2003: 73 in Robertson 2005: 28).

The Department for Culture, Media and Sport Autumn Performance Report (2005) details achievement against the 2002-2004 Public Service Agreement targets. In this report we can see the priority given to increasing audiences from certain groups:

P.S.A.2. Increase significantly take-up of cultural and sporting opportunities by new users aged 20 and above from priority groups.

Indicators:
1. Take up of arts opportunities by disabled people, black and ethnic minorities. Slippage in attendance.

2. Adult visitors from socio-economic C2, D and E groups to DCMS sponsored Target met early for museums and galleries (DCMS, 2005).

The attendance by some individuals is essential to the funding agreement with government and therefore prized by the museum. However, the encouragement for certain groups to become involved, rather than being embracive, can be restrictive because newcomers must learn to abide by institutional rules and codes of conduct. As such, it is often the learner who is asked to develop as a result of this experience, whilst the museum remains largely unchanged. Despite considerable effort to welcome a diversity of young people, the emerging pedagogy is often ambivalent towards the new audience as they are simultaneously welcomed and controlled (see Chapter 4).

In Foucauldian terms 'the instruments of government' in the 19th century were aimed at bringing about acceptable norms of conduct, not by corporal punishment but by manipulating behaviour through specifically built environments (Foucault, 1978: 95). In *The Birth of the Museum* (1995: 17-48), Tony Bennett describes museums as the kind of regulatory environment that Foucault talks about. I will discuss Bennett (1995) further in Chapter 6 but in relation to pedagogy, the museum function could be described as cultural governor of the populace. This relies on attracting people from all walks of life. Introducing new audiences to the museum environment creates a problem: do you teach the newcomers how to

behave 'correctly' or does the institution adjust its idea of appropriate conduct? Some of the multitude of activities within galleries have insisted on correct behaviours being observed whilst others have attempted to influence cultural change within the institution so that notions of 'appropriate conduct' are adjusted. As a result, the institution becomes pedagogically divergent by occupying elitist and populist positions simultaneously, creating tension and ambivalence in the way that the gallery approaches the audience. It is the space between the poles of elite and popular taste in which I have discovered the best opportunities for interesting and active projects, where the purpose and potential of the gallery is negotiated by project participants and facilitators.

The problem or 'knot'

The American conception of critical pedagogy discussed in Duncan-Andrade and Mowell (2008) and Darder, Baltodano and Torres (2009) underlines the importance of active projects that are negotiated by participants and facilitators together. Reading about critical pedagogy has helped me to recognise where some of the barriers exist that dis-able some young people from participating in culture. In talking about the pedagogies employed by youth programmes I keep coming back to the difficulty of welcoming the 'other', who is different, but then asking them to change/learn in order to appreciate the new culture that is on offer to them once inside the museum, I have called this 'ambivalence'. Rancière makes a forceful intervention into this aforementioned ambivalence through the axiom of the equality of intelligence (Bingham and Biesta, 2010: 44). Rancière's ideas resonate strongly with the aims of *Raw Canvas* however he illustrates a fundamental pitfall for pedagogies which attempt to be inclusive which is based on the simple notion that one should always try to start with equality rather than aim towards it. I will explore this tricky concept in more detail with closer attention to Rancière's work in chapter six. With all good intentions, youth programmes at Tate were grounded on an idea of 'equality' where 'young people can be heard speaking about art' (*Raw*

Canvas aims, 2001): an aim which makes the visitor's own experience, prior knowledge or schema into a contingent part of their learning. In this view everyone's opinion is equal: 'your opinion goes here' (*Raw Canvas* publicity, 2003). This was effective in terms of group management and open discussion where equality between contributors was foregrounded. When localised within youth programmes, focusing on the potential for young people to have an equal relationship with the gallery was an effective way to encourage a new audience to get involved. Once *Raw Canvas* became more integrated into Tate as a whole, young people's ideas and methods did begin to affect the activity and public programmes that were offered by the Tate. However, deep-seated knowledge hierarchies and powerful ideas held by senior staff at the gallery remained unchanged. For example, *Raw Canvas* created a skate park in response to futurism (see fig. 2 and 3). Although this was hugely successful in terms of attracting new audiences to the gallery, it was not celebrated by senior staff. It became clear that it had been simply tolerated by the curatorial team, as they doubted the validity of the idea as it had not come from an established artist. This raised significant questions for me about who and what Tate is for. At this point it became evident that the equality offered to young people was ideological not practical and, as such, it did not afford greater power to young people in relation to the institution.

What follows is an experience that crystalized for me many of the issues that had been bubbling away under the surface of my job for some time. For several years, I had become increasingly sceptical about some of the strategies that we were using but I didn't understand entirely what the problem was, or how to fix it. The process of researching for and writing this thesis has enabled me to unravel this incident.

In 2008-09, SOWF (Some Other Way Forward)[4] recruited two young men to take part in the 'Street Genius' programme during which they did a six-month internship

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[4] Some Other Way Forward was run by the South Bank and Bankside Cultural Quarter, a group of 22 arts and culture organisations based along the south of the River Thames, it offered world-class creative

at Tate Modern. The Street Genius programme was aimed at inclusion; it was set up to encourage participation by young people who were from communities that did not regularly visit the gallery. When we met it was clear that the two young men assigned to Tate Modern knew very little about Tate or about art and were, naturally, keen to know why the gallery was so highly regarded. In attempting to explain this I realised that I had made many assumptions about our starting point: I expected everyone to have heard of Tate or to know that culture of this kind is considered to be valuable, but that is not the case. Furthermore, the boys didn't come from families who were excited about the opportunities that working at Tate could bring, their families had never heard of Tate. I had to try to explain the value systems that define culture of this kind. This was a real eye opener and made me acutely aware of the inequality in this situation where I tried to explain my cultural values in order that they would be shared by the boys. Why were we aiming at inclusion in this way? What did we hope to achieve for the gallery or for the young men and their community? Was there an alternative?

Empowering young people and critical pedagogy

I needed to develop a critical pedagogy as an alternative to the current status quo between new audience and expert or learner and teacher, although I hadn't heard of critical pedagogy at the time. Critical pedagogy leads to an approach that empowers young learners because of the emphasis on preparing the educator to teach by heightening their critical perceptions of the world and the inherent inequalities that are often taken for granted or left unseen by the educational establishment. Critical pedagogy is a term of reference that is most often used in the United States. It refers to the practice of radical educators who engage critically with the impact of an unequal society on young people from disenfranchised groups. 'During the early 1900's, Dewey sought to articulate his pragmatic philosophy and expand on the idea

opportunities to local young people. The government's Invest to Save Budget funded Cultural Quarter projects like SOWF.

of community to explain the purpose of education in a democratic society' (Darder, Baldotano and Torres, 2009: 3). Dewey has been criticized because of his faith in creative intelligence and 'underestimating the sociopolitical and economic forces that shape inequality and injustice' (Darder et al., 2009: 3). But by linking the ideas of individual and social intelligences with the discourses of democracy and freedom, Dewey provided philosophical constructs that have been significant in the evolution of critical pedagogy (discussed in McLaren, 1989).

What is the purpose of learning programmes at the gallery when the aim is to encourage participation from communities who are not traditional gallery users?

To unravel some of the problems that occur within pedagogies that aim at inclusion I would like to draw on social and critical education theory and cultural studies to enable me to examine the art museum in its historical context and 'as part of the existing social and political fabric that characterises the dominant society' (Duncan-Andrade and Morrell, 2008: 23).

Deciding to work with young people in a gallery setting is a conscious decision for educators. Most come through some initial experience of working with school groups and at some point choose to specialise in working in informal ways with young people. This is often because they want to use strategies that appeal to young people who are hard to reach within the school environment but seem to respond well to working with artists in galleries. When I was an Artist Educator, teachers often remarked to me about students who were reluctant learners at school seeming to engage and respond with enthusiasm to the type of discussions conducted within the gallery environment. Youth programme curators in galleries have much in common with Duncan-Andrade and Morrell's (2008) definition of critical thinkers who believe 'that any genuine pedagogical practice demands a commitment to social transformation in solidarity with subordinated and marginalised groups' (Duncan-Andrade and Morrell, 2008: 23). For example, youth curators do not create activities for young people but instead work very closely with participants to devise programmes that are inclusive and that represent the views

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and ideas of the young people at whom they are aimed. In this respect, peer-led work is similar to critical pedagogy because facilitators and participants are committed to the concept of 'praxis' where teacher and student are working together. Youth-led pedagogies aim to emancipate the learner, freeing them from the inequality and restrictions that many have encountered in school. Youth programmes encourage young cultural consumers to critique the dominant cultural establishment. They do this as members of the young people's advisory group and through the events that they organise which draw artists from street culture into the rarefied space of the gallery. At advisory group meetings, there is an on-going critique of the hegemonic processes at work in the gallery. Artists and curators who work with young people gently rock the status quo and seek out counter-hegemonic alternatives to gallery programming. Luis Moll (2000) refers to 'funds of knowledge' that 'draw from the knowledge that students bring with them to school, knowledge that is often not in their textbooks but is acquired from the streets, family, cultural traditions, youth culture and the media' (Duncan-Adrade and Morrell, 2008: 9).

Social-constructivism and learning at the gallery

Most learning strategies in the gallery fit within a social-constructivist approach to education. Gallery activities are social and involve group work. Learning curators acknowledge that audiences come with their own lived experiences and that these experiences form part of the way that we look at art. Social-constructivism places great importance on the role of language in the learning experience 'in helping [learners] to understand new concepts and ideas' (Hohenstein and King, 2007). Discussion and conceptualisation through language are key components of *Raw Canvas* activities and, as such, social-constructivism is helpful to explore such learning experiences in depth.

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Constructivism has been criticised for placing too much emphasis on the activity of the learner and too little on the knowledge to be learned (Maher, 2004; Meszaros, 2006). This problem is a constant issue for facilitator/teachers in museums and galleries. On the one hand strong relationships of trust need to be built with participants and therefore educators stay close to the learner, but for learners to move beyond personal observations and adopt critical positions in relation to the art work the educator/interpreter has to situate themselves within proximity of the art work as well. Vygotsky's 'zone of proximal development' describes this process along with a need for 'scaffolding' the learner, also described by Vygotsky (1962, 2003).

A dialogical construct exists between participants, educator and artworks. During a workshop, for example, the facilitator is constantly making decisions about how to engage participants in the work. If we imagine that there is a scale where the artwork exists at one end and the viewer at the other. With a confident participant the facilitator, metaphorically, stays close to the artwork and through questioning draws the participant out of their subjectivity and 'into' the work. With a more reluctant learner, the dialogue is more conversational and stays closer to the viewer looking for 'hooks' to emerge between their subjective experience and the artwork itself.

Figure 1. The educators' position in relation to the participant and the artwork

artwork– – – – – – – – educator – – – – – – – – – – – – participant

It is important to keep in mind that the pedagogies that I am talking about are designed for teenagers, an age where new life experience occurs on an almost daily basis as they negotiate new roles and relationships in the world. Often young people become involved with the gallery when they have recently left compulsory education, they are learning to be self-directed, motivated and to position

themselves in the world through their own actions. Learning experiences aim to assist their development by promoting an open-minded and receptive outlook: museums can induce a condition of 'readiness to learn' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007). Learning in the gallery is not confined to organised sessions or to predetermined experiences: it can happen anywhere at anytime and is far more determined by the learner than by the gallery. Falk and Dierking (2000) call this 'free-choice learning', which, unlike compulsory learning experiences, is motivated by the individual. 'Learning is both a process and a product'.

People do not learn things in one moment in time, but over time (Falk and Dierking, 2000: 12).

Social-constructivist theories of learning state that learning is reflexive, social and accumulative in the sense that it builds on previous knowledge and it takes time, requires motivation and is active because the learner does not passively accept knowledge. Falk and Dierking (2000) define learning 'as a personally and socially constructed mechanism for making meaning in the physical world' (preface, xix). They go on to describe 'free-choice' learning 'that occurs in settings in which the learner is largely choosing what, how, where, and with whom to learn' (preface, xix).

Free-choice learning tends to be nonlinear, is personally motivated, and involves considerable choice on the part of the learner as to what to learn as well as where and when to participate in learning (Falk & Dierking, 2000: 13).

Social-constructivist theories of learning have emerged in recent decades and inform many areas of educational and social research, however, they can present some contentious ideas when related to conservative attitudes towards cultural objects that are still prevalent in houses of high-culture. George E. Hein takes the radical step of stating that 'constructing meaning is learning; there is no other kind' (Hein, 1991, paper). This idea seems straightforward, common sense in contemporary gallery education but it has two major implications for how we think about learning. As I discussed in chapter 2 traditional, conservative conceptions of

learning posit the idea that 'meaning' exists outside of the learner, an object or art work is thought to contain its own unique 'truth'. In order to understand that meaning the learner is expected to break out of their historical situation in order to objectively connect with the 'truth' about the work. Hein's view radically opposes that idea and any suggestion that a learner can be *given* meaning rather than making it for themself. In his conception, the assertion that the *learner* constructs meaning in order to learn is key. Hein states that:

1) we have to focus on the learner in thinking about learning (not on the subject/lesson to be taught):
2) There is no knowledge independent of the meaning attributed to experience (constructed) by the learner, or community of learners. (Hein, 1991)

These two ideas are at the heart of the cultural activities that genuinely attempt to encourage participation from a wide range of people. They create an opportunity for the two, *Street Genius*, boys I mentioned to bring their stories to the table and to take an active part in the discussion. The fixed nature of the gallery where *pre-selected* objects of cultural value are put on display for the public causes a problem for teaching and learning. The gallery and the art it contains need to be used as a resource for learning about art rather than as the subject in its own right. If this were the case then those boys could bring their experience to the table enabling a meaningful exchange to take place. Hein stresses that knowledge is active and is created by the learner this is in opposition to traditional attitudes towards learning. Hooper-Greenhill states that 'learning always involves the use of what is known already, and this prior knowledge is used to make sense of new knowledge and to interpret new experiences' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 35). In my research I am focussing on the pedagogy of youth programmes but that is critically bound together and in conflict, with the pedagogy of display. For a long time arts organisations have needed a common language to talk about learning.

The question of how cultural learning could be conceptualised (what counts as learning in museums, libraries and archives) can be seen as a sociological question, a question of the sociology of knowledge (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 21).

In the past, and in some places still, a gallery had an authoritative voice, one that represented the institution, offering a single reading of a work or exhibition. This has been termed the 'transmission of culture model'. Pedagogically the method employed by artist educators working with *Raw Canvas* contrasts with the transmission of culture model, as it is learner centred. This approach can be said to be in tune with current developments where galleries have opened up interpretation to other voices and offer plural readings. This stems from the belief that meaning is unstable and that the viewer is capable of handling several, often unresolved, propositions. Voices from other fields of knowledge, in addition to art history, feature in text, audio and multimedia interpretation. A learner-centred approach builds on this, placing the learner at the centre of an endeavour to understand a work of art through a range of approaches. Young people are given the tools to acquire and process information and knowledge. Similarly programmes designed to engage their peers are arrived at by the group playing with and processing this knowledge through, discussing, selecting, rejecting, compromising, modifying and finally agreeing a way forward.

To prepare them for the peer-led process young people have to engage with different kinds of knowledge. Artist educators introduce them to art historical knowledge initially accessed through Tate resources and research facilities but alternative points of view are also researched, some of which may be at odds with Tate's view. These are often critical of the art museum, describing it as a commodifier of culture, a gatekeeper reflecting narrow values. It is important that young people come to know the critical landscapes that help to define the role of the museum. Artist Educators provide 'trainees' with knowledge relating to institutions, their hierarchies, protocols, use of spaces, constraints and relations with the broader social and political landscapes; audience knowledge to ensure that

programmes are appropriate and engaging; museum education knowledge to give them a context for their work in planning and delivering programme and knowledge of other cultural forms, which often come into play when designing events for young people.

Meszaros provocatively discusses the tension between knowledge about the object and strategies for interpretation in her paper *Now THAT is evidence: tracking down the evil 'whatever' interpretation* (2006)*.* She argues that moderate hermeneutic thinking leads us to 'a persistent paradox: we can only see and find what we already recognise and know' and that this paradox leads to an abundance of personal meaning making and a lack of received or cultural knowledge (Meszaros, 2006: 12). I disagree and in this chapter I am making a case for successful pedagogic practices as those which start with personal meaning making, go on to enable people to become critical, which leads to empowerment where young people take action in the world. This is aligned with Rancière's (2006) argument for 'the capacity of anybody' rather than Meszaros's 'whatever interpretation' (Ruitenberg, 2010, 220). Although this is not an easy task particularly in the museum situation where educators meet participants for only a very short time.

Education programme curators are constantly working with young people to develop three main areas of understanding: art works; audience development; and workshop strategies, so that they can formulate their own ideas for events, courses and workshops. Conversation between members of the advisory group and the education curator lies at the heart of the peer-led planning process. Typically, the group starts in the gallery looking at works of art directly, discussing initial responses and key ideas. The curator has to be adept at picking up the cues in this open and free flowing conversation and at relating that which has been seen and discussed in the gallery, to the group's own experiences. This is followed by research into the key questions or ideas that have arisen. Later, educational events are based on this research and are conceived and planned by the group. At times the

conversation will start with discussions about young peoples' cultural interests such as music or film followed by a workshop in the galleries looking for cross cultural links. The curator's role is to move the group to a consideration of subtle or deeper links, getting them to think laterally. Research, more gallery sessions and more discussion follow. In this process, young people explore the deeper resonances of an activity: for example the social contexts of urban activity such as skateboarding. In this instance, a group member talked about their interest in skateboarding and the curator made links with some artworks in the gallery. Following a number of discussions the peer-leaders developed a proposal for a skateboarding event that linked to the themes of speed and movement in Futurism. The activity here is the creation of an event by young people and to do this they have to be taught to take an alternative stance in relation to the 'normal' models of display and consumption of culture, to try something different. In relation to critical pedagogy, this turns around the conservative and more common model of interpretation where young people learn from their elders and take on existing ideas. Youth programme activities link with young people's own cultural interests as a way to re-contextualise the work on display in the gallery and to encourage young people to experience the space. The importance of establishing a link between art and youth culture has implications for the pedagogy that is adopted. The knowledge that is produced about art needs to be open and negotiable so that the development of the programme can be steered by young advisors. It is important that ideas for the content of events have contributions from many young people so that activities appeal to a diverse public. In addition, informal and peer-led learning approaches are integral to successful work with young people as they drive their personal motivation to take part. Young people sometimes perceive traditional education to be restrictive. This is often when they feel that they are following a course of learning in which the teacher holds the knowledge, it is delivered in a predetermined way or they are expected to respond to it in ways that feel alien to them. When developing programmes for young people it is important that they are offered experiences that take them beyond the target driven parameters of attainment – where some have felt alienated.

The school system, in its more traditional didactic form, teaches young people to accede to the authority of experts. This conditioning, I would argue, is counterproductive when attempting to empower young people to make decisions and formulate their own opinions. Peer-led pedagogies aim to disrupt the hierarchies between teacher and pupil, the 'expert' and the 'learner' and instead create a self supporting learning community or 'community of learners' akin to Wenger's 'Communities of Practice' (Wenger, 1998) in which a group engaging in a shared endeavour form a community which can increase the confidence and engagement of all those in the group. Such an approach provides young people with the skills they need to take part in debate and to get their opinions heard.

Many young people have not been taught the critical skills required to take part in such debates. Although 'consulting young people' is a popular mantra in contemporary educational and cultural circles, the skills to take part in consultation are rarely developed. As a result, some young people are comfortable to speak their minds whilst others have to learn and develop the ability to see the world critically and to share their views.

Foucault talks about social control as conducted through 'regulating environments' that are the development of an alternative to the corporeal system of control that involved physical confinement and restraint. The Frankfurt School focused on issues of how the subject is constituted and 'how the spheres of culture and everyday life represented a new terrain of domination' (Giroux in Darder, Baltodano and Torres, 2009: 29). Youth Programme Curators challenge existing hegemonic structures through the programmes they construct, the methods they adopt and the outcomes that young people and artists produce in the form of events.

Interpretation strategies

What follows are three examples of pedagogic approaches that form part of the activities of the Raw Canvas programme. The first case study illustrates an activity with a hard to reach group; the second describes the peer-led planning process during which the programme is designed; and the third is an example of a gallery workshop in which specific pedagogy has been constructed in order to subvert the usual knowledge hierarchies.

Case study 1 –workshop for young mums

Here is an example taken from a workshop with young mums (aged 15 and under) from Cotelands Pupil Referral Unit, John Ruskin College, Croydon who were either pregnant or came with their babies or toddlers. They had two hours in the gallery looking at: Jackson Pollock, Summertime number 9, 1948; Gerhard Richter, abstract painting (809-3) 1994; and Henri Matisse, The Snail, 1953. They did some resource-based activities, observation, collage and expressed their views about the work. Lucy Wilson, the gallery educator they were working with wanted to encourage them to understand the processes used by Richter. The paintings on display were of familiar images taken from the 'Atlas' newspaper in Germany that Richter has over laid and almost entirely obliterated, with paint. Lucy gave them photocopied images of places that were likely to be familiar to them like Piccadilly Circus and Trafalgar Square. They were asked to cover the pictures with wax crayon. At first, they coloured in the images and then with more encouragement they were asked to move on from this and to cover the whole paper. The group got quite involved and enjoyed layering the crayon. They liked the effect of scratching back into the picture to reveal some of the image underneath. This enjoyment was significant because Richter is particularly interested in the process of painting, more than what the image actually depicts or represents. The activity helped them to look at the layers in the paintings, gave them clues to the materiality and the technique. It opened up

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the work, gave them a way in, a hook to latch their understanding onto. Lucy went on to show them a catalogue of some of Richter's other work that range from hyper-real to abstract works, like the ones in the room. By using this resource, the group could see that Richter could paint very realistically and so they could see that the abstract working was a decision taken by the artist rather than the result of him not being able to paint very well. (Gallery educators are familiar with children and adults disregarding abstract and non-figurative works because of an assumption that the artist is 'just not very good at it'). By participating in an art making process they were able to find out for themselves what the artist was trying to do, they weren't told this by a knowledgeable other but the learning experience was constructed in such a way that the artistic process was revealed. The participants started by making personal observations with the Pollock work, they went on to form an understanding of Richter's work and then were encouraged to talk critically about it. Having experienced the activity, they put the pieces together and formed their own understandings of the work.

One young woman crystallised her own understanding by talking about it to her child (see fig. 4). She had been resistant to joining in with the activities organised by the gallery educator and didn't participate with the rest of the group although she had stayed and listened, then, about half way through she took herself off with her baby and started to talk to the baby about the paintings. The baby was clearly engaged by this and became animated, looking and pointing at the picture. The baby becomes an agent by which the young woman constructed her own learning. This is the kind of modelling discussed in social learning theory (Rotter, 1954), (Bandura, 1977). The mother, whilst resistant to learning herself, is willing to immediately reproduce the behaviour of the educator in conversation with her child. The baby provides motivation for her to learn in order that she can teach. Memory (of what was observed), reproduction (of behaviour) and motivation, are key components in the learning that takes place. This kind of pedagogy creates a learning environment where, following some input by the educator, a workshop participant can make the

experience meaningful to them and feel a sense of ownership of the space. Learning in this way serves to construct this mother and baby as potential visitors in the future. By the end of the session, everyone had spoken and everyone had voiced an idea, an observation or an opinion in the public space of the gallery.

Case study 2 – Raw Canvas General Meetings

Raw Canvas general meetings took place from 6.30-8.30 on the first Monday of each month. Chaired by the Youth Programmes Curator (me) and attended by *Raw Canvas* members, the artists they were working with at the time and occasionally invited speakers from marketing (internal and external) and other youth groups. Each meeting had an agenda, notes were taken and minutes circulated afterwards.

The meeting agenda included: reviewing minutes from the last meeting, events that had been delivered, forthcoming events, issues arising and any other business. The structure was designed so that everyone could take part in the ensuing conversation either as event organisers or because they attended the event and could feedback as consumers. In circumstances where difficulties had occurred during delivery of the event, these issues were discussed in detail during the general meeting. As a team, we devised methods for working with the gallery that would enable *Raw Canvas* to achieve their desired outcomes. For example, the Curator for Young People's programmes showed images on the forthcoming futurism exhibition and *Raw Canvas* discussed the Futurists desire to represent the increasing speed that they were experiencing in the quickly modernising world of the early 1900s. *Raw Canvas* talked about this idea in a contemporary context and developed an interest in creating opportunities for people to experience speed at the gallery. They initially wanted to use the Turbine Hall ramp as a skate ramp but after discussion with the Head of Health, Safety and Security this idea was abandoned because of insurmountable health and safety problems. Instead, during a meeting in 2006, a more realistic plan was created and a carefully orchestrated strategy developed for introducing the idea of the aforementioned skate park outside the gallery to the

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Director and Senior Management team. The strategy involved *Raw Canvas* discussing the design of the park with experts from a specialist company whilst other members of the peer-leaders group gathered examples of artworks in the gallery (events were more likely to be allocated funding when a strong case was presented for the relevance of the activity in relation to the *gallery's* overall aims). By responding to an art historical theme, the skate park was given meaning in relation to the *gallery's* mission to develop the public's understanding of art. As this idea did not correspond to the usual activities of the gallery young people had to overcome a number of obstacles before getting the go-ahead. The end result was that the skate park succeeded in attracting a new audience to the gallery and was therefore successful according to the aims of the youth programme. But it still failed to be celebrated as a great Tate project. This demonstrates that youth programmers navigate uncertain terrain when they work closely with marginalised groups. The youth programmer's commitment to 'social transformation in solidarity with subordinated and marginalised groups' (Duncan-Adrade and Morrell, 2008: 23) often results in marginalisation for themselves in relation to their professional, art world peers. Creating programmes inside of this paradigm is not a neutral act it requires commitment to an ideology of emancipation that empowers the young learner.

Case study 3 – We are all Experts workshop series
We are all Experts offered a learning experience based on the principles of social constructivist and critical pedagogies and where 'local' meaning was produced through a moderate hermeneutical approach. *We are all Experts* was a series of workshops that took place at Tate Modern on Friday nights during the summer of 2009. The programme was created by *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders in collaboration with artists Emma Hart and Melanie Stidolph. It was an attempt to construct a new pedagogy, a new approach: one that acknowledged the power of the expert voice to an under confident audience and one that sought to challenge the whole notion of the 'expert' head on.

To enable many voices to be heard speaking about art it was important that the events were well attended by a varied group of interested parties. To this end, multiple marketing approaches were used to reach the broadest range of young people demographically, educationally and culturally. Prior to each workshop, *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders spent two hours handing out flyers to the young public inside the gallery and outside in the surrounding area. There was also event information in the Tate events booklet, on the website, in the *Raw Canvas* newsletter, by email, on Facebook, through the blog and by word of mouth. The workshops attracted higher than expected numbers of people. The maximum group size for an effective discussion in the gallery is 20 but the highly visible nature of the event attracted many passers by as well: on three occasions, there were over 40 participants. The workshops were popular with adult visitors as well as young audiences. The peer-leaders decided to permit adults to take part in the interests of having a variety of experiences enabling pluralist and multi-faceted interpretations to take place in an open, public facing event without restrictions. Although considerable effort had been made to attract a broad range of participants the workshops were mainly attended by young people in further or higher education; they did however attract at least two thirds of young people from non-art subjects. Perhaps because of their stated aim to be non-canonical and not to have a traditionally expert voice, they failed to attract a specialist audience. This is interesting in thinking about which are the appropriate pedagogical approaches for programmes that aim to emancipate young people. It would seem that young people whose knowledge corresponds to the canon have less interest in events that aim to emancipate and are more interested in didactic events whose purpose is to contribute to specialist subject knowledge. Equally, they failed to attract a novice audience.

By holding an open discussion in public, the aim was to challenge the canonical voice and conventional notions of who has the right to speak about art, and whose knowledge is valid in making interpretations of art? The *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders

produced placards in the shape of speech balloons. On the placards were questions like 'love it or hate it?' and instructions like 'get the message' and 'trust your instincts' or the beginning of a possible response 'this reminds me of' (see fig. 5). These were intended to urge the public to take part and to stake out some space in the gallery for the discussion to take place. The placards drew attention to the event but they also had the surprising effect of lending legitimacy to the group by giving them a presence in the gallery. One peer-leader, Katie Schwab commented '*Raw Canvas* activities always seem inherently antagonistic to the institution – whether it's through waving placards, or playing music, or going to the gallery in fancy-dress'.

Entitling the series *We are all Experts* was intended to purposefully avoid one singular [dominant] voice being heard over and above the others. The approach of the facilitators was crucial to avoid being identified as the expert voice: the facilitators were not leading the group from the front but instead positioned themselves within the group. A peer-led pedagogy was used for many reasons: to make participants feel at ease, to enhance the social nature of the session and the ensuing discussion, to provide a fresh perspective on modern and contemporary art, to avoid a traditional 'expert' voice which could be considered off-putting. The approach meant that instructions to participants were issued by their peers and as such were less authoritative and came across as 'suggestion' more than 'instruction'. Instead of using a didactic pedagogy the artist educator, and facilitators listened carefully to the discussion and interjected additional questions or extra 'nuggets' of information about an artist, their work or the context in which it was made. This helped to steer the discussion and ensure that personal interpretations did not become too relativist in nature.

For example: during the first *We are all Experts* session on 4 June 2009, Robert Morris's *Untitled* (1967-8, remade 2008) was discussed (see fig. 6). One of the peer-leaders interrogated the work from her perspective using questions suggested by the artist educator. The questions were in the form of '10 top tips 'for looking at art

and included: What is your first impression of this artwork? What does it remind you of? What does it look like? What does it smell like? What would you say if you were the artist? Who is it aimed at?

The peer-leader talks about the work and many of the audience chip-in with ideas or more questions. When the conversation starts to falter – signaled by the peer-leader exhausting a line of enquiry about the manufacture of the work, the artist educator draws the discussion back out again to consider the whole object: has it been hung right, peer-leader responds I would ask the artist 'if you could stretch it out then is it a square'?

To which the artist educator responds:

I think if you hang it those lines would be straight but because the way that it's displayed makes it all curvy and organic it is challenging the canvas, in that way I think it's quite controversial and provocative. (Artist Educator)

This is fascinating in the space of the gallery where the curators voice dominates on text panels and labels. Where Robert Morris's voice is not present in the interpretive text in the gallery the artist educator steps in and speaks on behalf of him. These types of gallery workshops often use techniques that stimulate discussion by allowing the exhibiting artist to speak through their work.

The participants pick up the idea of the way it's been displayed and consider other ways that it could be displayed and explore ideas about why is it displayed in this way? In this room? With these pieces of work?

The artist educator responds to the discussion and ends by directing the participants towards more work by Robert Morris in other areas of the gallery:

It's interesting that you want to get into it and play with it. It's why Robert Morris has stuff that you can interact with, there's more downstairs. (Artist Educator)

By inviting non art-specialist friends and acquaintances, *Raw Canvas* wanted their speakers to use the 'knowledge' that young people already possess. They brought their prior knowledge into the interpretations that they made. Here the pedagogy was about the primacy of the non-expert voice when making interpretations about art. It was also 'social' pedagogy that centred on the relationship of group members with each other; group members with the facilitators (including the peer-leaders) as well as between each individual and the art object. The interpretations were the result of complex dialogue between these agents. The underlying aim for the project came from Tate's imperative to encourage 'cultural omnivorousness' in young people and to encourage a new and more diverse generation of confident, cultural consumers who can make their own judgments.

Reflecting on pedagogy and strategies for inclusion

As we can see through the case studies I have presented, when the facilitating artist and the peer-leaders are looking at an artwork for the first time neither party has specific a priori knowledge about the work, but the looking is still facilitated by the artist as their pedagogic knowledge enables them to navigate a path to understanding by formulating relevant questions to ask of the work. This approach resonates with Jacotot in Rancière's 'Ignorant Schoolmaster' when he successfully teaches a language of which he has no knowledge proving that a teacher can teach without knowledge. A version of this approach is used when 'translating' art works in the gallery especially during peer-to peer learning. Rancière (in Bingham and Biesta, 2010: 3) describes the ignorant schoolmaster as an authority, a will that sets the learner off on a path to understanding but crucially the ignorant schoolmaster does so by instigating 'a capacity already possessed', a capacity that comes from learning, without a teacher.

I established in chapter four that negotiated knowledge is vital if the learning is to be meaningful to the learner. In this chapter, I have illustrated the complex role of

the educator in learner centred practices. Peer-led practices are an important part of creating an inclusive paradigm. Giving young people the skills to work in this way is akin to the nurturing process that takes place at home where they are 'coached' rather than 'taught' in a formal way. Many young people have expressed the value of their experience in the *Raw Canvas* programme because it happens outside of school. It supports them towards the end or after their school education has finished, and, provides them with skills by which they can start to make sense of themselves in the world. This is often an area of their late teenage lives where they feel very isolated and for many there is no alternative support.

In the gallery, learning activities employ pedagogic strategies which attempt to maintain equality between education curator, artist and peer-leader: the curator knows little about urban youth culture and the young people know little about modern and contemporary art, working with artists enables a sharing of knowledge in order to create successful events and activities. In contemporary Britain it goes without saying that public art galleries continually strive to engage the broadest number of people in looking at art. Since the establishment of CEMA (The Committee for Encouragement of Music and the Arts), in 1940 they have tried to be inclusive to everyone. The slogan 'arts for all' sets out a mandate for change as a means to break down the exclusivity that has surrounded many arts and cultural venues. For many reasons, museums and in particular their learning departments have taken on the view held by the education sector that if more people were included in culture then society would become more equal. In this view, inclusion is a predetermined end point through which, it is hoped that equality can be achieved. To understand my failure with the *Street Genius'* I want to explore this further.

Ranciére's insistence on equality rather than inclusion
Rancière distinguishes between the two aims of 'inclusion' and 'equality'. He sees them as oppositional and not complementary. This opposition begins to explicate the tensions that I have experienced in my role as educator and programme curator

where the dual purpose of the job has been to create learning programmes for young people *and* to build new audiences. The drive for inclusion has led to the creation of an inconsistent pedagogical approach that is, at times, in opposition to the aims of equality on which the programme was founded.

Bingham and Biesta (2010) explore the distinction between 'equality' and 'inclusion' in Rancière's 'Ignorant Schoolmaster'. Inclusion exists as an institutional and governmental ideal and is seen as 'the' core value of democratic society. Conversely, striving for 'equality' is not about searching for an end result but is about establishing an equal starting point.

[inclusion], in a sense, knows where it wants to go, [equality] only knows where it wants to start (Bingham and Biesta, 2010: 73) (my parentheses).

The emancipatory aims of the *Raw Canvas* programme are connected to 'inclusion' - to recruit and engage a diverse group of young people. The strategies that govern the approach to the learning and personal development of participants strives to create 'equality' between group leaders and young people so that the young people can learn in accordance with their own agenda. The two aims are interconnected but they are also in conflict. Consequently, there are tensions between the aims of the programme and the pedagogical approaches that I have described.

Inclusion is not only the main point and purpose of democracy, it is also one of its main problems (Bingham and Biesta, 2010: 74).

There are some significant similarities between the governance of the gallery within the cultural sector and structures that exist in government within democratic society. In its drive to include the public in the shaping of programmes the gallery shares the democratic will to include the demos in the ruling of society (or the gallery itself) and 'the insertion of those outside of the democratic order into democracy' (Bingham and Biesta, 2010: 82). In this respect the notion of 'deliberative democracy or decision making by discussion among free and equal

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individuals' (Elster, 1998: 1 and Bingham and Biesta, 2010: 76) is an important consideration. However, Rancière would argue that this notion of 'democracy and inclusion is actually about the creation of a particular police order and of the insertion of those outside of this order into the order' (Bingham and Biesta, 2010: 82) Rancière's notion of 'police' in relation to democracy is the idea of 'police equated with the 'law', law here shouldn't be equated simply with written laws and legal institutions, but all those unwritten laws that define social practices and customs' (Rancière, 2009). The idea of adopting the social practices, customs and values of the dominant institution relates to my experience with the Street Genius's. Rancière's concern is that democracy conceived in this way becomes about numbers – those who are included and those who are not – and that this kind of democratization is about extending the existing democratic order. He reveals the limitations of this approach to democracy and urges us to adopt a less quantitative view of inclusion and instead to look to reconfigure the 'distribution of the sensible' in order to achieve equality. 'Rancière's insistence on equality is precisely not a plea for inclusion *if*, that is, we think of inclusion as the insertion into an existing police order' (Bingham and Biesta, 2010: 84). In chapter 6, I will develop my ideas around Rancière's understanding of democracy which is essentially a disruptive process where those with no voice acquire one.

Conclusion

Pedagogical systems that give everyone the authority to speak create good conditions for effective consultation and participation. Complex negotiations between individuals and institutions are necessary if we are to create productive engagement between young people and cultural activity. In this chapter, I have attempted to shed light on the pedagogical complexities of running new programmes for new audiences in existing cultural institutions. Pedagogies that emerge as a result of moderate hermeneutic practices are intrinsically dialogic and have the potential to be inclusive to all. However, critical pedagogy requires that

educators learn alongside participants and, as I have highlighted, this can lead to complex relations. Do moderate hermeneutic strategies disadvantage learners who have no experience of culture?

This exploration of issues is an attempt to locate problems and, in turn, to seek solutions. It is not a criticism of existing programmes or intended to detract from the wealth of fabulous projects run at Tate and at other galleries, or from the highly positive outcomes experienced by young people, staff and institutions as a result of these projects. In fact, I hope that this chapter throws light on the in depth work of youth programme curators and young people in continually rethinking and reshaping the cultural offer in order to engage new audiences in meaningful ways. However, in recent years in London and in certain parts of the UK there has been a significant increase in the number of young people who come from racial and cultural backgrounds that are not reflected in the cultural institutions of the dominant culture. This predicates an urgent need to re-examine 'culture': what it means and for whom. Many people who work in museums and galleries are committed to opening the doors to everyone, but, if our programmes are to be for everyone then the pedagogies used need to not simply indoctrinate young people into the existing culture but reflect the diversity of starting points and enable the dominant culture to be altered by its new audiences. Pedagogies of display, public-performance and participation are being reconceptualised by artists and arts organisations across the UK. How the visual arts will evolve, remains to be seen.

In chapter 6 I will explore inclusion and young people with reference to Paolo Freire, Jacques Rancière and Pierre Bourdieu to establish a theoretical position vis a vis pedagogy as a tool for emancipation. This will help me to understand the potentialities of the *Raw Canvas* programme and its attitude towards learners. I will use my three theoretical chapters to interrogate my data in chapters 8 and 9

Chapter 6

Pedagogies for emancipation

Introduction

Following my initial investigations into the social and political history of gallery education, I have explored theoretical positions that explicate apparently 'inclusive' practices aimed at engaging young people with art. I have explored hermeneutics and critical pedagogies to begin formulating my approach to gallery education practices, which I will use later in my analysis of the data.

In chapter 6, I will explore a selection of 'emancipatory pedagogies' that inform the gallery's desire to include young people and be embracive to all audiences. I will extend this in the following chapter to look more broadly at contemporary society and young people's motivation to learn in order to form a better profile of the audience that the gallery seeks to attract. I will look at the nature of learning in social and peer-groups or 'communities of learners', and, refer to Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppresse*d (1970) and Rancière's *The Ignorant Schoolmaster* (1991). I will review pedagogical theories that aim to engage with diverse audiences through political and practical methods. Such theoretical positions draw on humanist approaches to empower and emancipate learners and I will look at them in relation to peer-led practices for learning that are socially and pedagogically complex. I will also explore the socio-cultural context of cultural consumption as expressed by Pierre Bourdieu along with his construction of the notion of 'symbolic violence' as that is important for this study. Throughout this chapter, I will relate these pedagogical enquiries to the *Raw Canvas* programme.

Learning for change
My chosen theorists explore pedagogical situations in which the learner is empowered.

The type of learning described here is not akin to the 'banking model' identified by Freire (1970: 53) in which students are '*receptacles* to be *filled* by the teacher (ibid.). It is in direct contrast to this because the aim is to empower the learner and as such is associated with Freire's notion of '*conscientização*' (1970: 55) or 'coming-into-conciousness' where, through the learning process, the individual develops in ways that enable them to speak out and take action.

Through Rancière we are forced to confront the notion of 'equality' and I will explore his pedagogical proposal about the 'equality of intelligences' as a means to understand the dialogue that takes place in peer-to-peer learning. In this instance there is no master explicator but rather 'a pure relationship of will to will' in which young people learn together. As a result, they are empowered to undertake more self-directed learning in the future, rather than waiting for the expert artist/curator to make an explanation for them. (Rancière, 1991: 13)

A 'crisis' in contemporary working class youth culture has developed between 2000 and 2011 raising issues about power and equality in contemporary society. From an American context, Henry Giroux (2009, 2012) talks about:

A pervasive racism, a growing disparity in income and wealth and a take-no-prisoners neo liberalism, an increasing number of individuals and groups are being demonised, criminalised, or simply abandoned, either by virtue of their status as immigrants or because they are young, poor, unemployed, disabled, homeless, or stuck in low-paying jobs (Giroux, 2009: 9).

In his view this generation of young people in America have been 'destroyed by the merging of market fundamentalism, consumerism and militarism (ibid: 12). In the UK David Harvey talks about:

A political economy of mass dispossession, of predatory practices to the point of daylight robbery, particularly of the poor and the vulnerable, the unsophisticated and the legally unprotected, has become the order of the day (Harvey, 2011).

Whilst this inherently sociological issue, although with deep psychic effects, may seem to be tangential to this research it has deep implications for the study of youth programmes during this period. Understanding the 'crisis' in youth culture is essential to enable the development of appropriate pedagogies for working with young people in the future. To explore the implications of class on the current generation of young people I will, in this chapter, refer to the research conducted by The London School of Economics and The Guardian newspaper about the UK 'riots' in August 2011 along with commentary by political figures and the media.

The context for emancipatory participation

In chapters 3 and 4 I explored the theory and practice of interpretation in the gallery that enables plural meaning making to occur. In this chapter, I will focus on the particular context of the gallery, *Raw Canvas* workshops, where learning takes place in groups and is governed by social as well as educational constraints.

Tate is not a neutral space it is shaped by the society that it inhabits and by tradition: a prevailing culture derived from this tradition, curatorial practices, art histories, Government policy, and the changing nature of art practice. Tate is a politically and culturally active space. It is perpetually in a state of flux as it forms and reforms all aspects of its organisational mission in relation to internal and external forces. As an organisation it has to conform to social, administrative and ethical norms, which form part of day-to-day life in the UK.

The cultural space is a contested one. Questions arise about who holds the authority to enter it and who holds the knowledge to interpret it. Who should decide what is done and said in the context of an exhibition? 'Giving authority to those who have none' (Jacobs, 2000)

Who is given authority to speak in the space of the museum? Everyone has a 'voice' and, everyone should be heard and be given the opportunity to be challenged (Jacobs 2000).

In my experience, curators who work with young people sometimes experience difficulties in negotiating space or opportunities for activity. Exhibition curators can be seen as protectors or arbiters of the cultural space and can appear to be reluctant to allow young people to take charge or influence its occupation. *Raw Canvas* interventions in the gallery space were hard won: to gain permission for the staging of public events young people have had to prove themselves according to the rules and protocols of the museum, taking on less ambitious enterprises initially to gain the trust of exhibition curators and gallery staff. In time they can earn the freedom to do more. Intellectual hierarchies have been very prominent at Tate: this means that aspects of the organisation that focus on academic, collection based areas of work have been more highly valued than those where visitors and audiences are the focus. These internal hierarchies have meant that some museum education programmes are distanced from the primacy of curatorial decisions about the object. Instead, they have focused on learning about the objects themselves rather than thinking about the museum as a site or context in which we encounter certain pre-selected cultural objects.

In *Common Culture,* Paul Willis (1990) talks about de-institutionalising museums and galleries. He insists that to make high-art institutions relevant to young people they must colonise them. To some extent this has been happening: I have witnessed over a number of years the culture at Tate moving from a dominant preoccupation with the art-object and associated scholarship, to a culture that embraces young people's activities. The advent of *Young Tate* as a senior management priority in 2005 (Jackson et al, 2006), to create a young people's programme across all four Tate sites, demonstrated the importance of this work to the institution as a whole. The restructuring of the learning department in 2010 was intended to even-out the imbalance that has existed between education curators. Those working on programmes that offer more traditional, academic activities have, in the past, been

more highly regarded than those whose work engages new audiences. Whilst engaging new audiences continues to be a high priority for publicly funded organisations there is little evidence at present that this will be reflected in the status of audience focused staff in art museums.

Young people, power and freedom

In this section, I am foregrounding the emancipatory pedagogies that I will discuss later in the chapter with a short discussion of the perceived value of introducing young people to culture at all. In previous chapters, I have talked about the political imperative of governments to include all of society in cultural activity. Those imperatives stem from the opening up of museums in the 19th century and continue into early 20th century developments that gave the State a more paternal role in caring for the dispossessed initially through taxation and later through the formation of the welfare state (Robinson, 2011, BBC2). Running alongside changes to the systems of government has been an overarching belief that culture civilises (Clark, 1969), (Smith, 2000). Contemporary art galleries are uneasy about occupying positions that are evangelical, moralising or 'do-gooding'. Paolo Freire's work offers another lens through which we can think about the value of art when he talks about 'becoming more fully human' (Freire, 1970, 26). This is not to impose an instrumentalist agenda in which art mends the problems in society but it does acknowledge that most people working in this field do so because they believe that art is valuable in creating a more whole person and they want as many people to come into contact with it as possible (Arts Council, 2010: 4, Balshaw, 2008: 11). 'Humanising' is different from 'civilising', humanising is about becoming connected with the humanity in people and in the self as opposed to 'civilising' which is to do with societies ideas about appropriate behaviour.

Existing in poverty in a capitalist society with limited opportunities for progression is a familiar narrative for many young people living in inner cities. The visible contrast between those who have wealth and those who don't is highly apparent in

most parts of London. Working with young people I am aware that for some the desire for designer clothes is heightened by the celebrity lifestyles seen in the media to which many young people aspire. Not being able to afford such luxuries in a consumer society makes people feel outside of that society. I think that a contributory factor in the London riots in August 2011 could be understood as the oppression that Freire describes where 'sooner or later being less human leads the oppressed to struggle against those who made them so' (Freire, 1970, 26).

From 2003-2010, there was an overwhelming drive to direct cultural activities exclusively towards young people whilst funding was cut from adult education and lifelong learning initiatives. The sheer amount of funding available for organisations to work with young people made those young people who came from deprived areas or family and cultural backgrounds into valuable visitors for cultural organisations. In objective terms, they were valuable in financial terms and, as such, they could be described as 'economic objects'. For a few short years they were in demand but this also made them objects to be counted and in this way 'stripped them of their humanity' to use a Freire phrase. They became statistics and their demographic information was far more important to the gallery than what they thought or what they had to say. (I have never been asked for qualitative data from *Raw Canvas* but had to constantly supply quantitative information about the demography of participants).

Throughout my career as an artist and gallery educator, I have carried a strong belief in arts ability to offer an alternative to the kinds of consumerist desires that can consume individuals in contemporary societies. I am not referring to the kind of art that has deep routes in the capitalist marketplace where artworks are bought and sold as blue-chip commodities. Instead, I mean the alternative presented by personal involvement in making art and consuming art in free entry museums and not-for-profit galleries. As a young person I became aware that being enthralled in looking at or making art gave me a feeling that nothing else could, I felt connected to ideas, inspired, part of a dialogue, it connected me to being human, I felt authentic

not commodified or stylised and I didn't have to *buy* that feeling, it was free. When Tate Modern opened I was aware that it was similar to a shopping mall or department store but instead the objects on display were not tempting you to buy they were tempting you to think. Chantel Mouffe writes a compelling précis of the value and potential of public museums as an alternative to consumer activity and a site for debate to take place:

In the case of museums, my view is that, far from being condemned to playing the role of conservative institutions dedicated to the maintenance and reproduction of the existing hegemony, museums and art institutions can contribute to subverting the ideological framework of consumer society. Indeed, they could be transformed into agonistic public spaces where this hegemony is openly contested (Mouffe, 2013, 100)

I have worked with many young people who would not bring their friends to Tate Modern because their friends wouldn't like it, 'they only like going shopping' and I have discussed this with *Raw Canvas* sometimes using it as the basis for events like *Art & Money.* I talked about this in a filmed interview for the '*Us and the Other*' project in 2002. (Background information and interview data from this project will be presented in chapter 8 and 9.) In the interview conducted by *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders I was asked:

Interviewer: "Why does art 'make people better citizens' [as I had inferred when answering a previous question]?"
Me: 'Because art isn't shopping, it isn't drinking, in a way it can be a positive influence. Art makes people think about things but it's not always easy.'

I have always been motivated to increase access to the arts because art is a leisure activity that is not, or doesn't have to be, commercial. So many of the activities available to, and aimed at, young people cost money and few young people have any money. For all the young people who have little financial capital but plenty of time; and for those who are angry with the establishment, asking questions or rocking the status quo: art is a good focus, especially the voice of dissent that often pervades modern and contemporary art.

What is important here is to use the opportunity provided within museums through their unique positioning as public spaces occupying space between and across governmental, educational, social and commercial ideologies to stimulate discussion. Such opportunities enable us to think relationally and to consider different forms of association in contrast to the more prevalent disassociated nature of existing social, political and economic practices.

For those with much cultural and educational and little economic capital, museums provide consecrated sites to view art in a social space where economic capital is neutralised; since art objects are not available for purchase, they can participate on an equal footing with those from more dominant factions of society' (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007: kindle location 1549).

Research produced by LSE and the Guardian (2011) has provided some elaboration on the questions about who took part in the August Riots, 2011 and why rioters who were predominantly young and poor got involved in the events (*Reading the Riots*, 2011). The overriding story is one of hopelessness, poverty and inequality. A strong sense of young people who are disenfranchised and outside of society, angry with police, government and the institutions that they perceive to be directly connected with the State.

The worst street disturbances in decades were, according to many of the people who caused them, 'anti-police' riots. (Reading the Riots Report, 2011: 606)

Youth programmes have been seen as ways to engage the disenfranchised (although an honest exchange with a gallery professional will often reveal that many strategies have failed to do this). Because of this failure, we urgently need to change the pedagogical approach to engage with the current generation of young people who are disaffected by the institutions of the state which includes national galleries and museums.

In *Out of the Ashes: Britain after the riots* (2011) David Lammy MP talks about the 'two revolutions' or 'two liberalisms' that have fundamentally affected British society one to do with civil rights and the other to do with a free market economy.

The first was social and cultural: the social liberalism of the 1960s. The second was economic: the free market, liberal revolution of the 1980s. (Lammy, 2011: 17)

Both are 'built around notions of personal freedom' (ibid: 19) but have created a tendency to ignore the fact that, as a society, we are all heavily dependant on one another. This is important and I think is obscured by social relations within capitalist organisations where market values and consumer oriented, service economies dominate. If a different ethical model is realised, in which all people contribute to the development of their community, it could open up new social spaces.

Bourdieu talks about 'the personal cost of social change (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007: kindle 396)

How can pedagogies that aim to empower and emancipate individuals also succeed in binding together communities of learners in self-supporting networks?

Emancipation as a political act
Paolo Freire

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), Paolo Freire talks about the need to awaken the critical consciousness in oppressed people's in order for the oppressed to 'become more fully human' (Freire, 1970: 26). He talks about the 'dehumanization' that results from oppression, as something, which not only effects the oppressed, but also the oppressors. The great task of the oppressed is 'to liberate themselves and the oppressors as well' (26). Within my research, Freire's concept of enhancing a person's humanity through education can help me to explore what and how the learner is learning.

In my perception, young audiences from backgrounds that are not usually seen visiting galleries equate to 'oppressed people's'. In the first instance this may seem to be an over-dramatic claim but I argue that within the hegemony of the high-art establishment there are ways of doing, thinking, being and attributing value that are the preserve of the museum, it's staff and management teams. The approach to everything from building style, programmes and types of artwork on display reflects their aspirations and values. (Pomian, 1990, Bourdieu, 1984, Bennett, 1995).

Freire discusses 'generosity' and 'false charity' as something which maintains the state of oppression. 'True generosity' occurs when the effort is made to get oppressed people's to extend their hands less for charity and instead to make them 'human' again, get them working and through that process able to 'transform the world' (ibid: 27) This does not sound dissimilar to the edict 'get on your bike' offered by Norman Tebbit, Secretary of State for Employment (1981-86) and subsequent governments who have seen getting people off welfare as a key way to fix societies problems. Such ideas surprise me as they assume that a mechanical solution will work rather than understanding that, particularly in the case of young people, ideas are entrenched in ideology. To 'target' the 'other', those who don't attend, in ways that don't take account of their situation as learners can be viewed as a form of oppression. To fund programmes that are aimed at teaching the 'other' what to value is oppressive. A pedagogy that insists on a predetermined programme of study, which places a prescribed artwork at the centre of the discourse and expects the 'other' to be interested has many similarities to Freire's description of the oppressor.

Every prescription represents the imposition of one individual's choice upon another, transforming the consciousness of the person prescribed to into one that conforms with the prescriber's consciousness. (ibid: 29)

Gallery programmes need to go out into communities to have open ended conversations with 'target' groups where ideas about issues that concern those people are exchanged, 'to liberate, and to be liberated, with the people – not to *win*

them over' my emphasis (Freire, 1970: 76). Following Freire's model: having located some areas of interest by talking to the 'target' community the art educator can select art works to look at with the group that are about some of the shared themes that they have identified together, through dialogue.

In developing the *Raw Canvas* programme I wanted to challenge the traditional, curator-led model by supporting a programme that brought young people together as active organisers of activities for themselves and their peers. We were asking ourselves questions about the value of structured, educational programmes, or '*systematic education'* as Freire puts it, for disenchanted and marginalised young people in contrast to '*educational projects*, which should be carried out *with* the oppressed in the purpose of organising them' (Freire, 1970: 36). Our struggle to create a project that belonged to young people resonates with Freire's concerns when he says 'How can the oppressed as divided unauthentic beings, participate in the pedagogy of their liberation?' (Freire, 1970: 30) At Tate, new strategies were developed to answer this and *Raw Canvas* devised a tag line in 2003 that read, 'a youth art initiative run *by* young people, *for* young people, just the way it should be' (*Raw Canvas* publicity material, 2003) which is very similar to, 'a pedagogy that must be forged *with,* not *for*, the oppressed' (Freire, 1970: 30).

The process by which the education project takes place is of primary importance to Freire. To be emancipatory the process must acknowledge the exploitative relationship between oppressed and oppressor 'because it interferes with the individual's ontological and historical vocation to be more fully human' (ibid: 37). The idea that Freire repeats often is that emancipation will only be possible if pedagogy is carefully constructed, continually refined and allows for the oppressed to participate in their own liberation. There is much in common between Freire and Rancière who both struggle with the dichotomy of teacher/student, expert/ignorant in their search to create a situation that seeks to emancipate not suppress.

Education must begin with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction, by reconciling the poles of the contradiction so that both are simultaneously teachers 'and' students (Freire, 1970: 530).

It is important, in a peer-led workshop, that everyone (leaders and participants) look at the art works for the first time. In this way no one has prior knowledge and expertise about that work everyone brings their own experiences as tools for interpretation. The investigation is done by the group and not handed down by an expert. We might see this as defining a 'space of equality' in that everyone is able to say something.

The methodology proposed requires that the investigators and the people (who would normally be considered objects of that investigation) should act as 'co-investigators' (Freire, 1970: 87).

Whose culture is it?

The aptly titled report: '*Whose cake is it anyway*? published by the Paul Hamlyn Foundation in 2011 contains information gathered from art organisations, their staff and members of the communities that they serve. It explores the relationships between the activities on offer from the cultural organisations, their aims and the experience of their consumers.

Communities remain, or at least perceive themselves to be, fundamentally separated from processes within these organisations: rather than engaging at every level of their work, they are relegated to mere consumption of museums' and galleries' 'products'. (Lynch, 2011: 6)

This is an example of disassociation and relates to my previous point about the importance of thinking relationally to join up the opportunities and experiences that are available to people.

Some forms of culture are oppressive to those who create art that doesn't fit within the established hegemony, especially when those producers want to display their

work or are encouraged to engage with work that seems alien to them. A common complaint from people about arts organisations is that potential new audiences want opportunities to show their work but arts organisations are set up to show and promote the work of artists of their choosing. 'Any situation in which 'A' objectively exploits 'B' or hinders his and her pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person is one of oppression' (Freire, 1970: 37) 'because it interferes with the individual's ontological and historical vocation to be more fully human' (ibid: 37).

This description of the tension that Dash experienced as an art student illustrates this:

Going to Chelsea was a traumatic experience, because the students and certainly the staff favoured avant-garde work. The tensions between those two diametrically opposed positions almost destroyed me; the only thing that kept me going was my own passion for making work (Dash in Allen, 2011: 77).

Dash experienced trauma because he didn't value the type of art that was popular in his art college at the time. Bourdieu talks about the relationship between taste and social labelling.

Categories of thinking and the words used to talk about art are therefore bound to a particular socio-historical context, and marked 'by the social positions of the users who exercise the constitutive dispositions of their 'habitus' in the aesthetic choices these categories make possible. (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007, kindle 1158 quoting Bourdieu, 1984: 262)

A highly influential factor, when striving for new interpretive approaches that engage multiple audiences, is the *type* of art that you are looking at. 'In the broader field of the arts music, performance and dance are more often frequented by new audiences than art galleries' (Bennett et al, 2009). In my experience as an Artist Educator figurative, realistic or familiar work that has a narrative content is more appealing to new audiences than abstract or conceptual work. Some of the artwork on show at Tate Modern, particularly when it is from lesser known artists, can be off putting for some visitors. An attempt is made to address this through learning

programmes that teach the skills to look at and make sense of modern and contemporary art. However, that can have the effect of not acknowledging the knowledge that a learner already possesses.

Almost never do they realise that they, too, 'know things' they have learned in their relations with the word and with other men and women (Freire, 1970: 45).

This intellectual hierarchy is a tool of the oppressor; it can make those who don't subscribe to the dominant view feel 'less than human'. Often when young people interact with the gallery their 'street' knowledge or a fluency in contemporary cultural activities is not valued in the same way as academic knowledge about artists who have been validated by the art establishment. The way that knowledges are valued in order of hierarchy protects the interests of the elite.

In his PhD thesis *'Gypsy Visualities'* (2011), Daniel Baker discusses the contexts in which folk art is displayed and the implications it has for the way in which the maker is represented. Baker's thesis highlights the problems associated with the display of art that does not fit within established canons as described by the cultural elite.

The questioning of [such] fundamental hierarchies of high and low art illustrates the challenges that artefacts outside the canon of western fine art present: i.e. how do we classify, present and exhibit folk art within the art museum, particularly in the UK (Baker, 2011: 20).

A major difference between folk art and fine art lies in the interest shown to the identity of the makers. In the case of the folk art object, the maker is seen as a useful addition to the story of the object, whereas in the art world, a maker's identity becomes the primary determinant of an object's status. This approach sustains an underlying colonialist outlook of the art world by positioning Western cultural influence as superior, thereby positioning the "other" as inferior (Baker, 2011: 21).

Issues of taste in relation to the selection and promotion of certain artists and styles is governed by the intellectual elite and not by the new audiences they seek to draw

in, this demonstrates a fundamental flaw in the principles that shape public, cultural institutions (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007; Bourdieu 1991; Bennett et al. 2009).

Freire calls for a significant change in the way that dialogue takes place:

The only effective instrument is a humanising pedagogy in which the revolutionary leadership establishes a permanent relationship of dialogue with the oppressed (Freire, 1970: 50).

Through Freire I have discussed the difficulties of doing things 'for' or 'to' the target audience and not 'with' them. The '*Whose cake is it anyway*?' report describes something expressed by many participation workers in museums: a situation of being 'stuck' unable to escape the merry-go-round of short term projects in order to 'have the long-term, local impact desired.' Possible solutions follow:

Focusing on embedding local collaboration and developing individual capability for participation rather than 'empowerment-lite', the work becomes firmly situated in the organisation's locality and developed with the help of new, long-term community partnerships as 'critical friends' (Lynch, 2011: 9).

All work done for the masses must start from their needs and not from the desire of any individual, however well intentioned (Freire, 1970: 75).

Jacques Rancière

Rancière's decision to write *The Ignorant Schoolmaster* comes out of the political situation in France during the 1980s. President Mitterand was elected in 1981, he chose Alain Savary as Minister for Education. Savary created a 'convivial, open egalitarian atmosphere in the schools, which would be attentive to the "whole personality" of the child.' (Ross in Rancière, 1991: xiii) Savary, was succeeded by Jean-Pierre Chevènment in 1984 who halted egalitarian reform.

He called for the restoration of grammar, rigid examinations, civic instruction – a kind of circular 'back to basics' (Ross in Rancière, 1991: xiii).

In 1984 Jean-Claude Milner wrote *De l'école*, 'he argued that schools and teachers should dispense with modelling the "whole person" and instead view their task simply and unequivocably as that of transmitting knowledge, as "instructing" not "educating"' (Ross in Rancière, 1991: xiv).

Rancière reviewed Milner's book and concurred with his characterisation of reformist programmes but he didn't agree with Milner in every respect, he said:

Equality might reside in teaching the same thing to everyone, but it was simply not true that every child in France now – or at any time in the past – had a right to participate in the community of knowledge (Rancière, 1991: xv).

In Rancière's view, the hierarchy of knowledge that existed in France at the time meant that 'the aristocrats of education' looked after the privileges of those who already possessed 'culture'. This resonates strongly with my experience of working with young people. A pedagogy, reliant on explication was flawed in his view and needed to be replaced by one which brought together intelligence with intelligence as equals not as master and student. Rancière felt that Bourdieu, Althusser and Milner did not subscribe to this aim and that they all had one thing in common 'a lesson in *inequality*' (ibid: xix) my emphasis. Bourdieu claims that if only the masses understood the exploitative nature of their situation, in other words, if they remedied their ignorance of their situation then this would help to emancipate them. Rancière's criticism of Bourdieu is that he is occupying a pedagogical position of inequality by pointing to the ignorance of the masses. Whilst Rancière, conversely, thought that 'all people are equally intelligent': (ibid: xix) and that 'explication is the myth of pedagogy' (ibid: xiv).

'The equality of intelligences' in peer-led programming

Rancière offers an alternative to the more traditional way of thinking in which there is a knowledgeable master and an ignorant student. He considers the potential of equality, 'what an intelligence can do when it considers any other equal to itself' (Rancière, 1991, 39). Whilst it is difficult to comprehend how this could work across an increasingly globalised society I am sure that this was the type of emancipation that I was aiming at through the *Raw Canvas* programme. At the time I knew nothing of Rancière and was simply responding to the need to engage young people on their own terms and to create a programme that was about them and that was different to the systems used at school which some of them had rejected in various ways.

One of the key target audiences for *Raw Canvas* was those who were excluded or at risk of exclusion. One of the programme aims was to break down the barriers that exist between young people and modern and contemporary art. My research is an attempt to better understand the issues of inclusion and exclusion in relation to pedagogy. Rancière's defining argument is based on, what he calls, the 'Bourdieu effect' in which the latter argues that the working class youth 'are excluded because they don't know why they are excluded: they don't know why they are excluded because they are excluded' (Ross in Rancière, 1991: xi). The main point is that in adopting this position Bourdieu and Althusser, according to Rancière, set up a relation of inequality in the sense that they are identifying what the working classes do not know and should learn.

I have referred to 'the unwritten rules' of the gallery, which exclude those who don't know how to respond in appropriate ways to artworks or to the unspoken expectations implicit within gallery pedagogy. In this instance, the systems for decoding art are invisible and this invisible knowledge reproduces itself through young people who get involved in gallery programmes. When they join *Raw Canvas* they are fresh and different to the establishment but they soon begin to sound and act like curators leaving their peers, the ones who haven't been 'emancipated', to

remain misrecognised and rather than 'coming into consciousness' they are left behind.

1. The system reproduces its existence because it goes unrecognised.
2. The system brings about, through the reproduction of its existence, an effect of misrecognition.' (Rancière, 1984: 7)

The confidence demonstrated by older *Raw Canvas*sers manifested in their surety about their role as part of Tate and their right to speak and to be heard on matters that concerned young people as users of the gallery. We can see this in the results of the 2004 evaluation of Raw Canvas with Warwick University (see appendix) in which extensive interviews were conducted. We also see it through Raw Canvas' ability to programme and run public events in the gallery in which they position themselves very visibly in the public spaces as a kind of human interface between the general public and the Tate itself. This confidence was very influential on the younger *Raw Canvas*sers who could be seen to emulate their older peers. When planning for events, it was important for me to organise them into groups where there were older and younger peer leaders working together. When asked about the age range of the group which included people from the age of 15 to the age of 23 and 24 again and again *Raw Canvas*sers would respond very positively to this, in particular, because their experience of schooling was always in age related groups and so it was unusual to work alongside younger or older peers. I think that this is a contributory factor as to why peer-to-peer learning refuted the need for a teacher in the traditional sense.

Essentially, what an emancipated person can do is be an emancipator: to give, not the key to knowledge, but the consciousness of what an intelligence can do when it considers itself equal to any other and considers any other equal to itself (Rancière, 1991: 39).

Stamp (2011) uses Rancière's 'equality of intelligences' as a point of reference in his paper about the 'Hole-in-the-Wall' experiment and the film *Slumdog Millionaire* (dir. Danny Boyle and Loveleen Tandan, UK, 2008). The experiment, was carried out by a

team from NITT[5] led by Sugata Mitra and it involved placing an internet connected computer in a hole in the wall of a slum in Kalkaji, India. It was switched on and left for the children who lived in the slum to use, on their own and without direction or tuition. This method is termed 'Minimally Invasive Education' and is defined as a pedagogy that uses the learning environment to generate motivation that induces learning in groups of children, with minimal, or no, intervention by a teacher.

MIE uses children's natural curiosity and focuses on providing an enabling environment where they can learn on their own. Children, in the process of freely experimenting with the Learning Station, pick up critical problem solving skills. It also provides a collaborative setting where children can share their knowledge and in the process, develop better group dynamics, all in a highly natural environment.

MIE's uniqueness is its ability to attract children towards the Learning Station driven purely by their own interests. Conventional pedagogy, on the other hand, focuses on the teacher's ability to disseminate information in a classroom setting. MIE thus complements the formal schooling system by providing a much needed balance for a child to learn on her own and provides for a holistic learning experience (Hole-in-the-Wall Education Ltd. 2011 accessed 24.09.13).

This is a good example of 'supposedly illiterate children [teaching] themselves and others how to use a computer that operated in a language (English) that they did not know, where they appeared to 'learn without being taught' (Stamp, 2011: 1). Stamp talks about Vikas Swarup's novel Q&A (2005), which led to the film *Slumdog Millionaire* (2008). Swarup was inspired by a combination of the 'hole-in-the-wall' experiments and the idea of a gameshow, namely '*Who wants to be a Millionaire'*. The gameshow, is won by 'a contestant who has no formal education, who has "street" knowledge as opposed to "book" knowledge' (Stamp, 2011).

Progressive pedagogies in educational settings often 'aim to nurture the intelligence of the student by proposing equality as something 'to come', in an 'ordered progression' guided by those with appropriate expertise' (Stamp, 2011: 4). Such pedagogies 'preserve the gap between the master's knowledge and the students ignorance' (ibid: 5).

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[5] NITT is the National Institute of Technology Tiruchirappalli

We can certainly use our status as legitimate "transmitters" to put our knowledge at others' disposal. I'm constantly doing it. But what is 'stultifying' from a Jacotist perspective is the will to anticipate the way in which they will grasp what we put at their disposal (Rancière, 2011: 245).

Like gallery education strategies (see chapter 5), the 'hole-in-the-wall' experiment was constructivist, employing play and exploration as 'self-structured and self-motivated processes of learning' (Mitra and Rana, 2001: 224). The researchers described it as 'minimally invasive education' where no explanation or instruction was offered. None of the questions were answered with an instructional sentence but instead they were asked what they thought or in some instances given a factual question like 'who was Pythagoras' and then encouraged to go and research. Much like in peer-led education the children found ways to self-instruct and looked for help from others in the environment. The experiment created a 'self-organising system of learning', which is, in my view, an excellent basis for a gallery learning programme for young people.

Rancière insists that spectators and curators are equal in intelligence, but this is not to say that they have the same knowledge or are equally experienced in paying attention (Ruitenberg, 2011: 221).

Raw Canvas learned Tate's 'Ways of Looking' methodology during their training course. This is a student centred methodology for teaching the skills required to make sense of art by exploring it visually rather than reading about it in labels or related texts and not by filling learners with a facilitators expert knowledge. It does not teach facts about art but instead it provides a method, it is about structuring the looking so that anyone can decode visual material in the gallery or in other contexts. Rancière argues that for education to be emancipatory the student is required to give attention to looking, 'absolute attention for seeing and seeing again, saying and repeating' (Rancière, 1991: 23). What the student cannot escape, (Rancière argues), is 'the exercise of his liberty' and this is summoned by a three-part question 'What

do you see? What do you think about it? What do you make of it? And so on, to infinity' (Rancière, 1991: 23).

I thought that 'Ways of Looking' is emancipatory but perhaps, in Rancière's terms, it continues to stultify because it provides instruction on how to approach a work of art.

The biggest mistake a teacher can make, in terms of emancipation, is to be attached to a predetermined outcome, an idea of an emancipated state to be reached, and do everything in her or his might to 'help' the student reach that state (Ruitenberg, 2011: 221).

Speaking and being heard

To understand whether or not the educational activity is emancipatory I need to explore the starting point in more detail. What are the initial intentions? What language is used to describe the learner, student, young person and the artist, teacher, facilitator? Gert Biesta explores this in his paper *Learner, Student, Speaker: why it matters how we call those we teach* (2010). Here he raises a question that has been at the centre of Tate Modern's approach to education 'who can speak?' (Biesta, 2010). However, whilst "who can speak' (Biesta, 2010) and 'who has the right to speak' (Jackson, 2008, Jacobs, 2000) seem similar on the face of it, through Biesta's conception Tate's approach emerges as not emancipatory because it starts from inequality.

[Starting] from the assumption of inequality—where some claim the power to let others speak and where some see themselves as in need of recognition by powerful others before they feel they can speak—and hence is still reproducing the very inequality and exclusion it seeks to overcome (Biesta, 2010: 545).

Viewing things in this way not only suggests that learners start out by making 'noise' rather than producing 'voice'. It also implies that they need a master to explain to them what their noise actually means (Biesta, 2010: 545).

Emancipatory education can therefore be characterised as education that starts from the assumption that all students can speak—or to be more precise: that all students

can already speak. It starts from the assumption that students neither lack a capacity for speech, nor that they are producing noise. It starts from the assumption, in other words, that students already are speakers (Bingham and Biesta, 2010: 142).

Biesta talks about the use of the word 'learner', a word, which is currently the preferred term to use in galleries. He asserts that the word 'learner' has increased in usage over the last two or three decades and has become popular as a term which intends to liberate the learner. Its rise in prominence can be interpreted as an attempt to move the emphasis away from the teacher/expert and onto 'those who are supposed to benefit from this' (Bingham and Biesta, 2010). The term 'learner' indicates that they are 'not-yet' able to think for themselves, not-yet competent, not-yet knowledgeable. 'To explain, in other words, 'is to demonstrate an incapacity' (Rancière, 2011, sited in Biesta 2010, emphasis added).

When we refer to those who are the subjects of education as 'learners', we immediately put them in a position where they still have to learn and where their learning is considered to be dependent upon our explanation. Hence, we are saying that they cannot yet speak. We are saying that, for the moment, until the 'end' of education has arrived, they can only produce noise and that it is only as a result of our explanation of the meaning of their noise that they can come to speech—which, as I have argued above, means that they will never be able to come to their own speech. When we refer to those who are the subjects of education as 'students', we start from the assumption that they can learn without our explanations, without the need for educational 'respiration'. In this sense we enact—and perhaps we could add: inaugurate—a different relationship, one of will to will, not of intelligence to intelligence. In doing so, we are denying that our students should acquire a new, an additional intelligence—that of the master's explications (see Rancière, 1991: 8).

Though I can sympathise with Biesta on his point about 'learner,' we could equally take the Rancièrian position of the 'struggle over the meaning of terms we use'. This

is the struggle for emancipation, in this case for who speaks as a learner and so shifting the ground and positioning of learning.

As such we can see how the equality of intelligences is a crucial starting point for emancipatory education but that in a knowledge based institution such as Tate an equality of intelligences is a virtual impossibility. I talked about Rancière's notion of the 'police order' in chapter 4 in which 'police' refers to the unwritten laws that define social practices and customs, this is similar to Bourdieu's notions of 'symbolic violence' that I will elaborate in the following pages. Rancière uses the phrase 'distribution of the sensible' to describe the unwritten rules or systems that are assumed to be 'common sense' or the 'norm'. Both of these terms are debatable terms because of their inability to describe something shared by all members of any given society. The 'distribution of the sensible' is always an on-going process of democracy whereby the struggle for equality (the political struggle) emerges in response to a 'wrong' and where those who have representation come to be recognised. The 'police order' that exists within Tate means that a new 'distribution of the sensible' is a long way off. In chapter 9, I will return to this point in relation to my data in order to discuss the problems that cultural organisations face in including wider audiences.

Rancière exposes the insincerity of many 'democratising' efforts in the arts that only solidify the intellectual superiority of the artistic ruling class of curators and critics (Ruitenberg, 2011: 221).

Pierre Bourdieu

Bourdieu's own experience of secondary schooling was completed at the lycée Louis Le Grand in Pau. He moved there as a boarder from the Béarn region in the agricultural South-West of France where 'he came from a relatively humble background' (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007: kindle 233). This move took him away from the support of his own family milieu and into the closed community of the school where he had 'to fend for himself' and 'the need to conform was acute' (Grenfell and

Hardy, 1991: kindle 245). Within the school social groupings were complex, boarders from the country mixed with the sons of the Parisian professional classes 'who came from a totally different cultural background' (ibid: kindle 251). 'For the latter, lessons in schools simply represented confirmation of a way of thinking which was already theirs' (ibid: 251), this was not the case for those from rural farming communities. There was a strong sense of 'us and them'. The boarders wore smocks and the local pupils wore their own middle-class clothing. Significantly, there was a big difference in the pupils understanding of the knowledge that was taught which, for students brought up in families where intellectual pursuits were the norm, represented only a small difference from 'their customary way of thinking and acting' (ibid: 256) but for those from other backgrounds it offered 'a world which was both strange and enchanting' (ibid: 256).

Bourdieu himself writes of this, together with the feelings of discomfort – if not betrayal – he experienced when embracing such a way of being that so obviously meant turning his back on the culture of his home and family. Liberation and advancement was therefore mixed with rejection and estrangement (ibid: 256).

Bourdieu's experience is commonplace for those who move away from their family background and into the aspirational space of education. Many gallery schemes that aim to build new audiences do so by providing cultural and educational capital that is deemed to be lacking in the target group. All education, especially that which sets out to be emancipatory, changes the individual. As a result, the distance away from family members is further when continuing education is not the norm than when education is the usual direction for that family/individual to take. Such hurdles illustrate the many barriers that obscure the hegemonic structure from those who are situated as 'other'.

He [Bourdieu] was able to show empirically how the differentiated choices and strategies used by an individual to demonstrate mastery of culture (and who sought legitimation through it), reflect the age, education, social group and family heritage of that individual' (Grenfell and Hardy: 1717)

David Lammy (2011) talks about the riots as a possible manifestation of the global crisis caused by the liberalisation of civil rights and market economies that has taken place over the last 60 years. This reaction to the intensification of the capitalist system and neoliberal economics remains a real concern for those working with young people where the effects of alienation are acutely visible. Bourdieu talks about 'the personal cost of social change; for example, the effects of educational reform on teachers, the problems caused by new industrial practices (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007: 396) and goes on to talk about 'hysteresis' 'where the individual and the social context which he inhabits are 'out of line' with each other' (ibid: 404). Here personal and collective expectations do not match, individuals become confused, don't know how to act and are 'alienated' from society: this possibly explains the background to the 2011 UK riots.

As well as elaborating on notions of difference between one social group and another, Bourdieu also assists in thinking about the socio-cultural situation that influences the relationship between the viewer, the art object and the context in which it is seen.

Bourdieu's own theory can best be understood as dialectical in the way it attempts to link what we think and how we act with our material surroundings, in particular, in the ways we are organised into social groupings, for example, artistic avant-gardes' (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007: 436)

His socio-cultural reading of aesthetics is very pertinent to my study in that 'for him, an aesthetic response presupposes the possibility of a non-aesthetic response, and, necessarily, such responses are by nature socially differential and differentiated – some have it and some do not' (ibid. 956). This resonates with Pomian (1990) who talks about the invisible order in the museum that some can decode and some cannot.

Those with only primary or secondary education, including many of the middle class, are, practically speaking, excluded from the tools to access and develop a certain kind of relationship with art and culture which would give rise to cultural practices like

museum visiting and, more significantly, are excluded from acquiring cultural capital for use in position taking within the cultural field (ibid: kindle 1678).

Bourdieu argues that taste carries with it social labelling; indeed, taste is a means of social distinction, not simply a naïve preference (ibid: kindle 1028).

There is a secondary level of interpretation, which is dependent on being familiar with conventional concepts and specific examples (ibid: kindle 1289).

From Bourdieu's 1969 study with Alain Darbel *Amour de l'art* (1969), he concluded that 'many of the visitors were at sea with the cultural expectations of the museum they had visited' (kindle location 1652). That notion of visitors being 'at sea' with the cultural expectations of the museum is familiar to me. My experience with the 'Street Genius' (see chapter 5) highlighted the fact that the expectations and unspoken codes of practice within the museum were heavily veiled and therefore extremely difficult for newcomers to make sense of.

Museum audiences remain middle-class despite measures taken by governments and management to improve their accessibility (Bennett et al, 2009: 113).

In Bourdieu's terms, attending an art museum makes up 'cultural capital' and buys social distinction. However, in my experience, one visit only 'buys' a small amount of capital and the visitor needs to be inspired and stimulated in order to return and begin to accrue more significant amounts of 'cultural capital' as a result.

A classification system to describe how individuals engage with (consume) visual art in Britain was created by Bennett et al. in 2009. It takes Bourdieu's work as its starting point but creates a new UK based study using many of the original methods. Their classification contrasts with that of Bourdieu in relation to the individual's orientation towards art which:

proceed{s} from the perspective of the individual in social space and their inclination to engage in visual art in ways that reflect their social position, their knowledge of the art field, personal reactions and biographical considerations (Bennett et al, 2009: 130).

Bourdieu identifies three sorts of relationships to art objects, museums and art galleries:

those who buy art, those who know about art and those who do not engage with art, museums or galleries (Bourdieu and Darbel, 1991).

In contrast, Bennett et al. categorise the respondents as 'confident amateurs', 'relaxed consumers' and 'defensive individuals' (ibid: 130). In the study they draw particular attention to the group of 'defensive individuals' as this is specific to the field of visual art and the field of music shows few comparable signs of defensiveness 'the existence of a group of defensive individuals indicates that art (or Education for that matter) still causes discomfort for some' (Bennett et al., 2009: 131). In my view it is this 'discomfort' that offers an explanation for what constitutes the barrier that disconnects some young people from modern and contemporary art (Willis, 1990).

Although the 'barrier' described by Willis is symbolic the disconnection is real and manifests itself in non-attendance or those who don't engage with the gallery. The question is: why should they? Bourdieu's notion of 'symbolic violence' is useful here. Bourdieu emphasises 'the role of symbolic forms and processes in the reproduction of social inequality' (Schwartz, 1997: 82). For Bourdieu the power or domination of one social group over another has shifted in post-industrial societies away from physical control through the threat of physical violence to social control through forms of symbolic manipulation. He asserts that cultural producers and institutions play a large part in maintaining inequalities in contemporary societies. In this way 'there is symbolic power as well as economic power' (Schwartz, 1997, 82). Symbolic violence is a power that manages to impose meanings as legitimate when the power relations that underlie those meanings are concealed.

Bourdieu stresses how the dominated accept as legitimate their own condition of domination (Schwartz, 1994: 89 citing Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 167).

The 'barrier' that disconnects some young people is to do with social inequality trapping them in their already subordinated subject positions. This is because the power relations that have created that inequality is concealed, so, whilst they are invited into the gallery and given the opportunity to participate in decision making and programming they are always effectively operating blindfolded or 'in the dark' because the systems of power, the construction of thought, the ideology, remains unspoken. In chapter 8, I shall discuss this problem in relation to the data I have collected.

According to Bennett et al., where Bourdieu's study, *Distinction (1986),* fails to translate into an increasingly globilised 21st century Britain is in its conception of society as a nationally bounded entity (Bennett et al, 2009). The problems created by the unwitting exertion of symbolic violence on young audiences and the out dated notions of society heightens the imperative for cultural organisations to use their relational position to lead their field in developing programmes that are appropriate for young people living in contemporary societies.

Conclusion

This thesis sets out to question whether the educational activity in *Raw Canvas* is emancipatory and how effectively the pedagogies created engage with diverse audiences? Do they have potential to engage disenfranchised young people?

The key principle of Rancière's work for the gallery educator is in his questioning of the assumptions made by inclusive cultural practices. He draws attention to the fact that a pedagogical approach that claims the power to let others speak starts from an inequality. Whereas an alternative approach which assumes that the learner/student is already 'able' to speak, but perhaps in a different way, is a pedagogy that starts from a position of equality.

For gallery educators, Freire's pedagogy points not towards art appreciation but to generating discussion. Using Freire's model we can perceive the young people as 'oppressed peoples' and the gallery's role as one which is not 'winning them over' (Freire, 1970, 76) or telling them what to think but instead listening to their values and ideas and allowing the traditions of the target group to direct the pedagogical approach.

Bourdieu's key pedagogical position comes from his analysis of cultural consumption through which we become aware of the effect of socio cultural conditioning on educators and participants. Bourdieu asserts that cultural understanding is learned not innate and that some participants have already learned to be predisposed towards art. The implications of this for gallery educators is that in engaging a disenfranchised audience we must acknowledge the personal cost of social change in terms of the disassociation experienced by some as they are removed from their ontological situation through the process of education and their acceptance of cultural values that are not their own.

Over the last 15 years, there has been a change in the culture of galleries and museums. They are now more permeable, more accepting of the need to know and work with their audiences and accept that the public is not an autonomous homogenous whole, but is made up of different visitor groups each with its own relationship to the gallery and the work it shows. An education curator's role is to some extent prescribed (by broader museological practices or Tate culture) and radical or innovative work is set against more rigid or conventional professional and organisational structures. In planning and delivering their own events young people have to learn to negotiate this context, not necessarily to give in to its demands in all cases, because the parameters are not always fixed and some are negotiable. Also, some are a reflection of the personal judgement of senior staff or, because they include innovation, are deemed to be too expensive, risky or inappropriate. Learning how to compromise, negotiate, reshape and represent an idea are all skills to be acquired.

I hoped that young people would be empowered and liberated by *Raw Canvas* and many were but mainly those who already shared the programmes intrinsic and often hidden values. Those who didn't were not there, not represented and therefore didn't have a voice. In this chapter I have talked about speech through Gert Biesta's explorations of Rancierian notions of equality: not only who can be heard speaking but who is considered to make sense when they speak. It is clear from this that I need to look in more detail at the 'distribution of the sensible' at Tate when I explore my data.

'Freire made central pedagogical questions related to social agency, voice and democratic participation', such questions continue to inform the writings of critical pedagogy today (Darder, Baldotano and Torres, 2009, 5). An understanding of critical pedagogy has helped to frame this research. Freire has helped me to think through the specific pedagogic approaches that I have tried that aimed to be emancipatory. If young people are to be set free in this way then the crucial question is free from what and where will this freedom take them?

By investigating the socio-cultural context of education that Bourdieu points us towards through his own experience at school and through his proposal of 'symbolic violence' I am better equipped to explore the hegemonic constraints of learning at Tate and the socio cultural factors that contribute to young people's experience in the gallery. I will use these theoretical ideas in the analysis of my data in chapter 9 where I explore the construction of the learning subject.

Chapter 7

A statement about method

I have looked at several PhD theses and, as I observed in chapter 1, my methodology does not follow the normal pattern where the research focus leads to selected interviews with a specific group. My research began in that way but had to change focus in order to search out the 'real' questions that the process of research had revealed. My methodology has had to adapt to my changing focus in the sense that it has not been led by preset questions but instead has allowed the questions to emerge throughout an iterative process of investigation. In this way, I did not have a set of questions that I went out to ask through interviews. Instead, I had a bank of material produced during 12 years of the *Raw Canvas* programme that I have drawn upon. *Raw Canvas* was in many ways a pilot programme, trialing new approaches to pedagogy and keeping a record or archive of projects that happened with young people in the gallery. That archive has provided a valuable resource for my research.

This chapter is an introduction to that material. I will go on to describe the practical and theoretical methods that I have employed and the problems I have encountered with those methods.

Practical methods

The research data consists of video and audio recordings and photographs of Raw Canvas sessions between 2000 and 2011. The data is detailed in the following table. All recordings were made by me or by technicians and peer-leaders, but always directed by myself. Participants were always made aware that they were being recorded for documentary purposes.

The data falls into three main categories; scheduled interviews with participants and gallery staff to explore the context of Tate's educational work; video recordings from the *Us and the Other* project; audio recordings of *Raw Canvas* workshops.

1. The interviews are with Heads of Education, project participants, artist educators and peer-leaders.

2. The video recordings I have chosen to use were made initially for the purpose of creating an artwork. The artwork was to be the outcome of a project in 2002 during which we two artists (myself and Janet Hodgson) worked with Raw Canvas peer-leaders to film and record interviews with Tate staff. The project aimed to give Raw Canvas experience of professional art making processes. I later found this material to contain valuable data for analysing the underlying ethos of the Education and Interpretation department. These recordings were made originally for the purpose of exploring Tate Modern's audience development imperatives as part of a project in which young people learned to conduct interviews and make video and sound recordings at a professional level. Later I found this material to contain valuable data for analysing the key pedagogic ethos of the education programmes.

3. Audio recordings photographs and observations of the *Raw Canvas* workshops contain a record of the discussions that took place in workshops and interviews with workshop leaders and participants.

Since I have elected to review this material for my PhD, I have contacted the curators and peer-leaders to ask their permission (see appendix). It is important to describe the individual job roles of each of the curators, for this reason I have elected to use their real names, with their permission. This thesis forms a record of a particular moment in the history of Tate Modern and for that reason my research participants are happy to be identified in this way.

I have selected and analysed the data according to the themes stated above. The selection was difficult to make and I have prioritised material that gives insight into the ideology, the planning process and dialogue in workshops.

A table to describe where and when each piece of data 'happened'

I have selected the following from the documentation made of the programme. I have recorded all of this material myself.

Date	Data	
2002	Archive videos of curator interviews from *Raw Canvas* data bank titled *Us and the Other*; interviews with staff in the education and interpretation department at Tate Modern. Toby Jackson, Head of Interpretation & Education (1998-2005), Helen Charman, Curator for School and Teacher Programmes (1999-2007), Sophie Howarth, Curator for Public Programmes (2002-2008), Esther Sayers, Curator for Youth Programmes (2002-2011)	An archived *Raw Canvas* project. Video – 15 hours of raw footage that was edited and transcribed into notes during the research for this thesis.
Feb 2009	Interview with Toby Jackson, Head of Interpretation & Education	Interview notes
April 2009	Interview with Anna Cutler, Head of Learning	Interview – audio recording and subsequent transcript.
May 2009	Collection of course materials and marketing resources.	Documents
June 2009	Audio recording from *We are all Experts* a peer-led workshop in the gallery at Tate Modern	A Raw Canvas project. Recorded as audio files and later transcribed.
June 2009	Interviews with workshop participants	Interview – recorded as audio and transcribed

June 2009	Interviews with invited speakers	Interview – recorded as audio and transcribed
June 2009	Interviews with Artist Educators	Interview – recorded as audio and transcribed
June 2009	Interviews with peer leaders	Interview – recorded as audio and transcribed
June 2009	Photographs	Digital images
June 2009	Observations	In note form.

I interviewed Toby Jackson, Head of Interpretation and Education Tate Modern from 1999-2004 and Anna Cutler, Head of Learning Tate Modern from 2006-2009 and Director of Learning, Tate from 2009 to present. In the interviews I wanted to explore questions about their core pedagogic principles in running the education programmes at Tate Modern and which theoretical, pedagogical or philosophical thinking, for example, had influenced their practice. I was interested to discover more about the motivations of these two senior figures as I was aware of the fundamental affect that it had on the department as a whole and the effect on those programmes that were prioritised. I used the interview data in the early chapters of my thesis when setting the scene of gallery education at Tate Modern. Out of these interviews, I developed my interest in the effect of ideology and values on the pedagogies that emerge (chapter 8). I then looked to the rich bank of data that had been collected previously during the *Raw Canvas* programme to continue my research.

To provide background information for the *Raw Canvas* documentary material I conducted individual, semi-structured interviews with the two Heads of Interpretation (as discussed above), Artist Educators, Peer Leaders and Participants. I chose the Heads of I&E because they form the direction and the ideology of the programme. I interviewed Artist Educators and peer-leaders to find out about the workshops they had run and participants to report on their experiences of attending.

Where and when

I interviewed Anna Cutler in the staff library at Tate Modern on 21 April 2009. This was a semi-structured interview with questions prepared and given to the interviewee in advance. The basic structure of the questions was followed but conversational divergences were also allowed to develop. The interview lasted for 1hr 15minutes.

I interviewed Toby Jackson in a café near Tate Modern in February 2009 and the interview lasted for 1 hour.

I interviewed Artist Educators and *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders on the Level 4 concourse at Tate Modern directly before the first workshop on 4 June 2009 and each interview lasted for approx. 10 minutes.

I interviewed two participants together in the gallery after a *We are all Experts* workshop on 4 June 2009 and the interview lasted for 20 minutes.

2. Curator interviews: Us and the Other project

Raw Canvas instigated a number of art making projects. In selecting data, I reviewed them all and selected one entitled *Us and the Other* because of the richness of material recorded and the potential for in depth analysis of my chosen themes. The interview questions written for the *Us and the Other* project had specific focus but they were also allowed to develop in relation to the particular circumstances of each interviewee. This resulted in the data being of more interest than if I had gathered it solely as part of my PhD.

The Learning Curator (and Head of Programme) interview material produced during the *Us and the Other* project came from the *Raw Canvas* archive. I chose to use it because these curators are the people who create the pedagogy that brings participants and art together in the gallery. Their views on why such pedagogies are important are valuable to this study.

I interviewed Toby Jackson, Head of Interpretation & Education, Helen Charman, Curator for School and Teacher Programmes, Sophie Howarth, Public Programmes Curator and myself as Curator for Youth Programmes.

Recorded in 2002 the curator interviews were gathered for a collaborative artwork in which artist, Janet Hodgson and myself, as artist and as youth programme curator, worked with peer-leaders to film, audio record and interview education curators. It was a participatory art project in which young people were working together with artists to make a piece of artwork. The curator interviews were videoed and sound

recorded. They took place in the Clore Education Studio at Tate Modern: as this was an easily accessible location for staff members. Each lasted for 60-90 minutes. I have selected four from seven interviews that were made and I have transcribed each one. It was important for me to do the transcriptions myself as I developed my themes at this time as I listened carefully to each one over and over again.

My selection of which interviews to use in my thesis was based on my research interest in pedagogy and I have chosen those that relate most closely to this theme. The researcher and the researched are not differentiated in the interviews, I am one of them (a learning curator) and I include data from myself being interviewed. Because of the context of the project and the fact that I am now looking in as a researcher it was not possible for me to position myself as 'researcher' and the curators and peer leaders as 'research material'. My relationship with the research participants has impacted on the research process and outcomes. Time serves as a way of distancing and since these interviews were recorded 11 years ago, I am no longer working directly with any of the interviewees. This has enabled me to 'look in' on the films, even in relation to myself.

3. Workshops

When the *We are all Experts* workshops took place, I had already started my PhD. I knew that I was interested in peer-to-peer discourse about modern and contemporary art and that the research tools that I had used in my pilot investigations were limited because they were based on observation. I could not analyse these conversations unless I recorded them so I worked with the AV technician to find a way to record the workshops. Making audio recordings in the gallery is difficult because the acoustics are not good. We bought a high-quality portable learning device and used a mixing desk, free-standing microphone for the 'expert' and a portable boom microphone to record participants. It was important to record everyone and I instructed the technician to try to pick up all comments, even the apparently throw away ones.

I observed the workshops and they were also audio recorded and photographed. They took place in the gallery during opening hours so the public were also around. I was an observer but I purposefully did not participate in the discussion because I did not want to affect the development of the conversation. As the group was large, 20 at the beginning and 30 by the end of the workshop, my observation was not intrusive to the flow of the workshop. I was known to all of the workshop leaders in my capacity as Learning Curator and this helped me to be unobtrusive as an observer. I talked to all of the peer-leaders and educators about my research and they were aware that I was observing for that purpose. Participants were informed that sessions would be recorded and those whom I interviewed were told that they were contributing to my research. Before and after the session I conducted semi-structured interviews with individuals that were audio recorded and transcribed. I have listened to audio recordings from 6 workshops each recording is two hours long and I have selected material from one for analysis.

I also reviewed video-tapes that documented programme activities to give additional context to the analysis I made.

Theoretical methods

A key element of this work is the peer-led nature of the workshops and the forming of a community of learners (Wenger, 1998). Through the development of the programme and before I started my PhD I had always used forms of participant observation during workshops to facilitate the processes that enable the group to come together and learn collectively, socially. Wenger asserts that 'learning is, in its essence, a fundamentally social phenomena' (Wenger, 98: 3). *Raw Canvas* were co-researchers in the development of the programme and during the *We are all Experts* project, they were collaborators rather than passive objects of research. This collaboration contributed to my thinking about participatory programme development and peer learning. The *Raw Canvas* programme followed an emergent research design where on going research discoveries revised the shape and development of the programme as a whole. The focus on *Raw Canvas* as a pilot programme took a qualitative case study approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008).

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The theory I have chosen to help me reflect and analyse the data has come from areas of interest in the nature of gallery education. Emerging from the curator interviews, recorded in 2002, was the difficulty in expressing the value of art without sounding evangelical. This presented a gap in which the two social realities of philanthropy and learning did not quite meet and caused me to construct the theme of ideology in order to unpack this. The recurring theme of philanthropy has dominated my research process. It began when I was interviewed for the *Us and the Other* project when the interviewers used a series of questions to probe my key beliefs about the value of art. The purpose of the *Us and the Other* project and the interviews with curators was to shed light on the new Tate Modern gallery and its desire to widen the demographic of its audiences. In the course of the project the investigation took place by talking to staff about the purpose of their jobs and why they thought such work was important. I found being interviewed in this way created a disturbance, which became a seminal moment for me and led ultimately to this postgraduate research. I was excruciatingly awkward in my responses: big silences, squirming in the chair, short answers where I contradicted myself at the end or stopped short of a complete sentence, unable to finish because I had already rejected my own assertions. In the video of the interview, I am clearly uncomfortable with the questions asked and I cannot articulate my beliefs about the value of art without sounding at worst evangelical and at best philanthropic. It was at this point that the questions that would (6 years later) become the basis of my PhD were being formed. My inability to articulate an adequate response was the motivation to undertake this research. Through this project I have realised that the gap between philanthropic work and the gallery's education work could be seen as a disagreement, a site of confrontation or in Rancerian terms a 'wrong' where equality need to be recognised rather than inequality being compensated. I needed to construct a research project in order to unpick that.

Consequently, the theories of hermeneutics, emancipatory learning, equality and post-structuralist sociology have been theoretical tools that I have used to examine my data.

The data bank

The bank of data has come from workshops and projects that took place between 2002 and 2009. Some have become more relevant than others as a result of my research questions. The choice of data for me to draw on was extensive and I have had to continually revisit those questions in order to decipher the material and select the relevant parts.

The story of my research process began long before I started my PhD during a period of intensive programmatic work with young people. The documentation of those programmes has become especially valuable after the event. During my PhD, I have repurposed that material and through a more removed position I have processed it through categorisation according to emergent themes and through the analytical tools provided by the theory I have read.

Interviews used pre set questions but they were allowed to flow conversationally returning to the key questions through a loosely structured approach. Participants were briefed about content and focus of the research before the interview took place but they did not receive the questions in advance. As the data gathered in 2002 was part of another project I have contacted the people whose interviews I have selected to work with in my thesis to gain their permission to include them. I regularly updated *Raw Canvas* about the progress of my PhD and they were all aware of the research I was doing.

I have kept journal notes to record my reflections during the research process. These relate to methodological issues both theoretical and practical. These journal entries have been the place where the knots or paradoxes have been recorded. It has been important that the journal existed outside of the thesis but enabled me to

reflect on issues that informed the direction of my PhD study. This note from 2010 highlights a key intersection in the research where the relations between educator/learner/knowledge are beginning to emerge. This has continued to be a key area of study throughout the thesis. In this extract, the conundrum of trying to teach without explication is grappled in a direct way through the approach constructed with *Raw Canvas*.

Young People's programmes at TM have been trying to look at art in a meaningful way with hard to reach groups through peer-led methods. The problem is this – by using peer-led methods you give up the opportunity to control what is meaningful. A group of young people have a different idea about what is meaningful and if we are to teach them what meaningful is then we are stamping on the toes of the peer-led. (extract from my journal notes 23 February 2010)

About the analysis

To prepare my analytical tools I went back to the research questions and reformulated them. I wanted to be sure that they were honed specifically on what it was that I wanted to find out. From there I drew out some themes that have provided tools to probe my data and assist my analysis. This process had to be repeated many times going back and forwards between the questions, the point of the research and the data itself. I found this extremely challenging and did it in two stages.

Firstly, I found it difficult to separate myself from the data as I was so close to the people who were filmed, recorded and interviewed. I needed to draw back from what I knew of each situation and look at it objectively to try to 'hear' what was going on under the surface of the dialogue that is taking place. In this way, I have placed my insider knowledge to one side and listened to the words spoken. This has been easier to do through reviewing the transcripts. Reading the transcribed words has been helpful in locating the 'effects' of learning but it is rather thin and has not given the full picture.

So, my second stage of analysis was to go back to the original data, to listen/watch the audio/video material over and over again in order to hear the 'affective' aspects of dialogue. To understand what is going on in a particular setting I had to understand the affective relations between participants. By listening to the interviewed voices, I could get a better understanding of the complex negotiations going on around artworks and within social relations. This kind of information is often not clearly articulated and is lost in the transcriptions.

Conclusion

Following a methodology that is akin to an art making process has been productive for me, as it has allowed for themes and priorities to emerge from the data and from the theory. These have served to refocus and reshape the research in a continual negotiation or dialogue between ideas. Such an evolving and responsive approach has freed me from the dogmatic constraints of my original data collecting investigations and allowed me to explore aspects of the *Raw Canvas* programme that are especially pertinent to my interest in equality of access to art.

I have gone into great detail in my analysis of *Raw Canvas* and I think that it was important for me to do this. I would like to have included research data gathered from other youth projects outside of Tate but unfortunately, there is no space to do this here; I will follow this up in future research.

My aims were to find out which factors were necessary to construct young people as 'culture vultures': young people who have an appetite for culture. During the thesis, my investigation has been about the context of the museum as a site for education, the theoretical basis of learning activities, the pedagogies that emerge, the ideology that governs practice and the potential for emancipatory pedagogy. I have gathered data from the past and instigated research in the present in order to explore such themes. The following two chapters present and analyse that data according to those themes. The data is centred around the *Raw Canvas* programme from 2002-2009.

Chapter 8

Ideology and pedagogy: data presentation with analysis

I will present my data with analysis over the next two chapters. Both data chapters investigate the *Raw Canvas* programme and the aim of creating culturally active young people, 'culture vultures'. There is a distinction between this chapter and the context of the next chapter, in that, Chapter 8 is concerned with exploring the pedagogical beliefs of learning curators and how those beliefs develop into pedagogical relations in the gallery. These conflicts are highlighted in the data gathered from the *We are all Experts* project and raise the issue of who speaks and who has the right to speak (Rancière, 1991) (Biesta, 2010) (Jacobs, 2000). The following chapter (chapter 9) addresses the learner directly looking at how he/she is constructed by the museum. Chapter 9 explores the 'other' who is imagined in inclusion initiatives and the construction of the learning subject by the gallery. Data will be analysed in each chapter with a different set of themes in each. My data has come from two distinct sources:

1. Interviews conducted with Learning Curators at Tate Modern, 2002.
2. Transcripts of peer-led workshops and interviews with participants, 2009.

One of the reasons for doing this research is to think about the way that the learner is presupposed by the educator. This may have different characteristics than learner subjectivities that we find in more formal sites. In this chapter I will explore the challenges of creating a pedagogic approach for an unknown learner, as was the case with *Raw Canvas*, where the educator would meet the learner for the first time during the sessions and, because of this, would employ strategies in which extreme

flexibility and responsiveness to the learner and to the status of knowledge were key aspects.

In chapter 5, I looked at gallery education pedagogy and highlighted its specific characteristics by making comparisons between cultural and formal educational settings. I found that it is in the areas of 'curriculum' and 'assessment' where the biggest differences exist. The curriculum is the epistemological basis of the learning experience, it defines what is to be taught (and frequently how it will be taught), what knowledge is to be imparted. But, whilst there is an ever more defined curriculum for the formal education sector there is no prescribed curriculum for gallery education. It is the artworks that act as generating agents for the knowledge to be acquired by the learner.

The lack of a formal curriculum created a situation at Tate Modern where the educator had enormous freedom to construct pedagogic experiences from over a thousand artworks. The artwork, or 'curriculum' therefore shapes the way that the learning event is constructed. As a result, there is great autonomy for educators at Tate and in other cultural settings. But how does the educator decide what to teach? What criteria do they use to select the appropriate knowledge for the learner, and how do they know if they have been successful? Through the data I present in this chapter, I want to explore how the educator makes decisions about what to use, and what approach to take. In this setting it could be argued that the pedagogy used by the educator is influenced by the culture of the institution in which they work and the underlying 'attitude to knowledge' or the specific hermeneutical approach of that institution. It is also influenced by the individual curators' philosophical approach. Through my data, I am trying to unpack the embedded pedagogical beliefs that are assumed or presupposed within it. The data presented here explore the 'attitude to knowledge' within the learning team at Tate Modern collected through interviews with learning curators and the transcribed audio recording of a peer-led workshop.

In the first half of the chapter I will analyse my data looking for evidence of the values and beliefs held by learning curators as this underpinning philosophy defines the pedagogical parameters, the exploration of knowledge that takes place. In the second part of the chapter, I will listen to the voices of peer-leaders, artists and participants using such pedagogies to discuss artwork in the gallery. I will proceed in chapter 8 to explore the ways in which the learner is imagined within these data sets.

From the research questions that I have outlined in chapter 7, the one that I will bring to this chapter is:

How does the ethos of gallery educators' impact on the teaching and learning that takes place, and the way it is structured?

The data collected from the *Raw Canvas* programme was selected to enable the exploration of:
1. Existing ideologies and values in Raw Canvas and within the learning team at Tate Modern.
2. The construction of new peer-led pedagogies
3. The stated aim of empowering young people

What follows is a representative selection of data organised into sections through which I identify and consider the main themes arising from interviews with research participants. Section One applies those themes to curator voices and Section Two looks in detail at one of a series of peer-led workshops.

Interviews with learning curators were conducted in 2002. They were originally conducted and filmed as part of an art project entitled *Us and the Other*. This project was a collaboration between myself, Janet Hodgson (artist) and Raw Canvas Peer-

leaders. Janet and I were intending to make an artwork from the material filmed whilst at the same time introducing Raw Canvas to the professional practices of filming, sound recording, interviewing, lighting and editing. We asked learning curators to articulate the 'value' they placed in modern contemporary art. Seeing the interviewees struggle with the question on camera was an important expression of the difficulty in summarising why we do what we do and why we consider art to be an important part of life. We also wanted interviewees to name and describe someone (a potential new audience) that they would like us to talk to on their behalf, someone who didn't come to the gallery and whom they would like to tell about Tate Modern. We asked for a rich description so that we could actually go and find these people. Our intention was to locate the first person and then ask them the same thing so that we could follow their description and find someone else. We wanted to explore the 'viral' nature of passing on enthusiasm for art. It was to become an edited video work. For all sorts of logistical reasons, mainly to do with a lack of time, we never finished it as an artwork.

Once I embarked on this PhD I looked at this data in a new light. I believe that it was the unanswered questions in these interviews that sowed the first seeds of my research proposal for my PhD that I wrote in 2008. It took 6 years and the birth of two of my children before I was in a position to continue researching those questions in the formal setting of an MPHIL/ PhD. My different ontological position has given me another angle from which to make a reading of this material. Looking at the data again has suggested an exploration of the varying pedagogical positions expressed directly or indirectly by each curator. When the interviews took place, I had only been Curator for Youth Programmes for one month, I am interviewed alongside my colleagues and, watching it again and again, I am acutely aware of my own confusion about how I was to build new audiences of young people and construct challenging learning experiences in this setting. It is the positioning, in organisational terms, of *Raw Canvas* within the Educational programmes at Tate Modern at the time that interests me. Raw Canvas can be identified as a specific

pedagogical approach occupying territory that was adjacent to, or between the schools programme and the adult programme. I would like to explore this ontological positioning through the data I have collected. From the data the differing assumptions about the learner and about pedagogy within each of the programme constructs will emerge. I have selected to use data from an interview with the Head of Interpretation and Education, the Curator for Public Programmes, the Curator for School and Teacher Programmes and myself as Curator for Youth Programmes (in chapter 9).

The workshop transcripts, that I analyse in section two of this chapter, are from a series of gallery sessions, which took place in 2009 and were led by *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders.

Themes

The themes arise from interviews with curators and peer-led workshops and relate to themes that emerged from chapters 4 and 5.

A: IDEOLOGY (theme a)

This theme aims to find out what is distinctive about the particular ideology or ethos that defined *Raw Canvas* and how it differs from similar educational programmes at the gallery. How important risk or innovation is in gallery education practice and how challenge or 'fracture' distinguishes it and sets it apart from art teaching in schools. Because of the widening participation remit, particular problems emerge for *Raw Canvas* in relation to challenging the learner. I explore those here with reference to how they affect the pedagogy in terms of the teaching and learning that take place as a result of such values.

B: PEDAGOGICAL RELATIONS (theme b)

This theme focuses on the educational approaches emerging as a result of the values described above. In chapter 5, I talked about the tensions that exist in gallery learning departments over use of the term 'pedagogy' as it is considered to be

jargonistic and not useful to practice. I discussed at some length the way in which, I think that, not using that label undermines the specific expertise of the learning curator. 'Pedagogy' describes the theory of learning and it is a term that describes the reflective observations that my interviewees make about activities in the gallery. Often these people have stepped away from direct teaching and into curatorial roles, which are by their very nature more managerial. Therefore, it is useful in this chapter to explore the pedagogic actions that are described by the curators.

C: Engaging the **AUDIENCE** (theme c)

This theme is about the ways in which learning is structured in a non-accredited, informal space. It is about the constant pressure to engage people in art and the impact of that on pedagogy. The importance of the social nature of all of the events and activities in museums and galleries cannot be stressed enough. Of course, the social engagement between learners and between teacher and learner is important in all settings. But it takes on added significance in a setting in which attendance is voluntary. The emphasis on widening participation means that the education curators' role requires them to do some audience development and some pedagogical work. For my own role as Curator of Youth Programmes there was 50% audience development, 20% party host/pastoral carer, 10% advocacy work leaving only 20% for pedagogical expertise around modern and contemporary art. It is through looking at this data that I realise that the emphasis on audience development was less dominant in Public Programmes where participants chose to come, if the curator created a popular programme of events; and in the schools programme where schools were obliged to visit museums and galleries as set out in the national curriculum.

Data presentation with analysis

Section One
Us and the Other - curator's voices

In the introduction to this chapter, I talked about the context in which the curator interviews were made. These interviews were conducted as part of an art project in which, myself (in my role as an artist), Janet Hodgson (artist), and members of the *Raw Canvas* team, created a series of questions addressed to members of the Interpretation and Education team of curators.

The idea had sprung from our interest in investigating the rationale behind widening participation initiatives in the context of theoretical notions of self and other that had been part of the dialogues of contemporary art during the 1990's. We were interested in the Tate's keenness to use the opening of Tate Modern to broaden the audience for art (theme c - audience). We wanted to see how the widening participation agenda was affecting the ethos of the learning team (theme a – ideology).

The interviews took place in 2002, soon after the opening of Tate Modern in May 2000. This was a significant time for curators at the gallery as they reflected on what modern and contemporary art could offer the public. Innovation was key in developing programmes for public participation (theme b – pedagogy) that were appropriate for Tate Modern and its audiences (theme c). All events programmes were devised by education curators and, as such, a great deal of autonomy was afforded to their decision-making processes.

We structured the interviews in order to gain insight into each curator's idea of the value of modern and contemporary art, why they were keen to attract new audiences and who those audiences might be. The interview questions were:

What is your role?

Define your audience?

What do you do?

Why do you do it?

Who else would you like to see at the gallery? If the current audience is 'us', then who is the 'other'?

Describe the 'other'.

The interviews took place during the working day at Tate Modern, in an education studio. *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders were filming, recording sound and operating the lighting. Participants were briefed in advance, about broadly what the interview would cover. The curators interviewed here were happy to discuss their thoughts. However one curator (not used here) was uncomfortable about the questioning and felt that the questions were leading in a pre-determined direction and could ensnare the respondent.

I will start this presentation of data with transcribed extracts from interviews with Toby Jackson, Head of Interpretation and Education, Tate Modern (1998-2005); Helen Charman, Curator for School and Teacher Programmes (1999-2007) and Sophie Howarth, Curator for Public Programmes (2001-2008).

Ideology – theme a

A certain ethos pervades any institutional department. Some, but not all, values and beliefs are shared across the departmental team. This creates an ideological norm which influences practice. By looking at the philosophy of each curator, in relation to their work at the gallery, I plan to draw out underlying beliefs and attitudes about art and learning. This will illuminate the specific context in which Tate Modern is a distinctive or unique place for learning. It also aims to create understanding of the

specific difficulties for youth programmes aimed at including the excluded to better understand the territory within which the *Raw Canvas* programme existed.

Interview extracts refer to the curators' conception of gallery education in relation to: the role that knowledge plays in learning in the gallery; risk taking in contrast with formal educational settings; and the interviewees' notions of the value of learning about art.

What shall we learn at the gallery?

I begin with Toby and Helen who discuss issues pertinent for gallery education. They both contrast gallery learning with learning in the formal education sector, namely state funded schools. They are not speaking about Raw Canvas, they are addressing the key principles that inform educational activity at Tate Modern at that time, this provides a context for looking more specifically at the Raw Canvas programme later on and the ways in which it grows out of this ideological base. Toby draws out the particularities of gallery education by comparing it with art in schools and colleges. From this we build up a picture of the specifics of the gallery learning (theme b) and the ethos that informs it (theme a):

There's a formal process going on in educational institutions, like a school or a college and you're involved in progression, on a course, or a time based activity where you're learning concepts or building up concepts and ideas. Whereas, your engagement in a gallery is much more fleeting, it's much more compacted, it's contained, and any progression is at the behest of the lecturer or the teacher who comes with the group. (Toby)

Toby's comment relates to the pedagogical relations that are enacted between teacher and learner, theme b in my analysis. He is demarcating certain pedagogical territory in the gallery in terms of knowledge generation. He characterises the reproduction of knowledge in formal education as different from the conception of knowledge in the gallery. Toby is not talking about knowledge as a particular object

that needs to be acquired, as in the conservative model, but instead talking about critical engagement. This is a different conception of knowledge, one that would be described as 'knowledge production' in a moderate hermeneutic structure (Gallagher, 1992). Here Toby draws an important distinction between ways of acquiring knowledge and in so doing begins to map out a dynamic notion of knowing in which the role and power of the educator is paramount. This points to the wider pedagogical underpinnings of gallery education work (theme b).

It's a kind of hybrid, working in a museum, because it pulls together the kind of history, practice, theory that I used to do [as an artist], but also the kind of methods of teaching or engaging people with ideas which you get in museum space, but in a very informal kind of way, not in a formal accredited way. (Toby)

What is interesting here is that Toby describes the professional expertise of the gallery educator as one that combines 'history [of art], practice, theory' with 'methods of teaching' this combination is crucial in the discussion of critical art education because there is not one easily definable object to be taught, like one particular theory or idea but a situation in which the knowledge object, the learner and what is to be learned are in a constant state of negotiation. This relates to theme a (ideology) as Toby is talking about his approach to learning in the gallery which utilises a combination of art history and pedagogic knowledge. In order to make this engagement productive for the learner, the educator has to draw upon many bodies of knowledge whilst settling on none in particular. The educator aims at transformation rather than reproduction, 'cultural literacy would expand a student's horizon and enable the student to build further upon that expansion. But this would be cultural literacy without reproduction' (Gallagher, 1992: 230). 'Transformation is the rule and reproduction is ruled out' (ibid: 230).

Gallery educators are not trained to teach but instead are trained, through art college courses, to be art experts (practitioners or historians). They draw appropriate pedagogies out through their interpretation of art works. The role of the gallery educator is different from that of a teacher. Herne (2006) examines

whether art teachers and gallery educators hold different conceptions of critical and contextual studies. Throughout the paper, he compares the roles of these two professional groups.

Gallery educators, like teachers, develop their own different pedagogical content knowledge in relation to their own sites, characteristic audiences, processes and activities, which is equivalent but qualitatively different to that of art teachers (Herne, 2006: 10).

Toby highlights the differences between the two educational settings of school and museum. Both spaces require the professionals to theorise about their work. Both gallery educators and schoolteachers employ theory, often unconsciously, in relation to their chosen task. We might say that the moment we move away from practice or action to talk about it we are in a 'theoretical' space.

We're not here to service a curriculum, we're not here to produce results, to achieve standards, we're not here to meet government deadlines in relationship to qualifications, we're not here to satisfy an exam board, so we haven't got those constraints, so, even if we wanted them, we haven't got them, and we don't want them, so in theory it gives us a freedom to operate differently from the agenda that's offered us by the systems with whom we collaborate, schools, universities etc. (Toby)

The notion of the traditional teacher as arbitrator of knowledge is redundant here. The negotiation between the learner, the knowledge and the teacher has taken on a dynamism that calls for new attitudes to 'knowing'. Freire (1970) talks about 'circles of certainty' (ibid: 20) as the constraining conditions experienced by those who disassociate knowledge from action. Freire calls for people to enter into reality or real situations of struggle in order to transform them. This is in contrast to a position in which an expert attempts to name the problem on behalf of oppressed people and by that naming to find a solution *for* them.

In general, individuals (not all) develop philosophies about art and the teaching of art through a combination of practice, reading, theory and experience (Atkinson and Dash, 2005). We could describe this as a process of gaining 'cultural literacy', by

which I mean the acquisition of traditional or valued forms of knowledge which historically constitute a cultural domain that acquires relative stability and value (Shakespeare, the Impressionists, the Renaissance, Surrealism). Gallery education work is influenced by the importance placed on cultural literacy (theme a, ideology).

Continuing to unpack the galleries openness for participation (theme c – audiences) I bring in E.D.Hirsh's ideas about *a priori* knowledge to assist with my analysis. In Hirsch's conception, *a priori* knowledge is required in order to become culturally literate. The question is: how do new audiences (those with different *a priori* knowledge) become included? Are they able to become literate in a new culture whilst retaining their own values or must they leave behind their own values in order to join the new. This is a vital question in the debates about access and inclusion in galleries and is a journey that Toby articulates in his description of his first experiences of art.

I was overwhelmed by it and I mean literally like a lot of people in my position who came from working class backgrounds are, they will identify a point where they were overwhelmed, moved, by engagement with an artwork. (Toby)

Hirsch would argue that cultural and political exclusion, I am taking this to refer to non participation, is based simply on a lack of cultural literacy and that language is 'value neutral' and doesn't conserve national values, world views or traditions (Gallagher, 1992: 232). Either language is value neutral and 'excluded groups need only become culturally literate to become included, whilst still retaining their own values, worldviews and so on' (ibid, 232) or 'language is not neutral but conserves established values and traditions so that excluded groups, in becoming literate, must give up their own 'un-common' values, worldviews, and so on, and adopt the established common ones' (ibid: 232). In the second instance the excluded group would become included only by becoming the same as everyone else' (ibid: 232).

Although it is sometimes assumed to be a neutral space the gallery is not neutral at all and, as I am discovering, the problems of inclusion and widening participation lie in incorrect assumptions about neutrality. In chapter 5, I described a 'knot' that I encountered during the 'Street Genius' project when I needed to reveal the hidden value structures in order to create a meaningful learning experience for two participants. This highlights problems with notions of teaching 'cultural literacy'. We can read certain significance into Toby's reflections on his own transformation from dis-engaged to engaged; ignorant to enlightened; if we reflect on the conflict within cultural literacy as outlined by Hirsh then we need to question what Toby's 'engagement' was predicated on? Was it a eureka moment in which the code was understood and assimilated thus changing Toby's cultural values forever? Or did he experience the artwork from within his own working class subjectivity? Was he transformed by the experience? Or did he have to undergo some change in order to have the experience?

And I still remember the feeling, wherever it was, here, [places hands on chest then more specifically on stomach] a very physical feeling in front of these works of art and I always remember Gramsci talking about the ability of people to spontaneously theorise that the language we have, the codes and conventions within our vocabulary, within our experiences more broadly from culture, enable us to spontaneously theorise and I remember having a conversation with the teacher about this work. (Toby)

Earlier in the interview Toby talked about:

stumbling across it [art] in a book that was in the attic of a friend of mine. This attic was an amazing experience for me, in that, I'd never been in a house with an attic that had stairs going up to it, not a drop down loft ladder but stairs, and in this attic were books, art books and a piano accordion and I'd never seen a piano accordion before and I thought it was the most exotic instrument, as were these books. So I came across it [art] there at a point at which I was becoming sexually aware and changing, psychologically changing. And then we were taken to a gallery by the school and I came across works of art for the first time, in the flesh as it were, the physical presence of works of art so it was the coincidental-ness of those two (Toby).

It is clear from what he says that in order to see the art in the book he had to enter an unfamiliar space, he describes 'a house with an attic that had stairs going up to it, not a drop down loft ladder but stairs'. Within the confines of Toby's working class background he'd never been in an attic before and there is a certain enchantment with the whole experience which no doubt heightens the experience of seeing art in a book. We find out later that it was Van Gogh's 'Gauguin's Chair'. This experience from the past has crystallised as a conviction about the importance of exposing young people to such life changing opportunities. From this early experience Toby's professional career and attitude towards pedagogy as something that should be inclusive and open to all emerges.

I have referred to the tension between the production and reproduction of knowledge in hermeneutic thought. All the curators that were interviewed are talking about strategies that rely heavily on the production of knowledge. In the previous quotations, Toby made several distinctions between art teaching in schools and at the gallery. In the following extracts Helen talks about the difficulties for teachers working with modern and contemporary art within the schemes of work set out in the National Curriculum. She draws out the tension between learning 'stuff, facts' rather than 'thinking about creative interpretation and process', this tension is the same one that exists in the debates within hermeneutics (reproduction/production of knowledge).

For a primary teacher the emphasis is on making and for contemporary practice it's not the kind of work that students can make and nor should it be, it's more about the ideas. The process, the problem solving isn't recognized in the curriculum (Helen).

How do you begin to unpack something and read something when you don't know about it and because the curriculum is so top heavy, in that, you know, students are having to learn stuff, facts, whatever, rather than thinking about creative interpretation and process. I think, really, there isn't the professional context that teachers are coming from which will enable them to develop and value these kinds of skills that you need in order to really enjoy and get the most out of contemporary art (Helen).

Helen asserts that in her view teachers' professional contexts are challenged by having to choose between teaching facts or focussing on creative interpretation. The tension that is created by this stifles the possibility of 'get[ting] the most out of modern and contemporary art'. The tension over which type of knowledge is most important affects the value that teachers place on building interpretation skills with their students.

The tension is connected to the primacy, or not, of knowledge in learning as I have described in chapter 4 where I outline some opposition, some ambivalence, within the gallery in terms of the differing hermeneutic approaches adopted. The problems are connected to the disagreement between reproducing knowledge in learning or the alternative, which is encouraging students to create their own interpretations and produce new knowledge. Helen's comments locate the fact that in her view (theme a, ideology) such tension is deeply embedded within teaching and learning in schools. It is perhaps related to the recommendations in the Coldstream report (1960), which was targeted at 'art schools' and made a case for the introduction of theory into the practical art school curriculum. Perhaps the tensions that exist at Tate and between Tate pedagogy and the school art curriculum illustrates a fracture that exists between pre-modern and post-modern art.

So, in summary, the interview extracts in relation to learner and teacher (educator) subjectivities indicate a tension between prescribed subjectivities assumed by reproductive pedagogical practices and subjects-yet-to-come implicit to creative/productive pedagogies.

Challenging orthodoxies, taking risks and 'fracture'

In this section, I will present interview data in which my respondents discuss pedagogical approaches that involve risk and challenge. The extracts from interviews in this section continue to define the specifics of gallery education.

The privilege of operating outside of the formal education sector gives distinct advantages to art galleries in terms of the opportunity to create pedagogies that can be challenging, risk taking and contain 'real learning' (Atkinson, 2011). The disadvantages exist in the limited funding for cultural education programmes, when compared to the national education budget, and the cultural sector's lack of status as education providers. However under resourced galleries are the advantages of not being regulated outweigh the disadvantages in terms of the opportunities for innovation. Gallery education could and should be acknowledged as an experimental, progressive, testing ground for approaches to cultural education that suit a diverse contemporary society. This point, is echoed by Helen Charman:

There just isn't enough of that [contemporary art] used as a primary resource material in schools and then you don't see it reflected in the kind of work that students produce. I think it's because of subject knowledge and teachers don't have enough time to develop their subject knowledge. There is a real lack of confidence that teachers have about working with [contemporary art]. So I suppose it's the lack of subject knowledge and the lack of resourcing to support and partly because it's an unknown quantity. It's a wider issue about risk taking in the profession. (Helen)

Recent research indicates that art teaching in schools is extremely variable with some teachers focusing on teaching traditional skills and techniques used by the 'old masters' whilst others adopt a more contemporary approach in which critical and socio political thinking are paramount (*School Art What's in it?* Downing and Watson, 2004). As Tate Modern houses modern and contemporary art from the last 100 years it is inclined towards the latter (theme a ideology), although the collection displays can support teaching of traditional skills and techniques as well (theme b).

The idea of challenging the status quo and rocking the boat a bit is a part of gallery education practice, just as it is intrinsic to much contemporary art practice. (Helen)

We've always said that we support, but extend, classroom practice and we want to maintain that autonomy, that kind of liminal space outside the curriculum. (Helen)

This kind of educative practice is not akin to the notions of cultural reproduction in the model of 'conservative hermeneutics' where 'interpretation ought to reconstruct (reproduce) original meaning if it is to be valid (Gallagher, 1992: 207). In looking for a space outside of the curriculum, Helen is advocating a kind of learning environment where the epistemological structure of many classrooms and the curriculum can be rethought and where challenging the 'status quo' is an important part of the educative experience. This is a relevant and significant proposition particularly, in the light of current UK Government policy changes for education where there is a call for a return to 'traditional' subjects.

But having said that there comes a point when you begin to doubt whether you're really being effective running these kinds of programmes, when teachers need something different. (Helen)

Helen's doubt is to do with a complex decision that she has to take, does she focus on the 'traditional' teachers and try to change their mind-sets or does she work with the teachers who are already inclined towards working with the contemporary. She opts for the latter; the remit of the school and teacher programme is to work with schools and teachers and there are many, many schools willing to take part. The remit for schools at Tate is not specifically to focus on non-attenders or those who don't adopt Tate Modern's approach. Whilst it is desirable to develop new audiences, where resources are limited they can be most effectively employed by producing good learning experiences for willing participants (theme a, ideology and theme c, audiences).

Helen describes some evaluative research she has commissioned with the Susie Fisher Group. The focus was on teachers and the aim was to gather their experiences of using and attending workshops at the new Tate Modern gallery. The objective of the research was to inform the School and Teacher programmes of what they are doing well, what works, what doesn't, and where changes should be made. Helen divides the respondents into 4 groups or types. Based on their survey

responses, Primary teachers were grouped as either 'emotional allies' or 'acceptors' and Secondary teachers were divided up as 'political allies' or 'complainers'.

… and then the complainers are those people who are rooted in… this very formalist approach to making art and who weren't really very open minded I suppose about the kind of work we were doing here, our approach and the value of contemporary practice, they had a particular idea about what they want to see and while, I mean obviously you want people to have their own opinion but you want them to be able to be open minded enough to engage with something that's possibly an alternative and I think the complainers they just sort of stick there heels in and they're not really interested. (Helen)

[a complainer] wants their expectations to be fulfilled and not challenged. (Helen)

Contemporary practice is a bit more difficult and there are certain vocabularies we need to develop when looking at modern and contemporary art. (Helen)

[Later] I want to concentrate on the acceptors. (Helen)

School and Teacher programmes are free to select the audience with whom they can have the most productive relationship. This enables the development of a pedagogy that can be challenging and can push the boundaries of their subject knowledge. This is in stark contrast with *Raw Canvas* where, although aimed at 15-23 year olds visiting independently outside of school and college settings, it was targeted at those who were disengaged, disinterested or had never visited before. The initial spark or interest had not yet been ignited. So, where School and Teacher programmes were designing pedagogy for known constituent groups the young people who attended *Raw Canvas* were not known to the gallery. We couldn't find out more about them because we didn't know who they were, so designing pedagogy was a guessing game. It was also critical that the pedagogy was not too challenging, as that could be off-putting to those who were trying out the experience for the first time. Although this is particular to *Raw Canvas,* it is relevant in a wider context when educators design content and curricula for anyone who is different, 'other', from their previous teaching or life experience.

Sophie comments on this issue in relation to the notion of pleasure:

In relation to the history of the museum, because museums were set up as educational spaces and then became much more pleasure spaces and now there's a drive to make them more educational spaces again. But the pleasure was important, it's educational, by the time you've gone through all your formal education you deserve to be able to explore things a bit more freely and to learn in a way that's less about accreditation. (Sophie)

'Pleasure' is an extremely important element in *Raw Canvas* as it forms a vital part of intrinsic motivation. Because learners come independently without being brought by family or a teacher, motivation is a key part. This is intrinsic motivation that is to do with the social nature of the activities, the powerful nature of peer learning in creating a community of learners who motivate each other. It is also to do with a certain amount of extrinsic motivation in terms of acquiring the Tate 'badge' or being affiliated with Tate.

What follows is a collection of extracts, still focusing upon the interviewee's ideological positions, from my data in which Helen, Sophie and Toby 'pull out' the pedagogical beliefs or assumptions in which learners/teachers are framed or conceived.

Helen thinks the art gallery can challenge existing assumptions in the teaching of art:

The actual structures within schools, [which] dictate a certain orthodoxy and tradition, dictate the types of teaching that goes on within the classroom. And that's where the modern art museum can make some sort of difference by challenging some of those orthodoxies. (Helen)

Like Helen in the last extract Sophie, following, is also talking about refusing orthodoxy or the authority of the art collection and using it for your own ends (theme a ideology). The theme of not bowing to the power structure but being self-determining is common to both.

I quite like that idea that you raid the Tate and you raid what's in it for yourself.
(Sophie)

In fact, it is the work itself that dictates the unorthodox approach. As Sophie points out traditional aesthetic values like beauty are not helpful at Tate Modern as tools to unlock meaning or form appreciation for the works. This illustrates the point that I made earlier about the pedagogy coming from the work itself.

Tate Modern doesn't really make me want to do that [jump up and down with joy], I think that what's inspiring about the work here [at Tate Modern] it's really different from old fashioned ideas about beauty and I think it's about negotiating why it's still important, why it matters to us. (Sophie)

The unorthodox approach dictated by modern and contemporary art becomes part of the very fabric of the pedagogical approach and ideology of the department (theme b and theme a), as Sophie sets out below:

Even in their origins [museums], in Germany, that was the idea, they were spaces of erudition you would emerge a better person. You would look at the greatest works of classical art and somehow, from your journey through an hour and a half, you would arrive enlightened. Well, contemporary art isn't like that and why we value it isn't that either. The state of play between galleries whose collections are much more heavily bent towards older work and contemporary public collections have quite different philosophies to their education programmes and I'm sure that is as a result of the relationship we have with the work that's inside there. There is a kind of pricelessness to looking at a Cezanne or a Renoir and therefore a kind of insistence that you must appreciate it. I guess, for me, the way I work with the Tate Collection is to draw my pedagogical approaches out of the contemporary work and apply them to the older work. So I'm interested, for example, in how we can see Picasso as having been kind of a rebel and breaking convention and not making priceless, beautiful works at the time and that's what they've come to be. I want to kind of recover them from the museum. I suppose that it's anti-institutional in philosophy. (Sophie)

The 'insistence that you must appreciate it' that she talks about in relation to Renoir or Cezanne is an example of the reproduction of knowledge in learning, teaching learners to appreciate certain art works from the past. Sophie describes a strategy of

making new meaning around the work of Picasso by 'draw[ing] my pedagogical approaches out of the contemporary work and apply[ing] them to the older work.' She uses the contemporary work to define her pedagogical approach and this provides a tool, which unlocks Picasso's works from the patina of meaning that has been gathered through time, financial value and status. In that, way the pedagogical approach gets the learner in touch with the art itself rather than the hype that surrounds it (theme b).

In the final extract for this section on ideology, Helen struggles with the tricky problem of how to articulate the value of art and why she considers it to be important on a personal and on a philanthropic level.

Basically I want to do a job, well it's not so much a job but something I find really, really interesting… But then why arts education because I started off working in education which was very, very sort of satisfying but then I think the visual arts bit comes in because broadly speaking it's just that thing that visual art does which I really like in that giving you the opportunity to be reflective, not just necessarily about what it feels like to be human because philosophy does that as well as literature, but giving you a space to be reflective in quite a… I suppose for me it's quite a critical thing, in quite an intelligent way and also in a way, which is quite personal as well. If we think about what happens in schools, where is the room really for personal, you know that space slightly outside of yourself, or just that other sort of space, I'm not hugely able to articulate this, but I think in a way that's because what I'm trying to articulate isn't that easy, its different for everybody but there's something there about…oh..well, it's really difficult to explain isn't it? Well it's certainly a personal as well as a philanthropic motivation and I think that it's so crucial looking and thinking about art and it's such a special thing that human beings do… makes them feel makes them think. (Helen)

Note the difficulty in expressing why art is important, it is indeed very difficult to define and yet these curators share a commitment to it, they believe in its worth.

To summarise this section about the theme of ideology, it appears that intrinsic to the underlying ethos of gallery education practice at Tate Modern in 2002 are the ideas that: knowledge is/or should be produced rather than reproduced; the learner will inevitably change as a result of the learning and this transformation is to be

embraced; learning should be challenging and involve pedagogical innovation; pedagogy should be derived directly from the epistemological basis of the subject being taught. Pedagogy is not pre-planned but emerges from the inter-actions between artwork – learner - educator and includes affective as well as cognitive dimensions.

Pedagogic principles – theme b

The following extracts are focused on pedagogical principles. In this selection of data, both Toby and Sophie talk about pedagogic relations and each describes, in different ways, a kind of fluidity and openness characterizing their approaches and that of the people they employ to run the courses.

The pedagogy comes from who is selected to teach, i.e. different artist teachers selected by the curator for each course or event, and, the thinking or ideas that the curator has arrived at through continual engagement with ideas, texts and images.

I don't want to present them with a philosophical argument. I think what it is, is slowing them down a bit. (Toby)

Before joining the Education team Sophie has previously worked in the acquisitions and conservation department. She is able to view and describe the different pedagogical approaches of the two departments. This is really valuable because she characterizes the nature of the pedagogical relationship in each. Firstly by talking about what she likes about working in education, because she appreciates meeting the people that she's working with, and secondly (in the second quotation) she talks about the specific work of the acquisitions team and the 'allegiance to the art work' that characterizes it. Sophie also talks about a dialogue between herself and the visitors that was not possible when she worked in the conservation team because they never got to meet the visitors. She talks about a 'two-way flow and getting my ideas from the people that come'. So, as we can hear, the nature of the pedagogical relationship is 'dialogic' in education and 'didactic' in exhibitions, in the sense that

'you prepare it all and then you leave on the day that the public come in'. You select the work and put it on *for* the public but you don't stay around in the gallery and talk *with* them, as you do in education.

I like the risk taking that you can do in education because everything doesn't have to be just so and just perfect. And I like meeting the people that I'm working with and thinking about and having much more of a kind of two-way flow and getting my ideas from the people that come rather than… I mean it was great preparing the opening of Tate Modern and working really hard on one of those displays but there was a feeling that you prepare it all and then you leave on the day that the public come in. (Sophie)

Acquisition and conservation work are extremely important at Tate but they are behind the scenes, they are about preparation and display of fixed, pre-determined objects and facts about them. For the conservation team there is a story to tell about each work, as Sophie remarks:

I was working on the acquisition of works so your primary responsibility is to the art work, even more than to the artist I suppose, it's to the art work and then subsequently to it's interpretation and it's conservation and to building up a collection, not for necessarily immediate display but for the development a collection over years and years and looking at the gaps and looking at what we might focus on in the future and the politics of what you will represent and won't represent. The allegiance is to the works of art and rather than to an audience. It's interesting because I wouldn't really prioritise one over the other (audience over artworks) I think that an organization like this really, really needs both. The role that I see myself doing in the organization now is an audience focused one, and someone else will look after the artworks and we can use them to have conversations. (Sophie)

So, through her two job roles at Tate Sophie has experienced two key pedagogical relationships in the organization, one that relies on dialogue with the public and one that emphasizes transmission to the public. Earlier in this thesis, I talked about the multifarious approaches to the interpretation of art at Tate that creates a kind of ambivalence for the learner/visitor/participant. Hearing Sophie describe the fundamental epistemological differences between the roles of the acquisitions and education teams in relation to the visitor, it is unsurprising that tension and ambivalence should develop. Perhaps the branding decision to change 'the Tate

Gallery' into 'Tate' made the organization appear to be more of a homogenized entity with one coherent message rather than a many stranded organization in which harmony and disharmony exist in equal measure. 'The Tate Gallery' was made up of many components: scholarship, education, conservation, display, service to the visitor and with each there is a different relation with the public and each uses a different kind of pedagogy. Perhaps it is simply my limited understanding of the brand but somehow 'Tate' as a title seems to seal the whole package up into one defining word, one indefinite article. Without the definite article of 'the Tate' there is less opportunity for all the components to exist together side-by-side but maintaining their different relations with the public.

Sophie goes on to talk about the pedagogy (theme b) used by two tutors with whom she had been working to deliver a recent course. Pedagogy here is concerned with the idea of a fluid or open/infinite learning community open to contingencies in contrast to more prescribed learning communities.

Pedagogy is constructed by and through the curators' cultural experiences. Listen to the way that Sophie uses a book she's been reading to inform the methodology for the next course.

[Talking about the course leaders] they are a brilliant duo and this idea came about because, they've taught lots of other things before, they always do this thing of teaching together and having quite a performative conversation themselves and that giving other people a chance to react into that and off of it. And I was thinking about those two and then I was reading this book by this Oxford academic, Theodor Zeldin, who writes kind of social histories of France but a bit of England as well. But he draws his history out in the most unusual ways, he wrote this book about the intimate history of humanity that was all about women's lives over years and years and just domestic questions and interviewing the group of people whose lives had changed while all these great wars had gone on. And he wrote this book about conversation and it was just great, and I thought, hey, we can do something with this. In a way that kind of says a lot about what we're trying to achieve in all the courses that we run, little groups within a big group and a big groups at moments, and there'll be all sorts of different dynamics to do with the conversations that will evolve and that may go back and

shape somebody's work, that may shape their visit here, or their visit somewhere else, you may shape what they do when they walk outside. (Sophie)

Keeping it quite experimental and that gets me in trouble as well when people don't like it. I've done movement before where I didn't say that that was going to be involved and people found very socially difficult, too challenging. I do feel that at a level of respect you have to not require people to do things that they don't want to do. (Sophie)

In the following quote, she seems to be concerned with 'open pedagogies' and thus what Atkinson (2011) calls 'pedagogies of the unknown' in contrast to 'pedagogies of the known'.

One of the things about people who come to the programmes that we put on is that they really, really across the board really want to be challenged and want to challenge themselves and that maybe ties up with all the other reasons we were talking about why people come. I just always notice that there's a willingness to discard ideas, there's a willingness to explore ideas, there's a frustration if something seems to be too easy. We want art to be rich, it doesn't have to be complex, but we want it to be multi-layered and have, or at least, provide the opportunity for us to continually engage and continually discuss it. I feel that what we're doing is never trying to reduce something in explanation, never trying to wrap it up, always trying to open it out and that seems to be what there is a desire for and the complaints that I've had have often been because people feel that they are on something that was too introductory or that they are having something explained to them rather than allowing for the complexity. (Sophie)

I return to Toby in the final extract of this section. Toby is talking about the boy that he would like to talk to about modern and contemporary art. He seems to be addressing what could be termed a subject-yet-to-come as opposed to a prescribed subject.

I wouldn't want to say that it might change his life, because it might not be a turn for the best. I would think that it would open up new ways of thinking about himself and the world in which he lives in and if he's interested it would open up journeys or routes along which he could travel, which would further that for him and it might be painful I mean it might be if he's living in a tightly constrained world where he's, his horizons are known he might be quite content with that and by fracturing that it might open up some painful and difficult journeys because it would mean rejecting some of those assumptions. On the other hand, I might be over dramatizing it; it might just be a

natural step that young people take to thinking about the world and rejecting or accepting parts of their new experiences. (Toby)

In this section, I have explored the theme of pedagogical relations that are created in gallery learning between the educator, learner and the artwork. I have used extracts from my interview respondents to illustrate the particularities of teaching and learning in the gallery drawing particular attention to the areas of greatest importance for them so as to build up a picture of the approaches employed.

The principles that governed pedagogy at Tate Modern in 2002 were that it is conversational (dialogic), open or fluid and can encompass the unknown, it is challenging and the outcomes are not always positive for the learner. The gallery educator does not hold back if the journey of discovery may take the learner to somewhere that is uncomfortable because they have to reject some of the assumptions that they have made in the past and start questioning the things that they took for granted.

Engaging the audience – theme c

In this section, I will focus on the aspects of gallery education pedagogy that are concerned with engaging people. In the gallery environment, this almost always involves aspects of the pedagogic design focusing on the social nature of relations between participants and educators. All pedagogy is inevitably sociable there is, after all, an exchange between teacher and learners and between learners. Pedagogy is itself a social construction and the construction of roles between teachers and learners are not natural. Identities are constructed and formed around different sets of values. In *Raw Canvas* activities, the usual relations between teacher and learner are reconsidered by emphasising peer-led learning opportunities. The context also plays an important role in shaping the learner experience. When there is no assessment, no enrolment fee, no requirement to attend the voluntary nature of events is very important, often providing a social outcome in its own right by participants making new friendships. In gallery and museum education, there is no

obligation for the learner to stay if they are bored or uncomfortable, for example. In the following extracts taken from my conversations with education curators, I will probe the importance of the social atmosphere during events and how much pleasure and fun are intrinsic part of the activities on offer.

The importance of widening participation means that a learning curator is required to develop audiences (measured by numbers) as well as developing educational programmes and resources (measured by output to the public). The evaluation of whether the learning has been successful takes place between the learning curator and course teacher and with participant questionnaires. The gallery management structure measures the success of a course or event through the notes that curators write for trustees meetings where everybody does a certain amount of self promotion choosing to talk about the events that were popular (i.e. fully booked). As a result attracting people to the gallery and keeping them there are important parts of a successful learning curators job. Therefore social strategies are used to make activities fun, inspiring, pleasant, fulfilling. The education event is like a party and the curator is the host. There are strategies for audience development, strategies for learning and strategies for working together. For youth programmes curators over 50% of the time is spent developing audiences leaving relatively little for planning the learning. For my respondents this was different. The adults that Sophie attracted were already coming and the teachers that Helen worked with were a ready-made audience as visiting galleries is a statutory requirement. I on the other hand had direct access to my audience whereas in order to work with young people Helen had to work with teachers who acted as gatekeepers for the students.

Gallery activities are not compulsory, as in a School, and learners haven't enrolled for a year or more as in a College or University. Participants in galleries, especially those taking part in youth programmes, have chosen to attend because they want to, to be in that group or maybe it is fun, or they want some self-development (Falk and Dierking, 2000). Because learners are at liberty to leave when they choose the social

is an extremely important part of the gallery educators pedagogic plan. For an educator in this setting the social is not just the atmosphere in the room it is the glue which holds the participants on the course, without it they would leave that session or not return for the next session or may not have come at all. The job of an education curator is like being the host at a party; making sure everyone is comfortable, happy, fulfilled and making adjustments if not.

Raw Canvas pedagogy does not distinguish between 'social' or 'learning' environments, allowing the two to run together as much as possible during activities. This was intended as a way to create a learning environment that was not like school and also to provide maximum opportunity to draw upon participants' intrinsic motivation, associated with pleasure, rather than the extrinsic motivations for learning that are inherent in studying for exams/assessment etc. However, given the extrinsic motivation associated with acquiring the Tate 'badge' it is becoming clear that only some individuals can appreciate the value in the badge as an alternative to qualifications.

I feel like the real driving force is the sociable side and the gathering to come and talk about something and evolve some discussions. The audience is very particularly made up of people who want that side of it. So, you get people who want to be able to discuss matters of self and psychoanalysis or people who are making video work and want to be able to talk about it with other people. We've got a programme that we've been running for 15 weeks now which is just about having conversations in the gallery after hours and the emphasis is much more on different ways of talking than it is on what you might discover about when Pollock was born, and all of that is good but there's lots of interpretation here already and I see that what I'm doing is something a bit different than that and a bit more about something sociable. It's been like a giant experiment and we've tried interviewing and we've tried group discussion and we've tried more kind of, we've talked abut the different ways of talking that there are in the rest of your life like chatting in bed and or going to dinner parties, talking on the telephone or writing down a message and communicating that way. So, it's all about the different ways in which our ideas are kind of half-baked and re-baked and pushed and played and influenced by the conversations that we have with other people. The idea behind this course was that it was as much about the conversations that you didn't have right next to the work of art than those that you did. Sometimes you were talking to the work of art but more likely you were talking to the person right next to you. (Sophie)

In talking about the activity of Public Programmes for adults, Sophie talks about an inherently sociable activity, through which, ideas are generated by the group; she describes a conversational exchange in which all 'actors' participate in the discussion, whilst they may not all have equal status in that dialogue, some will be seen as more confident, or knowledgeable by others, they are already willing to participate. This distinguishes the Public Programmes from those of *Raw Canvas* because young people who have been recruited rather than chosen to take part have to be encouraged, motivated to participate in discussion through pedagogic (theme b) strategies that aim at inclusion.

It's funny there was a kind of freedom with experimenting with how, because say if you become the interviewer or the interviewee you can get in the role then you can reply or discuss an artwork with a lot more freedom because you don't feel that it's a statement that you're making about it. (Sophie)

Using the social and avoiding formats, which might be didactic or insistent is key to this social oriented pedagogy (theme b). Such 'freedom' was not available to youth programmes. It was characterized by failure rather than fun because you are never really working with the ideal participant, they were always perceived to be too 'white' or too 'middle class' even when they fitted the demographic category of first time gallery visitors. This criticism was rarely made of Public Programmes and activities for schools in London mean that there is bound to be a diverse visitor group as schooling is compulsory.

But we can have so much fun here, especially after hours. We can say what we want really about it. It's all about having fun. (Sophie)

The absolute essence of it is being together. (Sophie)

And then there are the cultural aspects. Modern and contemporary art is culturally specific. We can see from Toby's own experience that in some parts of society it may as well not exist at all due to the particular habitus of some people.

They didn't know about these kinds of places, my parents and my uncles and my aunts, they didn't go anywhere near them, it's almost like they didn't exist. Well in fact the small cotton town where I grew up didn't have a contemporary art gallery, I suppose the nearest one would be Manchester, where there would be any kind of engagement with art and that was a long way away. So it was never talked about, so I never grew up with any sense of resentment, it never cropped up as a topic, at all. (Toby)

The theme of the social is a vital component of gallery education but maintaining a good atmosphere mustn't override the need to make challenging learning experiences. The socialization of learners can have a big impact on what they bring and to their motivation to take part. How are we to balance generating new audiences with good quality pedagogy?

The impact of discovery is acute for some people who break out of their cultural norms and discover something new and different. In a critical pedagogy model this social aspect would be challenged because critical pedagogy provides a way of working *with* not *for* subordinated groups.

In this section, I have explored ways in which pedagogic approaches are influenced by the 'attitude towards knowledge' of the institution. Gallery educators 'lead' participants towards cultural literacy but they are not arbitrators of knowledge; strategies are sought which enhance a learners cultural literacy whilst not emasculating their own culture. Such strategies are intending to enable the subject-yet-to-come.

Section Two

Peer-led workshops as part of the We are all Experts *series*

In this section I will present a project description, meeting notes and transcripts from interviews I conducted with Artist Educators, Peer-leaders and participants who took part in the first *We are all Experts* workshop in June 2009. I will unpack ideas relating to my three themes for this chapter, which are IDEOLOGY, PEDAGOGIC RELATIONS and ENGAGING THE AUDIENCE. I intend to explore this material in the light of the curator's comments about pedagogic beliefs and relations from the last section. The data presented in section two is intended to explore the particular pedagogised subjectifications that emerge out of such approaches to learning.

A note about We are all Experts

This series of workshops (part of *Raw Canvas*) took place at Tate Modern in June/July 2009, every other week from 5 June on Friday evenings from 5-7. The timing was important because it placed the workshops completely outside of school/college time and deliberately within 'social' time. The workshops were informal, in the gallery and participants were required to meet on the concourse (it was drop-in, they didn't need to book). *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders had planned how to choreograph, which speakers to invite, how to steer the conversation (pedagogically), which artworks to look at.

The aim of the workshop was to create an experimental programme that offered a meaningful transaction between the museum and its young visitors, 'meaningful' to the young people rather than for the museum. There is a questionable assumption here that much other learning, in schools and in the rest of the museum is not meaningful for these young people.

Since its outset in May 2000 Tate Modern has been popular with young people, part of the reason for this is that it is considered to be 'cool'. Events for young people can

attract up to 1000 people aged 15-23 years. That teenagers should choose to visit the gallery in this way, of their own accord, is a phenomenon that is particular to only a handful of art museums across the world. I have spoken widely at conferences and done considerable research in the USA and Europe. Walker Arts Center in Minneapolis, USA, Steadjlik Museum in Amsterdam, MOMA in New York are some of the notable places where teenagers choose to visit independently. Art galleries are different kinds of spaces from other learning environments. Tate Modern is not a youth club, not a school; it is a place where people can encounter original art works and it has refigured itself as a social space.

As I discussed in the last section, the Tate Modern learning team have fostered an approach which is audience centred and that acknowledges that visitors come to the gallery with their own particular life history and experiences and that these can and will inevitably influence the ways in which people look at art and the meanings that they construct. Learning curators have created a range of programmes that offer meaningful, challenging and above all active approaches to looking at art.

What then were the specific reasons for creating this series of workshops?
As always with *Raw Canvas* events, the primary aim is to develop relations between young people and modern and contemporary art, broadening gallery audiences, creating new audiences for modern and contemporary art, showing the relevance of art to young people, challenging the existing art museum to be more relevant to young people today.

In short we were trying to make 'culture vultures', a concept taken from Peterson's (1992) idea of the 'cultural omnivore' (elaborated by Bennett et al, 2009: 31) in which, contrary to Bourdieu's thinking, the culturally advantaged in society are 'cultural omnivores' rather than cultural snobs. In transferring this idea to our context we were trying to create culturally aware young people by making them culturally omnivorous. In the context of the workshops it referred to young people

who were actively engaged in looking at, talking about and making art. To do this with the broadest demographic we needed to consider the socio-cultural context of elitism in art galleries.

Of all areas of cultural practice (literature, music, television, film, theatre) the visual arts is the most exclusive, with art, particularly contemporary art, causing discomfort for most people in social groups other than elite professionals. Visiting art museums is the most elite form of cultural participation (Bennett et al, 2009). Processes of person formation by involvement with culture were explored by Pierre Bourdieu's theory of 'habitus' (1984, 1990). Whilst 'habitus' is still a useful touchstone there are today more dispersed and plural approaches to person formation helping us to better understand the ways in which young people are shaped by cultural activity. The Kantian aesthetic ethos gives us 'disinterestedness' – the ability to appreciate 'abstract' cultural forms, distanced from the practical necessity of daily life (Bennett et al, 2009: 28). The modernist, avant-garde nature of the work on show at Tate Modern means that a 'disinterested' orientation is a necessity for young people to view, understand and appreciate the art on show. *Raw Canvas* at Tate Modern tried out ways for young people to 'get their opinions heard', programmes have been about empowerment and confidence building as well as looking for new perspectives on art. *We are all Experts* was a new development in this, one that acknowledged the power of the expert voice to an under confident audience and one that sought to challenge the whole notion of the 'expert' head on. Because at school we learn to accede to the authority of experts, *We are all Experts* was a direct challenge to that construct.

Creating the 'cultural omnivore'

Contemporary cultural advantage is pursued not through cultivating exclusive forms – of snobbishness or modernist abstraction – but through the capacity to link, bridge, and span diverse and proliferating worlds (Bennett et al, 2008: 39).

Cultural confidence comes from a fundamental difference between those who pass judgements or hold views and those who do not.

Cultural capital is expressed as valuing eclecticism, where reflective judgement can be applied to many genres in different contexts (Bennett et al, 2008: 71).

In writing about relational aesthetics Claire Bishop has distinguished art projects in which space is made for critical thinking and the audience are allowed to be driven by their own interests and 'passion for knowledge', they are projects, which often use an educational framework. In autumn 2004 Thomas Hirschorn organised 24hr Foucault at the Palais de Tokyo, Paris. Rather than producing a straight academic conference, Hirschorn took an approach that was chaotic and multidisciplinary. He deliberately operates from a position of amateur enthusiast rather than informed professional. He said:

Concerning Foucault, I don't understand his philosophy, and I think that I don't have to understand his philosophy in general. I am not a connoisseur. I am not a specialist; I am not a theoretician… I want to work as a fan (Hirschorn in Bishop, 2007).

Bishop cites 24hr Foucault in her essay as an example of a project, which can 'rethink the possibility of non-alienated learning through the lessons of artistic sensibility' (Bishop: 2007). This thinking led to the idea for the *We are all Experts* series.

Process and structure

Details of the events are included in this thesis as a case study in chapter 5. The pedagogy was developed in a series of 5 preliminary workshops where Emma Hart and Melanie Stidolph worked with the *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders to establish an approach and format for the events.

The following are extracts from the minutes of a *We are all Experts* planning meeting that took place on 1 May 2009, they contain much evidence of the ideology (theme

a), which shaped the workshops. The minutes were written by *Raw Canvas* peer-leader India Harvey.

'ACCESSIBILITY
The art world is an institution. Don't institutions only function with the say-so of experts??
What is the value of using the words `Like/Dislike' in front of a piece of art?
Instead of the words of an art dealer contextualizing some piece back to some other renaissance piece...(eg). Why can't we use anecdotes to describe our experience with art? (India)

This extract shows Raw Canvas displaying disregard for 'tradition' in the formation of knowledge. The approach posited here '[using] anecdotes to describe our experience with art' is akin to the emancipatory possibilities of critical hermeneutics as conceived by Habermas as a 'depth hermeneutics'. 'A "depth hermeneutics" is part of a self-formative process' that can be associated with educational experience (Habermas, 1987: 197). A process in which the learner/interpreter generates meaning on their own terms and avoids the limitations of the authority of tradition. The desire of the peer-leaders to dispense with 'experts', who contextualise art work with reference to their own cultural signifiers, 'some other renaissance piece', can be understood with reference to the debate between Habermas and Gadamer where Gadamer is concerned with 'the interpreter's ability or inability to escape the constraints of power and authority structures' (Gallagher, 1992: 239). And Habermas' 'depth hermeneutics' are an attempt to move 'beyond constrained communication to reflective emancipation' (Gallagher, 1992: 240). Raw Canvas want to escape from the idea of 'expert' as powerful authority figure and reclaim the interpretation of art works for themselves.

PEOPLE DON'T TEND TO VALUE THEIR OPINIONS ALL TOO MUCH.
`SPECIALLY NOT YOUNG PEOPLE. (India)

We were thinking practically about the confidence needed to speak about a piece of art without feeling intimidated.
[In the workshops] We need to transcend the scare factor by believing in our own expertise.' (India)

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The leaders came up with a series of questions to direct the discussion that took place in the workshops (theme b – pedagogic relations).

Workshops were led by *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders who had invited speakers from their own 'field'. They were friends or acquaintances from school, college, or people they had met socially. They needed to have met them before and been inspired by them in some way. Members of the young public attended the workshops, they were recruited through local marketing: see chapter 5 for details. During the workshops, Emma and Melanie were present and guided the discussion from time to time but where possible allowed it to run uninterrupted.

Workshop participants
The people who took part in the workshops were:

Peer-leaders – running the session

Invited speakers, 'expert' – the designated 'expert' giving five-minute introductions to their chosen work

Artist Educators – occasionally steering the discussion

Participants – looking, listening and taking part in the discussion

I interviewed someone from each of these groups. Participants were interviewed in the gallery directly after the first workshop had ended. I asked them what they had got out of the experience and how easy it was to participate. A really interesting discussion ensued about the use of technical language in discussion about art.

The following extracts explore the pedagogic relations (theme b) that have formed out of the Youth Programmes ideology (theme a) in the drive to increase audiences (theme c). They are taken from an interview with two participants that took place in the gallery immediately after the workshop had finished. Through the questioning, I was keen to ascertain what the workshop experience had been like for these

participants. In reviewing the data I am particularly interested to analyse the way in which the language used in gallery education opens up and/or inhibits the learning experience. Girl A is an 18 year old Australian girl, visiting London as a tourist on a working travel visa. She has not attended a *Raw Canvas* event or been to Tate Modern before. Girl B is a 17 year old English A level student studying Art, she has attended *Raw Canvas* events before.

Interviewer (ES): What did it feel like to take part in the event?

Girl A: I think at the start, because I know a lot of people here have probably studied art and are quite into art a lot, they might know how to talk about it better than I do and at the start when I tried to talk about it a bit my voice was a little bit shaky and because I'm Australian and everyone else has got this posh British, beautiful accent. But then I think after the first time I said something and everyone was quite open and they wanted to hear what you say. When people are receptive towards me I'm more open.

As an Australian who arrived in London for the first time the day before, Girl A inevitably pictures herself as 'other'. This 'otherness' develops in the course of the conversation and is about being foreign, not an art student, from a classless society (this is inferred rather than directly asserted) and keen to use ordinary talk rather than technical art language. So, she sees the others as 'knowing how to talk about it better than I do'. She is Australian and 'everyone else has got this *posh* British accent' (my emphasis). As an Australian, she does not see herself as posh. She makes a distinction between the way that they speak and the way that she speaks. We can hear the social constructivist pedagogical approach when she says 'everyone was quite open and they wanted to hear what I had to say' (theme b, pedagogical relations), in the fact that all opinions and experiences are welcome. There is no prior experience required, in fact quite the opposite as the apparent naivety of the Australian girls comments are very appealing to Girl B.

Girl A: I listen to people and I think they sound so smart and I go oh wow they know what they're talking about and I then I get self-conscious when I talk because it's simple language and it's, I remember once I said 'I like it because it's very pretty' and

one of the girls with the short hair said 'so you like art only when it's pretty' and I said 'No' and she said 'is it successful for you' and then I said ' you know if I think it's successful that has nothing to do with whether it's successful or not successful' and she said well 'you need your opinions' and it's just that little arty personality that some people have that I don't seem to have sometimes.

Girl B: Well I think you really do. Because I think, listening to you talk, I did hear some people talking and I thought: 'you are using flowery language'. I don't necessarily think that helps the way you talk about art: it might help make it sound good. I prefer it when people are honest and true to their feelings instead of trying to spice up their language with all these terms and things which loses me sometimes and I think 'you've lost me there'.

Because of the surety of her language and her clearly fluent understanding of modern and contemporary art I don't think that Girl B is lost by technical speak as she says she is. However, she says that she is, because she is trying to put Girl A at her ease about using 'simple language'. This limits the potency of Girl A's point which is in fact more political than self-deferential. She doesn't think that 'flowery language' is necessary as we hear in her comments about her sister who has been studying Fine Art and learned to speak in a different way.

Girl A: I noticed when my sister started doing fine arts at Uni in Australia she'd come home and we'd go to art galleries and stuff and I remember we'd have little discussions, I remember once saying to her 'Beck just tell me if you like it or not.'

The basic responses of 'like' or 'dislike' are often dressed up in art speak so that the speaker does not reveal their personal taste but rather their academic or scholarly opinion. This is especially true of gallery information panels where anything judgmental is avoided at all costs. Girl A described something as 'pretty' in the workshop and one of the peer-leaders or Artist Educators tries to dress the response up by using the word 'successful' instead. This could be seen as an attempt to offer Girl A alternative language, to 'educate' her. It is deeply significant, especially as the final comment that she relates from the peer-leader during the session is 'you need your own opinion'. Although the event is organized with all the best intentions of being open and inclusive in fact it may not be. The simple binary

choices between like/dislike, pretty/ugly are not deemed to be adequate in the workshop as we see by the interjection of 'successful' by one of the workshop leaders, it is offered as an alternative to 'pretty'. In this discussion, it seems that actually not all opinions are allowed, only ones that fit the linguistic codes practiced by the event organisers.

The patronizing response reconfirms the system by demonstrating Girl A's lack of cultural capital. Beneath the dialogue that takes place I think that Girl A is really saying: 'I speak differently but I think I'm alright'. Social convention is causing her to be self deferential to make excuses for her difference, perhaps that is actually because of the constraining effect of sociability in the event, constraining because everyone has to get along and be similar (theme c). By not accepting Girl A's difference and asserting authority over her by adjusting her language in the workshop and patronizing her in the interview the *Raw Canvas* group are entirely unintentionally committing symbolic violence by making their approach seem more legitimate than that of the Girl A (theme b).

The aims of the workshops were about building confidence in using young people's own forms of expression and quite the opposite of symbolic violence (theme a). I interviewed Emma Hart, who was the lead artist on this project, before the first workshop on 4 June 2009. I asked her, what do you think the main aim is?

Emma: I've been studying art for 12 years and it's taken me twelve years to realize that you just need the confidence to believe in your own reaction to art and your own experience of art. My aim for this is to encourage people to reflect on that a lot more than to the label next to it. To be able to stand in front of a work of art, to ask it questions and to have a dialogue with it and have the confidence to express that. We are all Experts *of our own opinions.*

The principle that everyone has the right to speak about art and to form their own opinions that I have discussed previously with reference to Jacobs (2000) is clear when Emma says '*We are all Experts* of our own opinions'. This is about developing

the skills for critical thinking discussed earlier in this chapter. The learning that Emma is hoping to elicit comes from 'confidence to believe in yourself'. For people to reflect, question, have dialogue, be able to express themselves' and form their own opinions. If participants achieve those things then the workshop will have been a success. I asked her, how will we know if it's been successful?

Emma: I think we have to speak to the people that spoke. How did it feel for them and see if there was any discussion generated afterwards. Really, I think that the people who are speaking, some of them haven't talked about art ever before so it's a big deal for them. Maybe they won't be able to speak for 5 minutes but just standing in front of an artwork and owning their own opinions.

Melanie Stidolph, Artist Educator defined the learning aims for the workshops as being about overcoming fear.

Melanie: I think its so that you don't feel scared in front of a work of art and that you now feel you have to have a certain amount of knowledge before you can approach talking about it and then there's a by-product that we found when we gave it a try in the gallery that it was more exciting to talk about something we didn't know about. We just reached a bit deeper and got a bit more excited about it when we discovered something in the process of talking about it and amazingly what we were saying was quite close to the label when we looked at it, which was quite strange. And I think it's also about making some noise in the gallery.

Melanie is talking much more about scaffolding further looking by providing a priori knowledge to assist with the next time participants' look at art. The 'by-product' that Melanie describes is about producing new knowledge and checking it against the existing gallery label.

Raw Canvas peer-leader India Harvey talks about the need for these workshops from a more political perspective. Before the first workshop on 4 June 2009, I asked her why are we doing this?

India: To rekindle young people's faith in their own passion, beliefs and ideas and not to feel like they are just kind of mass produced as a generation. To feel like there is 'hope in the tunnel'.

For India it is vitally important that young people find their voices and make themselves heard. I asked her: Hope for what? Are you trying to change something? What are you trying to change?

India: Mentality I guess, of teenagers, because we're so reliant on other people's opinions nowadays. I think something has been lost between before the Internet and now, I feel like there's not enough self-research, there's more external research. I want to get a tattoo that says 'remember' your own opinions.

India's impassioned belief in the project is representative of the general feeling amongst *Raw Canvas*, 'get your opinions' heard is the projects marketing by-line, it is understandable that they reiterate the aim to participants as we heard with Girl A's description of something 'pretty'. In critical pedagogy terms they are seeing the participants as 'subordinated groups' and trying to enact a kind of social transformation with them. In chapter 9, I will explore whether such aims of inclusion are ever achieved by exploring the good intentions of a strategy that aims at equality and empowerment in contrast with the problems that such a strategy can create for participants. In my final and concluding chapter, I will draw this idea of symbolic violence in to a wider institutional context.

See chapters 5 and 9 for the presentation of data gathered during the discussions that took place in the workshops.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the three themes of 'ideology' relating to the ethos and beliefs upheld within the gallery through the people who work there; 'pedagogic relations' exploring the pedagogies that emerge out of those beliefs and 'engaging the audience' to explore the ways in which my data can articulate how certain

pedagogic approaches are particularly useful in this context because of their ability to attract new audience groups.

Through curator voices talking about the values and ideology that shape the programmes they construct (theme a) I have elaborated on the gallery as an environment for learning, taking account of the autonomy that curators are afforded in creating a curriculum around the art works that are on show (theme b). I have talked about the differences between this and the formal education sector and tried to demonstrate that, as the curriculum is not imposed, the curators' decisions rely heavily on the philosophy of education through which they work (theme a). The data presented and analysed in this chapter makes clear that the problem for *Raw Canvas* is very much to do with the fact that it's aim is both audience development and learning simultaneously. This has a significant impact on pedagogy as illustrated by the complicated discussion of language for talking about art discussed by Girl A and Girl B where the peer-leaders, in navigating their role as educators, risked alienating the very new audience they were trying to reach out to.

The key points about pedagogies in the gallery context are to do with knowledge, risk and value.
1) The curators have talked about knowledge about art as something produced by learners on their own terms. To this end educators employ many different pedagogic strategies according to the needs of the learners and the attitude to knowledge adopted by the educator.
2) Risk taking and innovation are high priorities in terms of challenging existing orthodoxies. What is of particular interest to me is the emergence of the idea of 'fracture', of learning as something, which may not always have positive outcomes for the individual. This is very important if the learning experience is going to be of value to the individual because if the experience of education is sanitised, too safe or without sufficient challenge then the opportunities to form new subject identities as a result of learning are greatly reduced.

3) A crucial component of successful gallery pedagogy is in the instability of meaning. The value of art is in the very fact that it is so hard to articulate. That within our inability to quantify it exists something important and worth striving to express, that is where the learning takes place in the development of critical thinking to wrestle with an aspect of life that is not clear and concise. That art teaches people to think.

Many of the pedagogical strategies are aimed at nurturing a new audience and as such they are fun, social activities which draw people together in groups and new friendships are formed. The question of whether such sociability makes for 'exclusive' activities, has been raised through the girls interviewed after the *Raw Canvas* workshop and will be addressed in the next chapter. It is clear that pedagogically the *Raw Canvas* programme occupied very different territory than the school or adult programmes because of the emphasis on audience development for that programme in particular.

From what the curators said, it is clear to see that educational success in the gallery is about person formation, building a person, a person who is yet to come. However, this approach carries risks for the individual particularly when there is movement from one social group to another as in the example articulated by Toby of the boy from a working class background and from the Australian girl in the workshop. Both had to negotiate new language and conventions in order to accommodate the particular pedagogised subjectifications that were opened up by the learning experience.

The problem for pedagogic strategies that aim at inclusion is that they seek to keep the existing hierarchies and power structures in place whilst bringing the new learner in to the fold. As Toby's journey illustrates he left behind his old culture, the culture of his family, in order to enter the new world of art. This kind of aspirational journey was common place in the 1960s when working class children were

encouraged to go to University and when the tripartite education system was dismantled in order to open up opportunities for social mobility. To progress socially inevitably means to reject old values and take on new ones. In 21st century inner city London, mobility is less about class mobility and more about ethnic mobility raising new questions about the acceptability of an education strategy that expects the learner to reject their old values and take on new ones. We need to think carefully about this as we build pedagogic relations in contemporary cultural organisations.

Galleries are extremely well placed at a cross section of art, education, politics and society to innovate multi cultural pedagogies that rethink the roles of learner and educator. Gallery educators have unique opportunities to test approaches and to work outside of conservative knowledge paradigms in order to devise approaches that suit a diverse contemporary society.

We try to expose young people to 'life changing opportunities' and, as educators, we are unanimous in this conviction but how can we do this whilst continuing to respect the cultural diversity of the people we are working with.

Chapter 9

Data analysis: the imagined other and the construction of the learning subject

In chapter 8, I presented and analysed extracts from my interview data paying particular attention to the occurrence of the themes that emerged which were: pedagogised ethos; the importance of a social atmosphere in the gallery and pedagogic relations. Significant questions that arose in chapter 8 and follow on into the data of chapter 9 are: Does the emphasis on the sociable nature of gallery activities make events in the gallery even more exclusive? How does the lack of assessment enhance person formation? Is *Raw Canvas* successful in creating cultural omnivores or culture vultures?

In chapter 9 I will present and analyse more extracts from the same data sources but here the emphasis is on the learner and *the ways in which the learner is constructed* by the values and approaches discussed by each of my participants outlined in chapter 8. I have selected extracts that examine the learner as the 'other', as a person unlike those who are doing the teaching. I am interested in the way in which the two disciplines of 'audience development' and 'pedagogy' merge in the context of gallery education. I am using my data to explore the impact of this on the ways in which the learner is conceived by the gallery staff. If the learner is a preconceived entity then they are perhaps limited by the gallery educators' preconception.

Despite concerted efforts the visual arts and in particular modern and contemporary art remains one of the most exclusive art forms (Bennett et al, 2009). The Department for Culture, Media and Sport 'Taking Part survey confirmed that:

'the challenge for providers of these services in terms of three priority groups: disabled people, Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) communities and lower socio-economic groups. Each of these groups, while internally diverse and often overlapping, shows lower-than-average levels of engagement in traditional or institutionalised, though not necessarily "popular", forms of culture' (DCMS, Culture on Demand report, 2007).

If we are to make the modern and contemporary art gallery less exclusive and more open then, I think, it will help to understand the ways in which the learner is constructed in order that we might change that process of construction into something that is more positive and productive in opening up access.

By examining the conception of the 'other' in the contemporary art gallery, I am hoping to shed some light on the power structures that govern the organisation. I will be using my second research question to focus my analysis:

How is the learner as subject imagined in this pedagogical practice?
Does the pedagogy presume a particular subject?
Is this ethical?

The theoretical tools that I am using here will be drawn from chapter 6 in which I discuss pedagogies that aim at emancipation through the writings of Jacques Rancière, Paulo Freire and Pierre Bourdieu. It is particularly the gallery's focus on inclusion and access that interests me here.

Data sources
This chapter will present extracts from:
1) Interviews with Learning Curators (2002)
2) Transcripts from *Raw Canvas* peer-led workshops (2009)

Introduction

In chapter 8, I explored the ethos behind the pedagogical approaches employed in the gallery, drawing out the particularities for youth programmes. One particular aspect of youth programme pedagogy is the fact that the learner is unknown to the educator before the workshop takes place. Although their age is broadly understood as between 15-23 years, that is a very wide age bracket and within it, there is extensive room for differences in ability and experience, not to mention cultural and gender differences that set young people apart from one another.

Within the terms of widening participation, the new learner must be unknown to the gallery, a first time visitor. Therefore, what is known about them is very little. To fill the information gap the educator has to *imagine* who their learner might be in order to go out and find them, recruit them and then to decide what and how to teach. In chapter 9, I will explore the idea of the *imagined subject* through data taken from interviews with curators in which they were asked specifically to describe the person that they would like to reach out to and bring to the gallery. They were asked who it would be, what they would say and why it was important to open the gallery up to this person (what the gallery had to offer them). Through this data, I am interested to understand the ways in which the gallery and its staff construct the learner; taking into account the fact that learner subjectivities are not natural, they are constructed identities.

I have selected themes for the analysis of this data that relate to the theoretical tools that I set out in chapter 6 where I talked about pedagogies for emancipation. In the following chapter, I will interrogate the good intentions of curators, including myself, in attempting to open access to the broadest constituent group. I will make reference to the aforementioned theoretical texts in order to better understand what was happening in those instances where the best intentions did not deliver the intended results and when the consequences of attempting to be inclusive perhaps had the opposite result.

Themes

The **imagined other** (theme 1) and the **construction of the learning subject** (theme 2) form two parts of the overlying theme to be explored in this chapter. Three sub-themes also emerge from the earlier parts of my thesis: PHILANTHROPY, the AUDIENCE and the SPACE or ENVIRONMENT. Data relating to the imagined other will be analysed according to these sub-themes; a short précis of each is given below:

PHILANTHROPY at the gallery (theme 3)

This relates to the pervading ideology or value in which art is conceived to be edificatory, open, inclusive and a worthy activity. Being involved with art has a high value and it offers cultural, social and educational benefits for participants. As a result, art is considered to be a worthy cause, worth the support of philanthropists. The theme of philanthropy is about the gallery's and others aim to do good for people through art; to make them 'better' people through engaging with art.

AUDIENCES at the gallery (theme 4)

The agenda for widening participation is a very prominent aspect of gallery work, which I discussed in chapter 8. When applied to my data this theme draws out examples of how the new audience is conceived and whom they might be. It also encompasses how the designers of pedagogies which aim at inclusion, approach the audience for art.

Gallery as a special **SPACE** (theme 5)

The gallery is not a classroom, it is a public space where learners sit on the floor or stand around art works. It is used during the day, when the public are there, or after hours when participants may have exclusive access. How does the space of the gallery impact on the construction of learners' identities? How is it different from their construction in school? How does the space affect the learning that takes place?

Data presentation with analysis

Section 1) Interviews with curators

Sophie and the politics of the learner

The data presented in this section is taken from filmed interviews that were part of the '*Us and the Other*' project in 2002 (detailed introduction to this project and the research context is in chapter 8). I have chosen different extracts to analyse here. They were selected because they shed light on how the learner is imagined by curators in this context. Through the data, it is clear to see examples of whom the gallery activities were aimed at and what type of learning is considered to be valuable. There is also evidence of a philanthropic attitude towards the learner by which the inclusion and access agenda construct them in particular ways.

First, we hear from Sophie who is talking about what happens to the learner as a result of the learning experience:

If education was about passing on existing values then it has failed completely, its whole project must be about allowing people to question and create new sets of values and then people after them to do the same. Since art is a particular system that is rippled through with questions of class and economy and politics and all the rest of it. I suppose that's what pulls me back from feeling that there are values inherent in that system that I feel a need to perpetuate. I'm just much more interested in the idea that education, and particularly adult education, is about drawing out the kind of instinctive politics that people have in them by a certain age. So it's political, it's a political project, but perhaps not in the way that a lot of museum outreach has been: about taking out a message; that I have a problem with in the first place. (Sophie)

We can hear through Sophie's words that education in relation to her imagined audience is political and its 'instinctive' purpose is to ask questions, it is not to develop an outreach message about how great the museum is. This goes to the apex of the gallery education paradox. Is the purpose of the gallery political, for social improvement or is it academic, for knowledge? Is the aim acculturation or criticism? In the critical hermeneutical model, criticism is foregrounded to 'attain an

ideologically neutral, tradition-free, prejudice-free communication' (Gallagher, 1992: 240). As in the critical hermeneutic model what Sophie describes is a learner who is imagined as a critical thinker who can 'question and create new sets of values'; they are of 'a certain age' and have 'instinctive politics' within them. In so doing Sophie is distancing herself from the cultural outreach model of museum education which 'tak[es] out a message', she perceives her programme to be outside of that and free to question existing values and create new ones. All of us (curators) shared the idea that we were creating new approaches in the new Tate Modern gallery and we were, but arguably only up to a point. Analysing this now with the theoretical lenses I have selected it is clear to me that the opportunity for new and radical practices was in fact extremely restricted because although we were working within a progressive educational environment it was in fact subject to certain conventions that had arrived out of a shared ethos. How welcome would the fundamentalist politics of extremism be in the adult learning programme, for example? Would the pedagogy have insisted upon drawing out the instinctive politics of the far right? Were left leaning politics the norm, and sanctioned by the institution and how far left could you go? Some politics just weren't visible and so didn't have to be drawn out or dealt with. Gallery education cannot be ideology free when the gallery is part funded by government, which places certain terms on that funding.

Emancipatory education

Sophie describes 'an allegiance to the artworks'. This can be understood in relation to my sliding scale in chapter 5 where the educator decides where to pitch depending on the ability of the group. It is not about 'a system that [Sophie] feels the need to perpetuate', it's not about 'spreading the word' or teaching people how to appreciate art. It is not akin to the Freirian 'banking method' or to the conservative hermeneutic model of knowledge reproduction. There is much more emphasis on the learner, 'the instinctive politics that people have in them'. These people, this audience are invited to speak, to take part, to share ideas. Relating to theme 3, that

of philanthropy: Sophie is talking about a kind of 'anti-philanthropy'. It is not taking a message out to people, a message about the value of art, so that more people should appreciate it. Sophie is talking about something different when she describes starting with the learner and drawing out their 'instinctive politics' through the *conversational pedagogy* that she has developed around the art in the gallery. This is a valuable project although one wonders in retrospect how far opportunities for dissent *would* extend because after all the curators are governed by the gallery as they need to receive their salaries at the end of the month. They want to have a good relationship with colleagues and senior managers. Above all curators do not want to be perceived as disrespecting the art works and so dissent is limited to what can be institutionally sanctioned. Therefore, whilst the political agency of visitors is highly valued in learning programmes it does have limits. Curators have often tried to push those limits and I can remember a learning curator facing criticism when they allowed an anti-Tate activist group to perform in the Turbine Hall. The conclusion could be drawn that free speech is valued but only up to a point. As curators, we were controlled by the Tate ideology more than we thought. We believed in the Freirian idea of education as an emancipatory project and felt that such ideas could be extended into progressive models of gallery education. But how emancipatory can education programmes at Tate really be? What *can* be changed? The authors of the *Raw Canvas* evaluation report, produced by C.E.D.A.R. at Warwick University say:

'Contributing to or informing wider developments at Tate represents an aspiration on the part of Raw Canvas *which, to date, has not born much fruit' (Galloway & Stanley, 2004).*

One of *Raw Canvas*' key aims was 'to advise Tate on issues concerning young people as users of the gallery' (*Raw Canvas*, 2000). Indeed this was the first mission for the new youth group formed in 1999 prior to the opening of the new gallery. They were intended to be a kind of market research team who could communicate with the gallery the needs and desires of young people. I recall that many of the early

conversations with them were about exhibitions of graffiti based art: this was something, which at that time the gallery would not consider. As a young educator, I learned very quickly that one important aspect of my role was to manage the expectations of young people so that through the consultation process they did not get the impression that everything they suggested was possible. In this way, I learned to do my job 'professionally' and not fuel potential discontent within the youth programme by allowing unrealistic ideas to gather too much momentum. This was not pedagogically critical, it was controlling and didn't allow young people to speak and be listened to. Looking back, I had no option but to stem a potential uprising when it occurred. Soon after the gallery opened the youth consultation group that predated *Raw Canvas* brought a long list of issues to the then Curator for Youth Programmes and myself. In it they listed all the things that they had suggested for the new gallery that had not been acted on, it was a long list. We had been working with them for around 10 months asking them what they wanted the new gallery to provide for them. They felt that their ideas had been asked for in consultation but then not taken on board in practice. I was a Tate employee and bound by a desire to do well at my job. I allowed my allegiance to Tate to outweigh my allegiance to the young people who demanded change or to young people getting their opinions heard without censorship. In this way, I was not pioneering an emancipatory education project in the Freirian sense of giving voice to previously unheard and 'oppressed' people. I was playing a role in the system that kept them quiet. The culture at Tate and attitudes towards young people *have* changed as a result of all the Youth Programmes that have been developed and my intention is not in any way to deride the achievements that have been made. However, I have used Freire as a point of reference and validation for the work when in fact, within the power structures that existed at Tate, young people's opportunities to influence the gallery itself was limited. Emancipatory pedagogy sounds good and the ideology of youth programmes is closely aligned to critical pedagogic practices but the question must be asked: how emancipatory are they?

These last few pages stem from Sophie's comment on education, values and politics. They could also be read through Rancière's notion of politics, which is concerned with the pursuit of equality stemming from a 'wrong'. It could be argued that Sophie was taking the absence of some people's voices along with the perpetuation of particular values as a 'wrong' and that to act politically in Rancierian terms would be to 'hear' these absent (but present) voices.

Purpose of the gallery

The paradox that exists in gallery education is much to do with the organisation's allegiances to the art and the audience and whether the gallery is constructed as a political or as an art organisation. Sophie proceeds to talk about the responsibility that curators feel to the audience and to the art works. Having worked in both the acquisitions and the learning departments Sophie has a unique bi-focal viewpoint on this. She says:

I was working on the acquisition of works, so your primary responsibility is to the art work even more than to the artist I suppose, it's to the art work and then subsequently to its interpretation and its conservation and to building up a collection, not for necessarily immediate display but for the development of a collection over years and years and looking at the gaps and looking at what we might focus on in the future and the politics of what you will represent and won't represent. The allegiance is to the works of art rather than to an audience. It's interesting because I wouldn't really prioritise one over the other (audience over artworks) I think that an organization like this really, really needs both. The role that I see myself doing in the organization now is an audience focused one, someone else will look after the artworks and we can use them to have conversations. (Sophie)

What constitutes the primary work of the gallery is a contentious issue. Is it the acquisition of new works? After all the acquisitions team hold enormous responsibility for shaping the direction of the collection itself. Indeed questions of how much or how little the collection represents the art of a global population has been under discussion for at least a decade, and the partiality of such a historic collection is no secret. How much the people of Britain can see themselves

represented in the work in Tate's collection is considered by all of the curators I interviewed.

On the other hand, is the primary work the dissemination of the collection to the public? In many ways, the dichotomy is meaningless. However, rhetoric has been building over the last decade that talks about 'learning at the centre' of cultural organisations. This is structurally very important for the status of learning at the gallery and presents operational issues that are recognised in the Tate Director of Learning's presentation to the Board of Trustees in 2010. She says:

It is crucial, if we are to make real our project that the Learning programmes and staff are embedded across all departments and into the operational structures and systems of Tate (this is currently a little ad hoc, sometimes it is absent) (Anna Cutler, Director of Tate Learning, 2010).

In many ways, the need to bring 'learning to the centre' is ironic given that the whole purpose of the organisation is about learning through and about the objects on display. The question is what kind of learning can be brought to the centre? The debate has been polarised in recent years because of the way in which the inclusion agenda has been implemented which has made hard-to-reach audiences economically valuable to the organisation. All institutions develop implicit and explicit pedagogies through their very existence, these will exist in the exhibition team, school, youth and public programme teams. What Cutler seems to be suggesting is close to developing a practice of eternal vigilance where programme aims and intentions are monitored in terms of developing more effective approaches towards learning; in Freirian (and other) terms: what learning can do.

The focus of income generation has been dispersed in recent years so that it is not only those who donate, shop, eat, drink, buy special exhibition tickets or membership who are valuable in terms of the income they bring in but now so are low attending black and minority ethnic audiences as they provide leverage for government funds in lieu of admission charges which were abandoned in 1997.

Victoria Walsh's paper 'Tate Britain: Curating Britishness and Cultural Diversity' explores such issues in relation to the gallery's navigation of the problematic relation between the 'academy' representing scholarly and academic interest in art objects and government who champion engagement with audiences through cultural policy initiatives.

'there had been no demonstrable change in the demographic representation of audiences at Tate Britain, which continues to attract only 3% from ethnic minorities.[6] This is despite recent major shifts in the role of the museum, the central one being from cultural warder to regeneration catalyst and social agent, in addition to: the repositioning of the museum from the periphery to the centre of the public realm; the reconstruction of the individual visitor to 'customer' to 'member of the public'; the democratisation and popularisation of culture (reflected in the dramatic increase in numbers of visits to museums facilitated by free entry); the increasing socialisation of the museum environment; and last, but not least, the high levels of funding for targeted programming (Walsh, 2008).

The major shifts in the role of the museum have strengthened the rhetoric about the Tate Collection's 'value' to the nation and the supposition that if the work is not made widely available then it is less valuable for the nation. Tate's is a national collection, belonging to the people of Britain, and everyone has a right of access. The problem for this thesis and for all access work resides in the fact that not everybody *does* make use of or value it (DCMS, 2007). So, is the primary role of education work to reach those who don't come to the gallery or to enrich the engagement for those that do? Ideally, it is both but as resources are squeezed and some activities have to be prioritized over others. This becomes essentially a political question and one that becomes more prescient (Selwood in Mirza, 2006). From around 2005, fuelled by government targets, the agenda for Tate Learning began to shift towards an ethos prioritizing work that aimed to attract non-attenders and first time visitors (Walsh, 2008).

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[6] 1 This figure is relatively consistent with other national museums and galleries including Tate Modern. In 2006/07 Tate Britain had 49,000 Black and Ethnic Minority visitors (3%) while Tate Modern had 200,000 (4%). See 'Tate aims to increase ethnic minority visitors', *Art Newspaper,* July-August 2007, p.13

But this binary position belies the main problem for Tate and other collection-based cultural organisations in the UK. The problem stems from the belief that preservation of collections is vitally important and the value of it needs to be passed on to the audience through a number of pedagogic projects. The audience is imagined as 'other', 'lacking' and different from the norm (Bingham and Biesta, 2009). This perpetuates the crude 'targeting' of specific groups because of their 'value', hard to reach audiences become 'economic objects' as I discussed in chapter 6. There is an alternative to this, in which the primary importance or the value of the collection can be rethought, by considering the *relations* with the public to be the main priority, bringing about a two way exchange in which the audience get the opportunity to change the gallery. This constructs the learner as 'speaker' and not receiver of information or 'noisemaker' (Bingham and Biesta, 2009). It involves a significant shift in the culture of the organisation and a considerably different attitude of mind. The shift is away from philanthropy and towards dialogue, an exchange.

Speech

Such a shift towards exchange is a contingent aspect of some of the most effective works in the genre of 'relational art' projects. Such projects have much in common with gallery education programmes and some are instigated by galleries but most often it is artists or art fairs operating outside of the gallery network that develop work in this way. The education programme at documenta 12 in 2007 is a key example because it provided an opportunity for workers from German galleries and museums:

'to distance themselves from the paradoxical idea – more than 200 years old – that they are guarding a treasure which on the one hand must be 'introduced' to the 'masses' but which, on the other hand, must be protected from them' (Moersch, 2007).

This project provided the opportunity for galleries and museums to address the problematic relations between the academy and government described by Walsh

(2008). At documenta 12, Carmen Moersch was responsible for the education programme-come-research project through which she created several projects that promoted the idea of 'self education'. At Documenta 12, knowledge produced by artist educators in the gallery was put to use to continue the interpretation of works on display. The possibility for such knowledges to be 'put to use' and for many aspects of gallery education has been limited by the hierarchies between curating and education. Education about art is charged with high expectations from scholarly understanding about the object to the possibility of buying into the art market commodity. Speaking in 2010, Carmen Moersch talked about 'failing' and 'interruption' as intrinsic parts of emancipatory pedagogies that provide an alternative to 'heroic' pedagogies. 'Heroic' pedagogies come into existence through some relational art projects, the kind that perpetuate the same hierarchical domination of the object that has existed since the 18th century in which the object or the art is achieved through the heroic agent or creative genius on the part of the artist. Heroic pedagogies are close to the idea of cultural reproduction and grounded in a notion of traditional hermeneutics. Heroic pedagogies promise emancipation whilst containing an inherently masterful approach in that they provide little opportunity for participants to set or affect the educational aims or purpose of the projects. Heroic pedagogies link to Rancière's notion of 'inequality'. They offer participation but control the type of interaction that can take place and rigorously control the outcomes. The kind of pedagogic subject anticipated by heroic pedagogies is someone who is 'lacking' and who 'needs' to be changed. One strand of the educational programme at documenta 12 was a feminist, qualitative social research project based on poststructuralist theory and within this strand, the pedagogic subject is anticipated to be both the researcher and the researched.

The researched answer back and ensure that the researcher can experience herself as object of research (Moersch, 2007: 39).

For all parties the structure is 'based on mutual acceptance and the willingness to shape conflict situations instead of letting one be ruled by them, or wanting to

control them' (ibid.). As such, the pedagogy avoids the kind of heroic, genius-based paternalism that I have described within my own apparently emancipatory pedagogy at Tate.

Carmen Moersch (above) and Janna Graham (following) are both in their own ways exploring the conflict between institutional practices that 'control' and pedagogies that aim to be more learner-centred. In seeking to rework the enlightenment project that museums have been part of since the 1900s some other relational projects seek to enter into genuine two way dialogue with participating groups, notably the *Centre for Possible studies,* a Serpentine Gallery project run by Janna Graham that works with communities who reside on London's Edgware Road. In her essay 'Between a pedagogical turn and a hard place: thinking with conditions' (2010) Graham talks about:

The bureaucratisation of encounters with others [where] difference has been radically re-cast along socially conservative lines as a matter of 'inclusion', 'anti-social behaviour' and 'community cohesion' (Graham: 139 in Wilson and O'Neill, 2010).

Graham seeks alternative forms of art and education in which the labour of cultural workers is not used as an instrument of state management. This avoids the problem of project participants becoming tools in funding agreements, which provide economic security to some. Moersch talks about the role and potential for gallery education practices:

There are advantages to the traditional semi-visibility of gallery education within institutions. If members of the management do not really take it seriously then there is room for experiment, for the kind of work which is not totally committed to the demands of the institutions, or to the demands of the arts or the audience. Gallery education, by default, has been able to develop a relative autonomy (Moersch, 2007: 35).

Gallery education conceived in this way takes up a position as a 'critical friend' of the institution and of the art (Moersch, 2007: 36)

Speaking at the 'De-schooling Society' symposium in April 2010 Moersch talks about the role of education in relation to the role of contemporary cultural production (podcast accessed 20 June 2013). She outlines four discourses on gallery education; each contains what it considers education to stand for and what it addresses. Although some practices are critical of the institution she clarifies that such critical practices when embedded within institutions have to be tempered because they would be counter productive if they were to cause the closure of the organization itself. Instead, what they can do is to create a small ontological alternative community within the larger one.

The four discourses are:
1. Affirmative discourse –lectures, film programmes, devised by institutionally authorized speakers (curator of public programmes)
2. Reproductive discourse – educating the public of tomorrow – finding ways to introduce new publics to art – workshops for school groups for people with a minimum pedagogical experience (curator of school and youth programmes)
3. Deconstructive discourse – to critically examine, with the public, the museum and the art. Museums are primarily understood as powerful civilizing institutions. In deconstructive discourses performative methods are used in education, for example guided tours that criticize the authorised nature of institutions and render them visible. (some artist educators perform such discourses)
4. Transformative discourse – education activities that take the challenging task of introducing institutions to their surrounding audiences, who are publics with their specific knowledge, enabling them to become part of the building. This is the approach taken by Centre for Possible Studies.

Moersch's discourses reflect the concerns embedded within conservative and critical hermeneutics in which 'literacy' comes through the acquisition of a set of formal techniques. The first two, 'affirmative' and 'reproductive' seem to be geared to the cultural reproduction of values, scholarly knowledge and 'Culture'. Whilst the

second two reflect a critical position in relation to knowledge production and dissemination; who is authorised to speak and are they limited in what they are permitted to speak about? As in critical hermeneutic theory, such discourses escape 'the domination of repressive traditions' (Gallagher, 1992: 240).

Moersch, Graham and Walsh have each developed theories around the themes of 'cultural literacy', speech and being heard, emancipation and the antagonism around the purpose of the gallery. All of these themes resonate with the literature I have read in terms of cultural literacy or fluency made explicit by the study of hermeneutics, Rancière (1991) and his concern with equality rather than inclusion, Jacobs (2000) and her insistence on the democratic right to be heard speaking about art, Biesta (2009) on the problems associated with speech and being heard when the speaker is outside of the cultural milieu of the listener, emancipation for the oppressed, those outside of the dominant culture through Freire (1970) and the reconsideration of the functioning of the cultural space of the museum in Bennett (2009) and the purpose of art in Bourdieu (1984, 1997).

Toby and the 'other'

The *'Us and the Other'* project at Tate Modern, in which Curators were interviewed as part of a *Raw Canvas* art project, attempted to be 'deconstructive' by critically examining the relation between the public and the museum. It was highlighting and probing the affirmative and reproductive discourses that were hermeneutically conservative, that seemed to be a part of the gallery at the time. This was not in order to critique them in a negative way but in an attempt to take that reproductive process back out to the public and ask them to pass the message on about the gallery. The point was to offer some criticality to an inherently conservative approach to knowledge generation and open up space for dialogue with future audiences to take place.

The questions asked of the learning curators interviewed during the '*Us and the Other*' project were: who are these non-attenders and first time visitors, where can we find them and what will we say when we get there? Toby gave the clearest description of whom he would like to talk to. This person is inevitably, but not pejoratively, cast as 'the other' as they are someone unlike Toby because they do not go to galleries. Toby described three different non-attenders, two adults and one child. The child is based on Toby's own experience as a boy.

It was not the intention of the project to naively simplify the important task of democratising culture by collecting interviews in which curators were asked to single out one person above all others. Rather, the project was aiming to actually go and find those people and ask them who they would talk to and then go and find that person based on their description and so on. For that reason I do not want to provide a reading of this data that creates a caricature of access policies, where the target audience are entirely predetermined, these interviews were conducted in the context of a team of people working tirelessly to open up the gallery to an ever increasing audience (audiences: theme 4). However, by constructing the project in this way it can be argued that by constructing the 'other' perpetuates the 'affirmative discourse' that Moersch describes. That is to say, each interviewee speaks of the message they would like to pass on about the gallery's value (philanthropy: theme 3).

I intend through the reading of this data to unpack some assumptions about the relation with the 'other' in gallery education practice, relations that have confused me for some time. I am interested in the ways in which the curators describe their selected individuals and why they select them. I hope in part to illustrate the limitations of government driven access policies when they are added to the responsibilities of an already stretched education department to carry them out, as is so often the case. Firstly from Toby:

The other [audience] are kids like I used to be, which never come near the museum, by that I mean coming from, as I did, a background where there were no books in the house, where there were no cultural visits at all, so we never went to the theatre, to art galleries to museums and so on, we'd go to the pictures, but that was about it. And I think there's a mass of people and I'm not saying it will change their lives but I just think, I just happened to stumble across it by chance and I was overwhelmed by it, and I mean literally, like a lot of people in my position who came from working class backgrounds are; they will identify a point where they were overwhelmed, moved, by engagement with an artwork. So I think there's a lot of people out there who I feel are missing out on the opportunity. (Toby)

Toby thinks that modern and contemporary art is of value and that, 'kids like he used to be', will be enriched by engaging with it (theme 3: philanthropy). He feels that people are 'missing out on the opportunity' and he would like to make sure that they don't miss out. Toby's construction of the learner is of someone with a will to learn. He talks about just 'stumbl[ing] across it by chance'; this describes a learner whose 'will' guides them following the initial chance encounter. The learner is open to the opportunity of learning and they make their own decision to go down this path. In *Pedagogy of the* Oppressed, Freire cites Mao-Tse-Tung (1967) who talking about the 'masses' says, 'must make up their own minds instead of our making up their minds for them' (Mao-Tse-Tung, 1967). This refers to Freire's point that 'the oppressors are the ones who act upon the people to indoctrinate them and adjust them to a reality which must remain untouched' (Freire, 1070, 75). In saying 'I don't think it will change their lives' Toby is saying that he doesn't want to indoctrinate people about the value of art but that he does think that it should be available for people to stumble across as he did and then make up their own minds. Pedagogically what Toby is implying is akin to Rancière's suggestion that the teacher/educator is 'only a will that sets the ignorant person down a path, that is to say to instigate a capacity already possessed'. The 'opportunity' that Toby thinks a lot of people are missing out on is a pedagogic engagement with art, one that 'moves' and 'engages' them rather than one that instructs them. This raises issues around the construction of the learning subject (theme 2). This is certainly not in line with a conservative hermeneutical approach in which the learner changes their ontological position in order to become literate enough to appreciate the art in keeping with its

'true' meaning. The implicit pedagogy within Toby's dialogue is about 'affect' and as such can be considered as 'productive achievement' in the terms of critical hermeneutics. By which I mean that for new knowledge to be 'affective' it must be assimilated and accommodated not simply reproduced as in the conservative model. Toby talks about being overwhelmed, he uses this term in a pleasurable sense, taken over by it. In this case the educational experience of discovering art for the first time was transformative, the knowledge produced was assimilated by Toby's engagement, it was not reproduced in a hermeneutically disassociated relation between teacher, student, interpretation and tradition.

(Describing the other – the boy)
This boy, who I envisage as being a northerner, I suppose because I'm a northerner and we might have different sensibilities to southerners, perhaps, or perhaps not. And this boy could be Asian, African, European, White whatever because I think there are similar kinds of problems there: class, race, ethnicity are bound together with the issue of, the extent to which this boy can see himself in these artworks, in this space, because if he can't see himself then he won't have that kind of engagement, which throws up all sorts of problems for a place like this. So, on the other hand we have this boy who doesn't get the kind of cultural support that other boys might have, in other words, if there isn't, within his family routines, any interest from his wider family in cultural activity, in developing cultural skills in developing a vocabulary, in developing a passion for these things which are made in the theatre, at the cinema or in art galleries but he still might have an interest in music or the pictures but he doesn't take that step towards those manifestations of those art forms which might well be described as contemporary art. (Toby)

Toby's response here touches on my research themes in that he comments on the lack of opportunity for working-class young people as learning subjects (theme 2) in gallery and high art encounters. Also the gallery as a friendly reassuring place: philanthropy (theme 3) and the whole issue of audience (theme 4), how do we tap into the working-class subject who probably feels intimidated by the gallery environment, and space (theme 5) the working-class youth not taking the step towards manifestations of these art forms – in the gallery space.

Toby says 'if he can't see himself then he won't have that kind of engagement', for someone to be engaged an artwork has to have an affect and for that to happen the

viewer has to be linked to it in some way. Perhaps they have seen something like it before, perhaps they have done something similar themselves, they may literally recognise the place or people depicted, they may profoundly like or dislike it, they may be consumed by it. Each of these donates a specific learner subjectivity and implies a certain pedagogic approach. If the viewer is not affected by the work then the pedagogic relations within the display have failed and an educator is required to construct links. An educator can often draw out some unseen aspects of the work and construct some linkages in order to engage the viewer. However, this is easier with some learners than others and relies strongly on the works that are on display. This approach falls into the Rancièrian 'progressive' category detailed below.

Toby's 'other' (theme 1) is imagined as not having a great deal of 'cultural capital' and as such they may be limited in their vocabulary of reference points that will help them to make sense of the art work. This imagined 'other' does not have family support for their cultural interests. Bourdieu and Passeron would argue that the effect of 'traditions and language governed by social structure and power relations, overwhelmingly determine the outcomes of education' (Gallagher, 1992: 264). Rancière argues that Bourdieu 'reproduces an approach that confirms present inequality in the name of equality to come' (Rancière in Bingham and Biesta, 2009: 11). Rancière argues that Bourdieu's approach leads to 'a lessening of education's focus on high-culture, by making it less cerebral and more life-embracing' (ibid.) and in so doing 'dumbs it down'. Rancière's argument is that it is only through an equality of intelligences and a redistribution of the sensible that equality becomes any kind of possibility. Toby's family habitus is not a situation in which value is placed on theatre, cinema or galleries. Toby points out that because of this unsupportive habitus they haven't 'developed a vocabulary' or 'a passion' for cultural products so he doesn't 'step towards' them. The implication is that by finding this boy or boys like this the gallery could support them in taking that step. The crucial pedagogical question is *how* the gallery 'supports them in taking that step'. In Rancière's terms, there are three distinct pedagogical possibilities:

1. Taking a progressive approach, in which 'those who know put themselves 'within reach' of those who are deemed unequal, to limit the knowledge transmitted to that which the poor can understand and that which they need' (Rancière in Bingham and Biesta, 2009: 11). But this approach reconfirms inequality in the name of inclusion. This is basically Rancière's criticism of Bourdieu, the idea that Bourdieu's attitude to the public is that if only they understood the social conditions in which they are organised and controlled then they could emancipate themselves. Here, according to Ranciere, Bourdieu acts like the pedagogue who has the superior knowledge to explicate social conditions to the public. This denies the equality of intelligence of which Rancière speaks.

2. Taking a conservative approach in which, 'knowledge [is] equally distributed to all, without consideration of social origin' (ibid.). But, distributing knowledge and reproducing tradition does not necessarily lead to equality, like the previous option it takes equality as it's end point rather than as a starting point.

3. Taking a 'Jacotist' approach where 'the will to harmonise, and to optimise, social functions' is ignored. Where rather than searching for harmony 'dissensus' is embraced. 'Dissensus' for Ranciere is something, an act of politics or art, which disrupts the logic of consensus and causes a 'redistribution of the sensible': where the 'normal' social order is suspended (Ranciere, 2010, 2). As Rancière says, 'equality is enacted within the social machine through dissensus' (Rancière in Bingham and Biesta, 2009, 15). For Ranciere the possibilities for 'real' learning to take place (Atkinson, 2011) occur when the 'normal' is disrupted and as a result teachers merge their competences as researchers, workers and citizens 'into a single energy that advances, in one effort, knowledge transmission, social integration, and civic conscience' (Rancière in Bingham and Biesta, 2009, 15).

Taking the third option to Toby's imagined other it would mean that the cultural capital that the boy possessed as a product of being part of his family would be relevant to the exploration of art works. This might lead the boy to reject the art

works and Tate and to seek out others. This dissonance should be embraced and used as a way in. To do this the educator must dispense with tradition in a conservative hermeneutical sense and engage in a critical and productive interpretation in which the boy and the educator work together to make sense of the work. They do not need to like or appreciate the art as a result of this endeavour: the engagement is about forming a genuine opinion rather than learning the skills to 'appreciate' modern and contemporary art. Pedagogically this is sound but in terms of audience development this may not lead to the boy returning, if in the end he concludes that he does not like the work he sees. The pedagogical approach gives him the right to arrive at that end result and in Rancièrian terms, it is the only approach in which equality is possible so 'if' it is a political project, as all audience development is, then it is the only approach to take.

Toby also raises the issue of what is in the collection itself and whether it is representative of the boy's cultural positioning. This relates to the responsibility held by the acquisitions team to build a representative collection within the constraints of limited resources as I mentioned earlier in relation to Sophie's role. The obvious problem here in Rancièrian terms is that the gallery decides which works to acquire and display for the public. Trying to second-guess which works will represent the boy's cultural positioning is philanthropic in essence because it assumes the learners subjectivity and what is best for them.

Interviewer: Do you think it's a class thing?

I think it's class and culture, I don't think I would say it is just a class thing because there's an extent to which, if its an Asian boy in the north for example then it could be to do with family traditions and culture, ethnic background and so on. The particular activities of the family would not incline him to coming to Tate Modern. But the extent to which we can meet that person by having works in the gallery which enable him to see himself, broadly, or very specifically, which might mean literally there being a class or a colour to it, or a political dimension to it that touches him. Because our collection is so partial and so narrow and so limited globally, I suppose, in terms of content, so it is a problem. It's common knowledge that the collection needs to change, it needs to change for all sorts of reasons and we've been talking about it. No one denies its

partialness and you only have to look at the history of how it has been acquired, the collection, to realize that it was partly in their gift to do differently but also partly not, because they never had that much money to buy things, its often been bequeathed or loaned or whatever, so it is limited. So you can have loans, you can change your acquisition policy to try and reflect other kinds of work that might enable that young boy to see himself.

This engages issues with a bearing on themes 4 and 5, audiences and space. If the working-class subject is to be a regular visitor to galleries, they need a sense of ownership of what goes on in that space. Toby acknowledges that habitus, 'the particular activities of the family' would not incline them to visiting Tate Modern. He goes on to develop a very interesting point about what the gallery shows and how important that is to building new audiences. This relates to Sophie's inference about the responsibility of the acquisitions team to create the collection of the future: what to include and what to leave out. The implication here is that curatorial pedagogies have an intrinsic part to play in attracting new audiences (theme 3). This is interesting given the fact that audience development work so often falls to education departments. Toby says, 'you can change your acquisition policy to try and reflect other kinds of work that might enable that young boy to see himself' this presents an enormous pedagogical opportunity for the gallery to engage with its audience in changing that acquisitions policy along Rancièrian lines in an act that emancipates intelligence. This would provide an opportunity for the gallery as a whole to work with a range of audience groups. To date I am not aware of such an initiative happening though. Toby continues with his description of the 'other':

I think he would go to a state school, a comprehensive school, because I want him to be rooted in the kind of background that I was rooted in which is a terraced house, working class, backyard, on the cusp of being poor but probably not abjectly poor, so you were kind of ticking along as a family, people were in work, aspirations were quite low, expectations were quite limited, supervision was limited, I mean educationally. Which was odd for me when I read about that part of society and I realized that there was a kind of 'working class,' which I never came across, which was heavily rooted in music, and in poetry and in literature and I discovered it post hock really, by reading about it because I never had any contact with it as a boy. So, it would need to be a boy who was deprived of these opportunities to have cultural experiences that were

beyond the popular so he would still be keen on music, still be going to the pictures and so on. (Toby)

Toby talks about 'cultural experiences that were beyond the popular' and this demarcates some interesting territory that Bourdieu categorises as 'bourgeois' taste. Toby talks about limited aspirations and low expectations and this is the most significant issue for cultural organisations trying to engage with new audiences. It was highlighted in the executive summary of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport report Culture on Demand published in 2007:

For many, culture remains the reserve of privileged, traditional audiences and embodies the values of institutionalised authority. Little wonder that many segments of society fail to see the relevance of culture, in the traditional sense – opera, ballet, classical music or jazz, museums, galleries and heritage sites – to their lives (DCMS, 2007).

DCMS are talking about families like Toby's for whom the offer of free entry will not be the catalyst to bring them to the gallery, as they do not see the point. What will they gain?

The evidence shows that significant barriers to attendance and participation remain, in the form of access, time and, more importantly, "interest" (ibid.).

In the extracts that I selected for the previous chapter, Toby talked about his own 'interest' being ignited by a charismatic teacher at school and a book he found in his friends attic. Beneath Toby's words in the extract above, he is wondering how to create a situation that generates the same interest for other children from the same background. This is the work of the gallery and certainly his remit as the Head of Interpretation and Education at Tate Modern whose department receives public and private funds to inspire such young people and others. However, if for a moment we take away those institutional roles and consider Toby as a cultural worker from a working class background with no responsibility to government to justify expenditure: is it still important to inspire this young boy? Freire says:

The revolutionaries role is to liberate, and be liberated, with the people – not to win them over (Freire, 1970, 76).

The fact that Toby shares some life history with the boy certainly makes the attempt to ignite interest into an authentic campaign and as Freire points out it is to some extent happening *with* not *to* the boy. But what happens when the other is not like us? Is the activity of engaging them flawed and do we then need to seek an alternative, a method of engagement that allows the other to maintain their position as subject rather than becoming the object of a targeted campaign to 'win them over'. Do young people taking part in the *Raw Canvas* programme have to change in order to participate as I discussed in relation to 'Girl 1' in the last chapter. Rancière's translator, Charles Bingham, suggests 'schools valorize the cultural capital of children from elite backgrounds while de-valorizing the knowledge that other children bring to school' (Bingham and Biesta, 2009: 20). If that is the case then how can someone like Toby's charismatic teacher utilize the cultural positioning of an imagined learner (theme 1) when 'inculcat[ing] young people into museum culture'? In the following extract, Toby describes his own experience as a boy who was born at a certain time (circa. 1950s) who rebels against his socio cultural background.

Interviewer: Do you remember which work it was?

Yes, it was a Van Gogh, it was Gauguin's chair and I can picture it now, and the conversation, and we had a conversation and I stumbled for ways of describing but I was theorizing, speculating, asking questions about this work. So, [I benefitted from having], a charismatic teacher, a teacher who [saw] it as her job to inculcate young people into museum culture, or works of art in their physical manifestations.

It's that point, which is a classic point in literature where young people, to give themselves a future, a psychological future, assume that their parents are not their parents. They've mistakenly landed in this particular place this family, this environment, this whatever, and that they are at the same time they're kind of striving to, and in my case it was rebelliousness, you used the word independence, but really it was to reject everything that my parents stood for and their culture. So it probably gave me that opportunity, it was like a door opening that allowed me to follow a route because within, you know from Van Gogh which was not that radical, although at the

time I suppose it was quite radical to come across that and enjoy it, but the kind of art which was the art of dissent was something that I latched onto because it enabled me to find an identity that was outside of this forming, conservative, uncultured background that I came from and so you live with this parallel hope and desire of this stuff called art which opens up the possibilities of something different, whilst also building a huge resentment against your family, and it takes a while for that to subside and I suppose that's when you actually mature. And I'm always kind of disappointed in art that hasn't got those radical credentials. (Toby)

This extract from the interview with Toby looks at the space of the gallery (theme 5) as a resource for enlightenment and personal improvement or philanthropy (theme 3). As Toby pointed out earlier this 'rebellion' is a familiar story for some working class people during the 1960s, it is also common in some teenagers. However, the learners that I see now are not like that, they do not want to rebel against their family background. Often from immigrant families young people are proud of their cultural heritage and do not want to change or challenge their habitus. How can the pedagogy encompass such a desire to learn whilst retaining the learner's cultural subjectivity? Rancière's equality of intelligences offers an alternative to a philanthropic, 'colonial' approach. The pedagogical approach employed when 'opening a door' for a young person who *wants* to change their social and ontological position could be described as a 'reproductive discourse' to use Moersch's classifications (Moersch, 2010). In this sense, the knowledge and values of the gallery are passed on to the learner. But if the young person is happy with their social positioning, they are not rebellious then another approach is required. How do galleries play a meaningful role for these young people without falling into the trap of acculturating them into the prevailing order and risking the kind of symbolic violence described in the last chapter? Moersch's conception of 'deconstructive discourses' does not work I would argue because the learner has to already know about the institutional norms in order to understand how they are being critiqued. Instead should the pedagogy be more akin to 'transformative discourses' in which the learner joins with the educator to make decisions about what is to be learned so challenging the primacy of the curatorial project altogether?

As Toby struggles to conceptualise below the difficulty is in how 'to get him here'. What will be the incentive, the motivation? Janna Graham has been tackling this pedagogic problem through the *Centre for Possible Studies* on London's Edgware Road, close to the Serpentine Gallery. The pedagogic work within this project centres around modes of 'transformative discourse' in which project participants steer the discourse and it is fuelled by things which genuinely concern them. This is a local audience and local issues are mostly on the agenda. Is it possible to create a transformative discourse with someone who is not local to the gallery? The attempts to work at issues of national importance force a situation in which discourses of inclusion are inevitably staged and inauthentic because of their insistence on the universal validity of the museum without creating opportunities for discussion, dissent or local alternatives to emerge. Toby continues:

I don't think I could convince him you see, I'd somehow have to get him here, under some guise or other, some pretext, or maybe just say will you take a chance and have this leap into faith, are you an existentialist young man, will you come and have a go at this? So I think I'd have to come up with something like that and then the real conversation would have to take place in front of the work and I think it would normally be trying to get him to articulate or to do what I did in front of this, to theorise, to articulate or speculate what it is he's seeing and how it might connect to him as a person or the world outside the museum. I think that would be the beginning of that conversation with him. (Toby)

Toby is right to acknowledge that the boy could not be convinced, that would be brainwashing rather than open dialogue. Inspiration could not come from any kind of forced appreciation it has to be personally motivated. As educators, we need to have faith in the idea that raising young people's awareness and interest in the world around them is valuable in and of itself and development strategies are too directed. The job of creating culture vultures is perhaps not one for galleries to take on but for consortia to manage who represent multiple organisations.

I wouldn't want to say that it might change his life, because it might not be a turn for the best. I would think that it would open up new ways of thinking about himself and the world in which he lives in and if he's interested it would open up journeys or routes

along which he could travel, which would further that for him and it might be painful I mean it might be if he's living in a tightly constrained world where his horizons are known he might be quite content with that and by fracturing that it might open up some painful and difficult journeys because it would mean rejecting some of those assumptions. On the other hand I might be over dramatizing it, it might just be a natural step that young people take to thinking about the world and rejecting or accepting parts of their new experiences. (Toby)

I don't think Toby is 'over-dramatizing it', it is vital to recognise the fracture experienced by the learning subject as they pass in to new territory. This is close to Rancière's idea of dissensus, which is not concerned with disagreement but with puncturing established representational orders. Educators have a responsibility to understand the impact that the introduction of new ontologies can have on young people. Freire talks about such processes of transformation when he describes emancipatory pedagogy:

'It clarifies the role of people in the world and with the world as transforming rather than adaptive beings' (Freire, 1970, 102)

For Freire the process of 'conscientizaçaō' enables people to come into history as responsible subjects. This is essential for the learning subject who needs to 'come to feel like master of their thinking (Freire, 1070: 105). It is crucial, in Freirian terms that the project of education does not 'present its own program but must search for this program dialogically with the people' (ibid: 105). In this way Toby's imagined other must willingly come to this, as Toby says, he can not convince him or offer false promises of life changing, positive outcomes. Educationally this is sound reasoning but in audience development terms, how do you sell a potentially negative experience to someone?

Toby wants to include the boy, the 'other', in the mainstream activities of the gallery but he also retains an acknowledgement of the establishment's need to adapt the breadth of its collection displays in order to better meet the needs of the disenfranchised, non participating public. The philanthropic subject is Toby and the

object of philanthropy is the learner. The working class, do have a culture: it's just not the culture of the gallery. In Bourdieusian terms, their culture is not legitimated. By offering engagement with the museum as emancipatory though, Toby could be said to fall back on the very philanthropy that he is trying to avoid. In Rancière's terms this is setting up a relation of inequality in identifying what the working classes do not know and would be good for them to learn (Rancière, 1991). In my view, this philanthropy is a product of the gallery's funding arrangement through which they are under pressure to enhance social cohesion and this drive towards harmony reduces the opportunities for dissensus to occur; something that Rancière thinks is essential for emancipatory pedagogies to emerge. It is not productive when 'pedagogical reason and social reason become indistinguishable from one another' (Bingham and Biesta, 2009: 21). Bingham describes practices such as these as neoliberal, denouncing the underlying social logic. The attributes of accountability, competition and privatization are embraced to remedy student underachievement. This causes stultification and limits opportunities for 'trial and error [which] demand an exhilarating experience of ambiguity… [which] is the bedrock of intellectual emancipation (Bingham and Biesta, 2009: 18).

From Toby, we have had enormous insight into one 'imagined' individual that the gallery would like to reach out to. Though this is an 'imagined' subject Toby's comments shed clear insight into pedagogical aspirations and intentions in the gallery context. My analysis of Toby's description has thrown up questions about the nature of the learner's subjectivity and how that can be retained in the dialogue with the museum. How does discourse with a learner develop when attempting to draw in audiences nationally rather than just on a local level? Tate would like to become a globally recognised brand with learners all over the world and is making considerable steps towards this through its current Turbine Generation project which is an online and global project aimed at international collaboration and exchange, linking schools, galleries, artists and cultural institutions worldwide through contemporary art and ideas.

Curator interviews: Esther

In my role as Curator for Young People's Programmes I also allowed myself to be interviewed by Janet and the *Raw Canvas* project team. What follows is an extract from that interview in which I described three *imagined learning subjects.* Through my description, I construct these three learner identities in different ways. A tension emerges between the 'other' that the government require me to 'target', the 'other' (theme 1) that I actually worked with at the time and the imagined or ideal other that I wanted to work with. In the context of the project, my description has to give enough specific information so that a real person matching the description of the *imagined other* could be found.

The following is an extract from my interview with Janet on 13 May 2002 in which I am asked questions about whom I would like to talk to about Tate and why:

Somebody who has never been to a gallery somebody who had no conception of what might be in a gallery and what might be of interest in there. Somebody, who is quite negatively destructive in the way that they negotiate themselves in the world. (Esther)

Are they disenfranchised from society? Do they have a job? Do they have a criminal record? (Janet)

It's more to do with mindless unthinking destruction. Maybe a vandal: someone who harms animals, people or buildings for no reason. In my head, they are male although they could be female. (Esther)

What do you want to say to that person? That, there is an alterative to this destruction? What do you want to say to them? What will they get from coming? What is the reward? (Janet)

An experience that you don't get from anything else. (Esther)

Why do you want to change them? (Janet)

Cause I don't agree with the destructive negative vandalism that they are doing because it's pointless and it could be channeled to be a more positive thing. (Esther)

How? (Janet)

By using their energy in another way. (Esther)

How will art help them do that? (Janet)

I'm not saying art would be the thing, there might be other things as well but there is something particular about art that you don't get from anything else. Then they would be aware of an alternative way of being. They could change. (Esther)

What could they do after the change that they couldn't do before? (Janet)

Discuss things that are more complex than their lived experience. (Esther)

Why do you think they are the way they are? (Janet)

Don't know. (Esther)

Is there an economic situation that would make them who they are? Where would you look for them? (Janet)

In a Pupil Referral Unit. (Esther)

And anyone there would do? (Janet)

They would have to really dislike art galleries. (Esther)

What would you want to say to them? (Janet)

That it might be worth having a look. (Esther)

Why do you want to change them so much? (Janet)

I think I find that sense of having no ability to nurture other creatures or other human beings incredibly difficult it seems kind of antihuman to me. (Esther)

This is a clear example of myself as Education Curator and philanthropic subject (theme 3). The object of my philanthropy is a disenfranchised young person. My description clearly states that they do not operate in a way that society considers acceptable. I think that engaging with art could change them. I hope that they will choose to be different and that their behavior will be modified as a result. This

pedagogy is based on oppressive, reproductive, transformative and conservative discourse that comes from the construction of the gallery as a political project. I am saying that engaging with art can make someone more fully human, more empathetic, more caring, it's an evangelical discourse! I go on to describe art as something, which enhances a person's sensibilities. This is not akin to the Freirian idea of 'becoming more fully human' as I had thought but has in fact got more in common with Kant's ideas about aesthetics in which 'sensibility' could be described as a faculty that allows for the critique of judgment about art and the sublime. It was naïve of me to think that the gallery's project can extend this far.

Why do you think art would change them rather than say a course with the RSPCA? (Janet)

A course with the RSPCA could offer specific skills about looking after animals, that's not quite what I'm talking about, it's more about sensibilities that art could enhance someone's sensibilities on a really broad base rather than just being about the vocational skills of looking after an injured bird. (Esther)

So how will you persuade them to come? (Janet)

Well that's what we're doing with Raw Canvas *trying to create activities and events that could attract this person. (Esther)*

But pedagogically those events did not and could not attract those young people unless they had already decided to change.

And is that your ideal person? (Janet)

No it's not my ideal, its one of them. (Esther)

It is the person I think I *should* be working with, but really, I want to develop pedagogy about art. I am an artist and an educator, not a social worker.

My ideal, my ideal, is people who've got an interest and enthusiasm for art; who have got some prior knowledge of art so that their level of debate can be quite broad but also that they have some experience of some other subjects. My ideal is people who can

offer a young persons interpretation of the work in the gallery so can offer an interpretation that's different from the curators or other people that are permanent Tate staff. (Esther)

Evident here is a dis-chord between the social or even moral aims of the programme and the pedagogic ones. I stress '*my* ideal' in order to distinguish between what I would like to be doing with the programme and what the gallery/government as funder requires me to do. There are two constructions of the learning subject here one, '*my* ideal', is the willing participant who can challenge the gallery on issues that concern them. This learner is keen to participate, interested in art but not very knowledgeable. The other construction is someone who 'dislikes art galleries' they have been excluded from school and have displayed antisocial behavior. This learner can be improved, even 'fixed' by the gallery pedagogy. I say 'it's not my ideal person' and I don't really believe that art can fix them but I'm willing to have a go.

Where would you find them? (Janet)

They are here, they find us and they are almost exclusively white, they are in their early 20's, from middle class backgrounds, often based in and around London or grown up in London. They are mid or post degree. (Esther)

For Sophie and Helen such a willing participant would be adequate but for youth programmes the goal is not to work with the willing audience but to seek out and engage the disengaged.

What do you want to do with these people? (Janet)

It's more about generating discussion or interpretation with them. (Esther)

These people have a voice that is already heard, they are not 'noisemakers' in a Rancièrian sense. In many ways, youth programme pedagogy is about turning noisemakers into 'speakers' by constructing the learner *and* the institution in certain ways.

Is that for your benefit? (Janet)

It's for Tate's benefit. (Esther)

So, they are offering Tate something but what are you offering them? (Janet)

An opportunity to have discussion outside of a formal education structure where discussions lead to exam results for example. A chance to generate discussion between peers but peers who are not from the same area or school. (Esther)

The final statement in this extract from the interview with Janet engages issues of the gallery space as a special site of learning outside the constraints of the classroom environment. Participants will gain cultural capital, social capital and educational capital through their engagement with Tate. They will become conversant about art and can use this knowledge of 'high culture' to their advantage. It will enhance their profile with prospective employers, critical thinking and opinion forming will help them in the educational arena and they will open up new social networks through the people they meet making them more socially versatile. They will become more 'culturally omniverous' to coin Peterson's expression about those middle class people who rather than occupying a position of snobbishness in relation to low culture they consume high and low culture in equal measure (Peterson, 1992).

What do you want to ask them? (Janet)

I'd rather them ask Tate questions. I want them to challenge the Tate about the way that it does things. I want to ask them about what they think of the displays in the galleries and the way its been displayed and the captions on the wall and the way that works have been interpreted. I want to ask if they want to change any of that or offer different ideas. (Esther)

Here is the nub of it, 'I want them to challenge the Tate about the way that it does things'. That was always my aspiration for the programme but it seemed you could equip young people with the skills and attitude of mind to challenge Tate on issues that concerned them but the scope of permissible challenge was limited. I would like to have asked the boy from the PRU to challenge Tate but he would need to be

recruited first. The gallery simply wasn't open for challenge by these people and in many ways I can see why. In every sense working in a gallery like Tate is complex, exhausting and relentless for staff at all levels. Why complicate that further to accommodate the ideas of some disenfranchised young people?

What happened in practice was that young people found out about *Raw Canvas*, chose to get involved, learned the ropes on the training course and gradually became 'speakers' by becoming like me and other gallery staff and, thereby, challenge the distribution of the sensible in a Rancièrian sense. As imagined learning subjects they are afforded equality of intelligences, the 'others', the ones from the Pupil Referral Unit are not. In the Freirian model, this is not available to be directed by them.

They are not necessarily my ideal audience. The background of the people that I'd like, if, I could open up the range more. It concerns me that we attract 90% white people, in London it concerns me that that's not the demographic mix in any area and yet somehow we attract people that look like me and that concerns me, and if I walk around the office here the other people look like me. I'd like to attract more of a cross section of the people that live on my estate,... that's more Carribbean families and quite a lot of Vietnamese families. There are lots of young people that live around Hackney who I don't see in the gallery and I don't know why that is and I'd like to know more so I'd like to be able to attract those people to see the displays and the way that it's interpreted to find out if it's the art here or the way that its shown that stops them coming. I would like to attract young people who are not from middle class families. I'd like to attract young people from my area, because their parents work in Tesco's and the service industries and they are people who wouldn't come. (Esther)

There is a tension between who I think I should work with, who I do work with, and what I think the work is for.

Art offers something that nothing else does. Looking at art is a break from the things, like not having enough money to do what you want to do, things that control people. Looking at art is a break from that control it's an opportunity to be incredibly expansive about the way that you think rather than being made to conform to the particular rules or regulations that your school college society generally have put around you. (Esther)

I have described three imagined others; the first one that I should recruit, the second that I do recruit and the third that I want to recruit. How to go from 'noisemaker' to 'speaking subject' is the constant question for youth programmes.

Helen's other

Next, I move on to Helen's conception of the imagined other. After starting the gallery activity programme for schools and teachers, Helen conducted some audience research to assess how the programme was being received. This audience research was important for focussing the activities on offer to gain maximum impact for participants. As the demand for workshops and InSET's is so high and the capacity of how many sessions the gallery can offer, within the given resources, is always at its limit Helen has to use the audience research to help her in locating the teachers for whom engagement with the gallery will be of most benefit. Where the emphasis on building new audiences (theme 5) is paramount for youth programmes this is not a priority for school and teacher programmes, therefore it is possible for Helen, like Sophie, to work with the most willing participants rather than to try to entice the least willing ones. The audience research has segmented teachers into broad categories or types. Primary teachers are seen as 'emotional allies' and 'acceptors'. Helen talks about the limited time that primary PGCE students have to focus on art. She says:

Acceptors, who are the ones I think that have really suffered through only having those 9 hours (of Art) in their PGCE course, who weren't interested in challenging, using art as a resource, or ideas around the art. They were just wanting to 'take' what we can deliver, maybe to finish off a topic in school, maybe to tick off some of their scheme of work and I think they were the teachers who perhaps got a bit frazzled if things went a bit wrong because intrinsically I'm not sure they were visiting for the value of actually working with the art but more for the value of the gallery visit as a whole thing.

For secondary teachers the categories are 'political allies' and 'complainers'. Helen says:

… and then the complainers are those people who are rooted in this very formalist approach to making art and who weren't really very open minded I suppose about the kind of work we were doing here, our approach and the value of contemporary practice, they had a particular idea about what they want to see and while, I mean obviously you want people to have their own opinion but you want them to be able to be open minded enough to engage with something that's possibly an alternative and I think the complainers they just sort of stick there heals in and they're not really interested.

[a complainer] wants their expectations to be fulfilled and not challenged. Contemporary practice is a bit more difficult and there are certain vocabularies we need to develop when looking at modern and contemporary art.

Helen considers the possibility of working with the complainers and changing their minds but makes the decision that she would like to work with those that are already 'on board' and enhance their teaching:

I want to concentrate on the acceptors.

Helen is talking about audience research (theme 4) conducted around school and teacher programmes. It is really interesting because it focuses on the very debates that polarise modern and contemporary art in relation to pre-modern works. Such debates are inevitably at the heart of pedagogical problems about what and how to teach. There is a freedom enjoyed by School programmes and Public Programmes in the fact that they choose to work with people who are already inclined towards modern and contemporary art. That same choice when made in relation to youth programmes is perceived as a failure to attract the right type of young person. Youth programmes are meant to target disenfranchised groups and therefore the job in hand is a very different one. The danger is in trying to 'convince' a disengaged audience to like art rather than drawing on their own interest. That is a dangerous road to take.

In this section, I have concentrated on the description of learners in the curator interviews. Significantly in all the descriptions, the learners are willing participants who choose to enter into discussion and do not need to be convinced, persuaded or

forced to take part. Even Toby's individual needed to be led toward the gallery but Toby states clearly that he was keen not to try to convince him to take part. Since the 2005-2008 DCMS targets introduced a more rigorous focus on widening participation pedagogy has had to adapt to include strategies for opening up and at least initially convincing new audiences.

Section 2) Peer-led workshop

In this section, I will present data from a peer-led gallery workshop in 2009. I will analyse that data using my theoretical tools and categorise it through selected themes. I will start with a reflection about the nature of *Raw Canvas* events.

Across all of the *Raw Canvas* activities, there is a desire for a pleasurable practice to emerge. Pedagogies must provide fun and entertainment. Opportunities for learning, which is challenging are limited. Driven by the importance of the social atmosphere specific pedagogies emerge to introduce new audiences to art. Like all learning activities at Tate Modern between 2000 and 2010, the emphasis was not on art making, not imparting practical skills to young people as it was felt that schools provided young people with practical art making skills and that the gallery should concentrate on interpretation skills. So instead the focus was on giving young people a voice, giving them the skills to form opinions; to be critical thinkers engaged in self-learning and learning with others. Activities were essentially directed towards discussions that took place around artworks in the gallery.

In order to select data for this thesis I have been looking back through video-tapes taken at *Raw Canvas* events. Whilst reviewing that material I have been struck by two key realisations that I will illustrate through the data I am presenting. They are connected to the two themes that I set out at the beginning of the chapter: imagined other, construction of the learning subject, and the three sub-themes, philanthropy, audience and gallery space or environment. The two key realisations are:

1. Although the emphasis of all learning programmes was on interpretation and for this reason Tate Modern had not been equipped with a dedicated art studio when it opened in 2000; *Raw Canvas* actually created lots of practical art making activities and they were some of the most successful in terms of satisfaction and attendance. Making art was what young people wanted to do and interpretation through discussion was particularly effective when conducted as part of an art making

process. There were lots of video and animation workshops along with sound recording and editing, printmaking, installation, drawing as well as skateboarding, craft and live music. So, a major achievement for *Raw Canvas* was that this initiative rethought the prevailing pedagogy that favoured interpretation over making and challenged it by privileging art making in the gallery. In so doing *Raw Canvas* was challenging the way in which the pedagogy of the Education and Interpretation department had constructed participants as learning subjects confined to looking and debate rather than constructing them as artists.

2. In *Raw Canvas* activities there was often an over insistence on the social, pleasurable nature of the event. It was important that the programme grew like a friendship group. This was very beneficial in marketing and audience development terms as the programme grew at an impressive rate and those who got involved were committed and enthusiastic. However, it cast the *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders as philanthropic subjects trying to recruit and entertain their peers through an introduction to the gallery. It was assumed that if young people were to be attracted to the gallery and take part in the *Raw Canvas* programme then they would have to enjoy themselves and the activities should not feel too 'educational' or challenging. So, these new audiences were the objects of *Raw Canvas*' philanthropy. As a result of this philanthropic construction, the learning subject is perceived as lacking and in need of such philanthropy. Because of the charitable nature of this exchange, and the learners perceived 'need', there was limited opportunity for the pedagogy to become challenging, to be difficult or perhaps even 'painful' for the learner. Chantelle Mouffe's (Mouffe, 2013) use of the term 'agonism' is useful here because agonism describes the kind of positive conflict that occurs in debate or discussion. Mouffe describes an 'agonistic' approach to public space as one where 'conflicting points of view are confronted without any possibility of final resolution' (Mouffe, 13: 92). This is in contrast to what the 'public sphere' that Habermas described 'as the place where deliberation aiming at rational consensus takes place'(ibid.). The museum is a public space and we can consider these conflicting uses of it in relation

to the ways in which *Raw Canvas* occupy and use the place. Rancière (2009) uses the term 'dissensus' to describe a similar kind of fracturing of the established representational order that takes place without dissent.

What follows is a selection of data gathered during a *Raw Canvas* workshop entitled *We are all Experts* in which examples of such philanthropy and construction of the learning subject occurs.

We are all Experts – *the context*

The *We are all Experts* series was conceived as a way to challenge the usual roles of teacher and student. As a core, and therefore, legitimated part of the Tate Modern Youth Programme the events served to academically sanction or legitimate the young people who were invited to participate in them. The approach was philanthropic; young people are included in mainstream culture by talking about art and there was an assumption, which I will pick up through my data analysis, that this would be good for them. The potential for the experience to be negative, challenging or create problems for them is minimised or unrecognised. As the curators I interviewed in the previous chapter acknowledged; learning about art can lead to disharmony for the individual and the new ontological space that they enter can create a kind of fracture with their family background.

The pedagogic identities and the construction of the learning subject in the *We are all Experts* workshops were complex and multifarious. Having embarked on my PhD study and after reading Bishop, Mouffe, Freire and others I constructed the original idea for the series, as I was keen to find a pedagogy that was empowering for young people. I presented the idea for a series of workshops, in which their friends and acquaintances could be invited to speak as experts in the gallery, to *Raw Canvas* as a potential programme idea and we discussed it one evening over dinner in Leon (café). The Artist Educators: Emma Hart and Melanie Stidolph were present as were 12 *Raw Canvas*sers. The conversation explored whether they were interested to

take on the idea and to work together to create a series of gallery-based sessions. They decided to take it on and then what followed were six weeks within which the two artist educators worked with *Raw Canvas* honing the content, rationalising the aim of the programme and developing appropriate pedagogic approaches.

So, in the early stages I was the learning subject bringing my new knowledge, acquired at Goldsmiths, back to the gallery. I shared them with *Raw Canvas* and they offered back their ideas and the early outline of the series was conceived collaboratively. The purpose of this workshop was to make art more accessible and give young people a platform from which to voice their opinions about it. The content was to be defined by them (the peer-leaders) and by the participants on the night with very little predetermined content. As was often the case in the *Raw Canvas* planning process, their ideas about what they wanted to achieve became a brief for the artist educators who would help them to realise it. They would collectively consider how to make an event that was appealing to other people their age through the content and the approach and what kind of programme they wanted to run, who it would be marketed to. They then created a series of planning workshops in which *Raw Canvas* were the learning subjects and the Artist Educators were the teaching agents. Then, when the *We are all Experts* workshops began *Raw Canvas* invited designated 'experts' from their pool of associates at which point *Raw Canvas* became the teaching subjects and the 'experts' became the learning subjects. During the sessions, themselves the experts were both learners, with *Raw Canvas* still guiding them, and teaching subjects imparting ideas to the workshop participants (the public). Both experts and peer-leaders were guided and supported by the artist educators throughout.

This active participation by all parties creates a situation of sharing in which traditional teacher/student roles are redundant. It is akin to the 'problem-posing' method that Freire offers as an alternative to the 'banking model of education' (Freire 1970: 68). In the 'problem-posing' method students are not passive and

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'teachers will not act as if they are the only agents in the educational encounter'
Bingham and Biesta, 2010: 66).

teachers will be students at the same time that they are teachers and students will be teachers at the same time as they students (Freire, 1970: 61).

In creating such pedagogy, Freire is creating a situation in which people can see their world critically and the way in which they exist in it. Within the 'banking system' teachers and students are shrouded by the common sense of the dominant ideology. Passive empty minds become full as the student acquires knowledge from the teacher (Bingham and Biesta, 2010). The 'problem posing ' method overturns such constraints, students are no longer passive and without agency and teachers 'do not act as if they are the only agents in the educational encounter' (ibid. 2010: 66). 'The knowledge of the teacher and the knowledge of the student will be considered of equal value' (ibid: 66). Certainly, I hoped that the kind of equality between teacher and student that Freire describes *was* happening, and, at times, it certainly was particularly when *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders were co-leading with Artist Educators. However, looking now at the data and reading Rancière's work on equality I wonder whether in fact the roles of teacher and student were sometimes simply passed from one person to another rather than shared between all participants or perhaps they were redundant altogether. Rancière has been important throughout the writing of this thesis specifically because of his rethinking of the relations between knowledge and pedagogy. In the working method described above concepts and pedagogies are shaped collectively: neither myself, nor the Artist Educators would arrive with a fully formed idea and tell *Raw Canvas* what to do. Nor would *Raw Canvas* come to meetings and insist on a certain type of event: decisions were made collectively. I have found Rancière's work on equality in which he talks about 'starting with equality not aiming at inclusion' to be particularly useful in opening up my analysis of the data. Rancière's axiom 'the equality of intelligences' is valuable in understanding peer-led programming. He offers an alternative to the more traditional way of thinking in which there is a

knowledgeable teacher and an ignorant student. He considers the potential of equality, 'what an intelligence can do when it considers any other equal to itself' (Rancière, 1991: 39).

We are all Experts aimed to challenge the authority of the scholarly voice by creating an event in which young people take over the territory, literally occupy the gallery space (theme 4). The theme of the gallery space is an important element running through my data. The gallery is public and has no entry fee so in theory it is open to all. However the space itself has certain behavioural codes that visitors are expected to comply with. Some are explicit such as no running, no touching the art works, no photography, no eating/drinking etc. Others are implicit such as no singing, no shouting, no performing, no gathering of large groups. As the in house youth programme, *Raw Canvas* were allowed to do more unusual actions in the gallery than other groups might be. Gallery Assistant and Security staff were generous and philanthropic (theme 3) and they enable *Raw Canvas* as much leeway as possible. There is an expectation that *Raw Canvas* will do some unusual things in the gallery but this is coupled with confidence that they will be careful around the art works. Nevertheless, *Raw Canvas* must inform the front of house team before their events take place. Taking over the gallery in this way is important to them and they feel accepted by the organisation as they are allowed to do this. However, as a public space they should not really require any such permission, as they are not contravening any of the explicit gallery rules. This is an example of the power relation at play in this contested space (theme 5). It is also apparent how the subjectivities of the *Raw Canvas* group are constructed by the galleries front of house team. They are new audiences and therefore different from the majority of visitors. As young people, they are considered to be naïve, chaotic, excitable: in some cases, this is a fair assessment and is born out through the activities themselves. However, it denies the fact that an enormous amount of planning and specific pedagogic preparation goes into *Raw Canvas* events. *Raw Canvas* peer leaders at times are limited by their status as young people (theme 2: constructed subject).

The 'experts' are friends or acquaintances of *Raw Canvas* they are on the whole not art experts, most are not regular gallery visitors and many are non-British in origin, perhaps studying or visiting the UK. As such, in the terms of widening participation they are an appropriate audience for *Raw Canvas* to work with. Through the data I have selected for this section, I will explore the ways in which these people are constructed as learners (theme 2) and how the perceived audience identities affect the pedagogies that are employed.

Those who normally run gallery sessions are older, more experienced and trained in art, pedagogy or both, they hold the knowledge which potentially makes them more powerful, active agents in the educational experience. In *Raw Canvas*, young people take on the role of 'workshop leader'. In Freirian terms these young people could equate to oppressed people's in the sense that rather than take on the symbolic power relation that already exists in the intellectual hierarchy of the gallery, they challenge the very fabric of it by standing up publicly and speaking about art without the academic credentials to do so. In Freire's model, the oppressed have to 'come-into-conciousness' (Freire, 1970: 18) in order to recognise their oppression. In order to become 'more fully human' the oppressed people cannot become the oppressors themselves, they must liberate both the oppressors and themselves, be 'the restorers of the humanity of both' (ibid. 26). The 'awakening of critical consciousness' (ibid. 18) enables them to see the situation and to challenge it through their actions. So they cannot simply *become* the establishment, they have to challenge the intellectually superior role of teacher.

The use of the term 'expert' in the *We are all Experts* series is complex. It is both serious and ironic. It responds to the fact that young people have often been forced to accede to the authority of experts at school where methods used by some teachers are akin to the 'banking' approach to education in which the passive learner is filled with knowledge by the masterful teacher. By applying the term

'expert' to their peers and contemporaries; they are claiming the right to use it to describe themselves, and, they are also claiming the right to dictate it's specific meaning in this context. Freire talks about the oppressors use of slogans which take advantage of the oppressed people's passivity to fill their consciousness, 'by presenting the oppressors' slogans as a problem, helps the oppressed to 'eject' those slogans from within themselves' (Freire, 1970: 76). The term 'experts' could be described as a slogan used to keep the unknowledgeable 'other' in their place, to encourage subordination to not enable an 'equality of intelligences'. Therefore, the term is claimed by *Raw Canvas* and applied to themselves as those who are traditionally cast as non-experts. I am not implying that all schooling is oppressive but I have found that a constant issue when working with young people outside of the school environment has been that they need to rid themselves of the conditioning that has taught them to listen to the teacher and no one else. Young people often needed to attend a few *Raw Canvas* workshops before they stopped looking to me (as the oldest person in the room) to speak, be the teacher or master explicator and start to listen to each other and to see their peers as equal agents.

Workshop date: June 4 2009

The workshop
This was described in more detail regarding purpose, intentions and content in chapters 8 and 5.

The session is led by five *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders whom we hear speaking in this clip. Also speaking is artist educator, Emma Hart, who has supported the development of the workshops, and we hear from seven of the fifteen participants.

The workshop introduction takes place on the Level 4 concourse at 17.00. Participants congregate and passers by, seeing that something is about to happen, ask for information; some depart and some decide to join in. Although the workshop

is intended for 15-23 years olds *Raw Canvas* have decided not to exclude anyone because of age and so everyone is welcome. In the opening introduction India Harvey who is one of the *Raw Canvas* Peer-leaders who has been involved in developing the pedagogic approach for the workshops describes the intentions of the series. She says:

India: We are all Experts *is a discussion taking place in the gallery. We have invited people to talk for 5 minutes on an artwork; people we feel don't normally speak in the gallery.* Raw Canvas *works within an institution but we don't want it to speak for us. At the beginning of organising this we discussed getting people in who were experts within an established field like horticulture or a policeman or something like that to speak about the work in relation to their profession. But then we moved on to decide that actually we didn't want to invite people because of their profession we wanted to focus on people because of their opinions, opinions that weren't normally heard within the gallery context and to discuss art based on their actual experiences. We believe that* We are all Experts *whatever your knowledge and that we should all have faith in our own opinions. During the thinking process we explored the difference between talking about art we know and art that we don't and these two approaches are on offer tonight just to see the difference. What will happen next is that we're going to go up to Level 5 and we're going to listen to 3 people each talk for 5 minutes and we hope these are going to provoke a really exciting discussion that everyone is going to get involved with and then at the end were going to collaborate on each of us talking about the artwork on a big 5 minute discussion together.*

In the introduction to the workshop India describes the *imagined other* (theme 1), the learning subject (theme 2) towards whom the session is directed, as 'people we feel don't normally speak in the gallery'. So, this is not an art student or a regular gallery goer it is someone who doesn't usually talk about art, perhaps because they are unfamiliar with it, or perhaps because they are not confident, or both. By imagining the other in this way India is imposing an element of 'lack' onto the learner from the start, perhaps they *are* actually confident to speak in the gallery and have been invited to adopt the role of someone whom is not familiar with this territory. This 'new to art' learning subject has been constructed by the DCMS objectives for widening participation via the gallery's 2005-2008 funding agreement which states that the priority for Tate is to work with first time gallery visitors preferably from black and minority ethnic groups (Walsh, 2008). Those who are

unfamiliar with art are valuable economically because funding is available for working with them. However, as there is no specific check to ascertain whether this is happening *Raw Canvas* don't really need to focus their activities specifically on a novice audience. They could have refused to do so or ignored the widening participation ethos but they didn't.

By taking on the widening participation agenda *Raw Canvas* have adopted a philanthropic attitude (theme 3); they are comfortable with the idea that art is positive and they are especially motivated by the conviction that talking about art provides an opportunity for people to voice their own opinions. *Raw Canvas* would like as many young people as possible to have the opportunity to be heard. Overall, the aims of the *Raw Canvas* programme are to provide opportunities and skills through which young people can develop thinking and communication skills. This happens through the pedagogic process of looking and talking about art and through the development of skills in critical thinking, debating and event organisation along with soft skills like confidence, self esteem and surety in your own ideas.

The status of knowledge is crucial to this pedagogic approach. India says, 'We believe that *We are all Experts* whatever your knowledge', in doing so she is challenging the usual power relations between the one who has knowledge and the learner as empty vessel characterised by the contrast between Freire's (1970) 'banking method' and 'problem-posing' education in which the first fills the learner with knowledge and the passive learner must be subordinated to the teacher. 'The banking system imposes authority at the expense of the students freedom' (Bingham and Biesta, 2009, 65).

India talks about how they came up with this particular pedagogic approach, she says, 'during the thinking process we explored the difference between talking about art we know and art that we don't'. This is important in terms of interpretation and a sharing of knowledge. In this instance, all parties are learning subjects. The

pedagogy, which insists that new works are used, constructs them all as learners. This is an important aspect of gallery education pedagogy. The theme of the special space of the gallery (theme 5) is important here because this would not be possible in a classroom context where finite resources are preselected by the educator. The art on show in the gallery is virtually limitless and no one has in depth knowledge of all of it. Therefore, this kind of pedagogic approach is especially possible in this space (theme 5). It does however present a risk for *Raw Canvas* because it is a strategy in which they can't plan their responses in advance. They have decided that the potential for producing new knowledges with the audience and for themselves is worth that risk. This is an example of knowledge production being prioritised over the knowledge *re*production. Whilst this appears to be pedagogically progressive it does constitute a 'reproductive discourse' in the terms set out by Carmen Moersch at the de-schooling society event discussed in the previous section in the sense that through the pedagogical approach the knowledge and values of the gallery that are passed on to the learner.

Finally, India informs the group about what is going to happen during the session. (Later in this section, I am going to describe and then analyse what actually happened in these short presentations in order to draw out pedagogical/learning issues). She says, 'collaborate on each of us talking about the artwork in a big 5 minute discussion together'. This opens it up for collaboration with the audience and by making this offer of collaboration the *Raw Canvas* derived pedagogy constructs the learner as someone who *does* have something to contribute in fact passive participation is not condoned in this context.

India also says: '*Raw Canvas* works within an institution but we don't want it to speak for us.' They don't want to be seen as Tate through and through, they want to be able to have opinions that contradict the gallery. This is confined to opinions about art. In retrospect it is a shame that *Raw Canvas* didn't challenge the organisation more on issues that affected them like the widening participation

agenda and the way that their programme was expected to bring in new audiences when many other gallery pedagogies were not. From India's statement, I think that you can hear that the group is trying to demarcate some space of their own (theme 5). To use Rancière's terminology India is referring to a particular 'distribution of the sensible' and the question of who can speak and who is allowed to speak. That is not about who has the power to let *Raw Canvas* speak but rather is as Bingham and Biesta (2010, 140) refer to when they say, 'a particular distribution of the sensible in which some 'sound' exists as 'noise' and other sound exists as 'voice'. *Raw Canvas* want to be heard and therefore to have 'voice' and not to be seen and not listened to as 'noisemakers' would be. Bingham and Biesta also talk about the use of the word 'learner' and that with it is inscribed a 'lack', someone who has not yet learned and relies on the explanation of the master. They extend this idea to consider speech and the 'learner' as the subject of education and dependent on explanation. The learner cannot yet speak and won't be able to until the 'end of education has arrived' (Bingham and Biesta, 2010: 141). Until then, they can only produce noise and only through the educator's explanation of meaning can they come to speech. *Raw Canvas* are trying to create a new 'distribution of the sensible' within Tate's own police order in which participants voices can be heard speaking. The use of the label 'participant' suggests active agency rather than 'lack' that might be suggested by the term 'learner'. Although Bingham and Biesta consider that the term 'learner' implies a 'lack' it is Rancière's whole project to reconsider and rewrite the fixed use of such terminologies and so in those terms there is potential for the word 'learner' to be re-inscribed with meaning and potentially freed from such negative connotations.

In Rancierian terms the *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders interrogate and demand speech. Their prompt questions don't tell participants what to think instead they follow in the same lines as Rancière's three-part question that is used to summon the equality of intelligences and that seeks out the will which sets the student on the right path: What do you see? What do you think about it? What do you make of it? Like

Rancière *Raw Canvas* demand speech and then they verify that the 'work of intelligence is done with attention' (Rancière, 1991: 29).

'*What is at the heart of emancipatory education, therefore, is the act of revealing "an intelligence to itself"' (Rancière, 1991: 28 cited in Bingham and Biesta, 2010: 137).*

Raw Canvas' insistence on the learners ability and right to speak and the collaborative exchange (equality of intelligences) that avoids the problems associated with having one master explicator *could* make this learning model emancipatory.

Emancipatory education can therefore be characterised as education that starts from the assumption that all students can speak—or to be more precise: that all students can already speak. It starts from the assumption that students neither lack a capacity for speech, nor that they are producing noise. It starts from the assumption, in other words, that students already are speakers (Biesta, 2010: 142).

Through the workshop transcript that follows, I will explore this idea and look for evidence of whether such emancipation was actually possible within the context.

The group, are led up the escalator (see fig. 5) and arrive in the monographic Anselm Keifer display on Level 5 (see fig. 7). The first invited expert, Greg prepares to speak (see fig. 8). He was invited by the *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders. He has been given a set of prompt questions to help structure his looking and his responses. Greg is not familiar with looking at or talking about art. He has visited the gallery the day before with his friend Hannah, who is one of the *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders. He has chosen this work and he and Hannah have talked about it. During that conversation, Hannah has used the prompt questions as a guide for their discussion. The prompt questions appear over:

1. Who am I?

Why are you here? What would you normally be doing on a Friday evening?

2. Right now.

Have you ever done this before? Why is it important that you are doing this? How does it make you feel? Are you nervous? Are you happy?

3. Trust your instincts.

What are your first impressions of the work? What were the first words that came into your head? What is it saying to me?

4. Describe it.

What's it made of? How big is it?

5. Ask the artist?

What's the message? Why did you make it?

6. This reminds me?

What does it remind you of?

7. Love it or hate it?

Does it hit the mark? Does it make you explode with happiness or shake with rage? What are you looking for in an artwork? What makes it successful? What would you do differently?

8. What question would you like to ask the artist?

Why is it shown in this way?

9. Ask the audience?

How does it feel to be in a gallery with this artwork? Would you put it in your house?

10. When and where?

Would you think differently if it were in a library?

As the expert, Greg has been invited to speak for 5 minutes about a work he has chosen. To be free of the oppression of needing to appreciate certain pre-selected works it is important that this is his choice not the choice of *Raw Canvas*. This follows the Freirian model of an 'educational project' carried out with the oppressed rather than 'systematic education' done to the oppressed. It is important that Greg is empowered to make the choice and that *Raw Canvas* support that by allowing his interests to lead. He says:

Greg: I have always found it quite difficult to engage, cause it's kinda like a vicious cycle. I don't really know anything so I don't really have a way in, as it were…. And so I thought this might be a good way to achieve that, to learn a bit more about art. My first impressions of this, I am not even sure what it is called, but the first thing I thought was like a big slayed beast of some kind some kind of mythical thing that you might get in a kid's story or in your dream, because obviously it is a tree, but the root here with all the little roots coming off, looks like a head and hair and then a body and then some kind of horrific leg system. And then all of these, I don't even know what to call them, panels or whatever, they didn't really register when I first came in they were just some other thing in the background that didn't quite seem important and it took me a while to register, it took me a while to look at it, before I even started thinking of these. When I did it started reminding me of fossils in a museum, like if you went to the Natural History Museum and you would see little bones like these from some little animals or old plants and their colours, the white there, and then the strange background (strange isn't a very good word), but yeah like some kind of fossil anyways.

Greg's narrative introduces a different aspect of pedagogy: its personal challenge. He is performing a self-curated pedagogy (Atkinson, 2011) and here his motivation to take part is the will for self-improvement, as he sees it. He says that he wants 'to learn a bit more about art'. Greg excuses his choice of language by indicating that he thinks that 'strange isn't a very good word'. Even though he 'doesn't really know anything [about art],' he is conscious to use special language when talking about art. He expresses his feeling that nonspecific words like 'strange' that are used in normal talk are inappropriate here.

For *Raw Canvas,* Greg is the learning subject and they have created a pedagogy, in the form of a set of prompt questions, that guide his looking and his responses.

Greg: [reading from the prompts] So 'what is it made of'… a tree. A real palm tree I'm assuming, I can't smell anything but I don't know. And various objects bits hair and branches and things like clay and babies' clothes arranged in little panels.

Obviously it's huge and one of things that struck me about it is it's kind of overwhelming, like you can't be in the room without feeling it all around you. I don't know it kinda weighs down around you quite hard, and I am pretty sure it's intentional, I mean you wouldn't make something this huge and not realize it, but I am not quite sure why the artist would have wanted it to be so big.

In the next section Greg is responding to the prompt question 'What is it saying to me?' Greg struggles with this question (he is being constructed in a particular way by the question: theme 2). He doesn't know how to answer it. The question itself comes from an attitude to art and semiotics that suggests a metaphysic of representation: that art objects can metaphorically 'talk' to the viewer. Greg expresses the fact that he has struggled with this before: the idea of art works 'saying' something and he doesn't seem convinced about this. It is a very art specific question and in order to respond to it he has to agree with the assertion. Where is Greg's opportunity to disagree with this? Or to explore the ideas that an artwork contains meaning which contrasts with the notion that the affect of art is to generate meaning.

This part connects to my theme about audiences (theme 4) as here Greg is participant/visitor/audience and struggling to adopt the consciousness of the organisation as he grapples with whether or not the artwork can speak. This illuminates the dominant ideology. In critical hermeneutical thought, there is an aporia, which concerns 'the interpreter's ability or inability to escape the constraints of power and authority structures' (Gallagher, 1992: 239). It is useful to consider critical hermeneutics in this chapter because it offers more possibilities for the learner's emancipation through gallery learning than the conservative and

moderate hermeneutics, which dominate within Tate at present. Jurgen Habermas claims that 'depth hermeneutics' can 'actually move us beyond constrained communication to a reflective emancipation' (Gallagher, 1992: 239-240).

Communication about modern and contemporary art is ideological in this context. I discussed the ideologies expressed by learning curators during the last chapter. Here we can see the impact of an ideology of art in which the object is considered to contain signs and symbols (meaning) for the viewer to read. This is a representational paradigm in which meaning is assumed to pre-exist. In this way, it can be described as 'speaking' to the viewer. Greg is not comfortable with this ideology within his interpretive framework. The power structure of teacher and learner emerges in this situation and supports a view that he does not accept. He requires an interpretive critique that enables him to escape from ideas, which constrain his communication.

critical theory requires a hermeneutical ability to escape from the domination of repressive traditions and to attain an ideologically neutral, tradition-free, prejudice-free communication (Gallagher, 1992: 240).

The principles of critical hermeneutics may help Greg to critique this powerful ideology that he presently finds bewildering rather than him just having to accept it as tradition. The ideology of *Raw Canvas* strongly states 'your opinion goes here' and therefore, by implication, that your opinion will not be subjected to judgement or critique. This is in order to create a situation that is inclusive and open to new audiences. Rather than trusting that an interpretation is right critical hermeneutics proposes a normative position of suspicion, rather than trust. Perhaps because of the insistence on sociability and welcoming new participants the *Raw Canvas* ideology is over-dependent on trust, always choosing to support rather than challenge the learner. But the result is that a new participant like Greg is not given the opportunity to explore the ideology itself but instead expected to accept that artwork really can 'speak'. This may be a false consciousness for Greg as learner and,

as such, it is repressive. There are links emerging between critical pedagogy's focus on language as a medium of domination, Bourdieu's 'symbolic violence', Rancière's 'dissensus' and 'distribution of the sensible' and Freire 'coming-into-consciousness'. All of these locate the problem of power relations that critical pedagogies set out to address. The hermeneutical factors of interpretation and tradition are distorted and determined by the extra hermeneutical factors of economic status and social class (Gallagher, 1992).

These factors constrain interpretation and communication just as much as language and particular traditions do (Gallagher, 1992: 242).

Critical hermeneutics is useful here for understanding peer-led pedagogies and potentially mapping out a way forward. The gallery's pedagogic approach in this instance could show more interest or willingness to explore Greg's consciousness rather than encouraging him to adopt an idea that is alien to him. Does he need specific art training to appreciate this work fully? Certainly the agenda of widening participation would say that he does not but the pedagogy does require him to accept certain metaphysical perceptions as facts such as the idea that an artwork can 'speak'.

Looking at the dialogue it seems that what may have been more fruitful would have been to stop talking about the Kiefer piece and talk instead about whether or not a work *can* 'say something to you'. Such an approach would have more potential for achieving one of the programmes aims: breaking down the perceived barriers around modern and contemporary art, or indeed any art where there is an assumption of prior meaning. The pedagogy's apparent inability to do this is something that I have returned to often in this thesis when I have talked about the invisible codes that surround participation in the art gallery. It points to the fact that the Freirian 'banking model' is still evident in some aspects of gallery education practice as Greg cannot challenge or question the apparent 'truth' of art being able to 'speak' as it is grounded in a metaphysics of representation and the idea of the

creative agent of the artist. It also forces Greg into a subordinated position of acceptance rather than an equal intelligence as has existed so far.

What's it saying to me? This is something I have always found really difficult, I don't know. It definitely has to do with death and things decaying and that kind of thing and er, these backgrounds make me think of a dream, a dream fantasy world, well more like a nightmare, something that might be in your dream and you don't know what's going on. And I don't know what it's saying. It's kinda scary but that's all it's saying to me really. Does it remind me of anything? And err! Does it remind me of anything? [Voice tails off, pauses, crinkling paper, voice raises and quietly asks] How many minutes have I got left, how many have I used? (Greg)

Raw Canvas *peer-leader Hannah answers: 'you've got one more minute'*

Greg: ok I can probably do that [Greg is struggling to think of things to say]

Hannah prompts: 'personal experience' or 'do you like it?'

I don't know if I like it, I find it really difficult to say 'yes I like a piece of art or no I don't like a piece of art' it makes me think and I find it interesting I could stand here for 20 minutes probably looking at it but I don't know if that necessarily means I like it. (Greg)

In the dialogue above Greg says, 'It's kinda scary but that's all it's saying to me'. He says 'it's kinda scary' because he thinks that not being able to hear what the work is 'saying to him' makes him shallow, he sees it as negative. He does not see that the notion of art 'talking' is a construct. An artwork can't talk and he could choose to assert that opinion but he accedes to the authority of the symbolic power governing interpretation at the gallery. We are socially conditioned to believe that more complex and deeper thinking is better especially in relation to modern and contemporary art. But *Raw Canvas*' widening participation slogan is 'your opinion goes here', Greg's opinion is that the artwork can't talk but he is not able to develop this idea in this context. What went wrong? Are *Raw Canvas* unwittingly concealing some truths about the ways in which interpretations are legitimated at the gallery in order to build audiences?

Another participant voice is heard from the back of the audience group and develops Greg's analysis; clearly, this is someone who knows more about Keifer than Greg does. They say:

Participant 1 (P1): It's kind of like one at the Smithsonian where there was [inaudible] running down the hills and stuff there was a lot about crystallography, he was quite good friends with Donald Judd so there was lots of plants and stuff...

Participant 1 is trying to help Greg out by starting a conversation about the work. The conversational gambit throws Greg and he doesn't respond. He is under pressure as the speaker and as the expert when confronted by another perhaps more knowledgeable expert. Pedagogically it's always difficult to judge how long to give someone to struggle and when to offer them a life line. Learning is not always easy and the struggle is sometimes an important part of a significant realisation, alternatively the struggle can be humiliating for the learner. So interestingly, although Greg is cast as 'expert' *Raw Canvas* support him as a learner. The pedagogic intent of the sessions is to teach the audience by giving them a platform from which to speak and guiding or supporting them in that position. They are a new audience after all so they do fulfill the audience development brief in terms of the participants' demographic. So, the new audience is conceived as an expert with important experiences to bring to their interpretation of the art on show. To avoid Greg being undermined by this in his exposed position at the front of the group the artist educator quickly adds:

Artist Educator addresses Greg: What are you looking for in art? What would make it successful?

This interjection brings the talk back to Greg and away from a discussion about the artwork. This is an illustration of the sliding scale where the experienced educator decides whether to push the questioning closer to the artwork and risk over challenging the learner or to remain with the learner, the decision is based on perceived ability and the learner's resilience to challenge. The educator clearly

reads this situation as one in which Greg mustn't be exposed as lacking. This is quite right as the educator has a moral obligation to protect the learner's vulnerability. However it means that the discussion of the artwork is limited and the knowledgeable other speaker (P1) does not find a way to have their point developed.

Greg: What makes art successful?
I think it depends on the individual piece of artwork, I don't think I come along thinking I want to see things that look good or that it has nice colours or something, I mean that might be aesthetically pleasing to me but it would not necessarily mean I would think, yeah, this is brilliant so I suppose it completely depends on the individual I think this is great actually, I do I do. I think a massive part of it is so huge and so overwhelming.

Raw Canvas *India: would you like it if it was small?*

Peer leader Cadi: I would like to know how they got it in there?

Greg: I don't really care about that is seems kinda irrelevant to me.

Artist Educator: because the piece makes you forget you are in a gallery

Greg: yeah a little bit. I really… because I was looking at some of the other ones. The only one that made me think 'oh how did they do that' was the bricked up doorway around the corner, that was the only one even though a lot of these are physical and big that was the only one that seems a bit funny the rest of them I dunno I suppose I expect to see things like this in an art gallery.

Part of Greg's expertise is that he has fresh ideas and can see art in an alternative way because he is not conditioned by art training and so, with his responses and interpretations, he brings *Raw Canvas* closer to the non-expert public. This is very useful for them as this is the audience that *Raw Canvas* are trying to recruit. The mechanics of the behind the scenes activity to get the art into the gallery is not interesting to Greg. Nor is he surprised by what he sees there, he knows that he is in a gallery of modern and contemporary art and so he expects to see things that look 'a bit funny'. The peer-leaders question: 'I would like to know how they got it in there? ' is a practical one stemming from the fact that this young person is studying

on an Art Foundation course and therefore tackling such questions of the physicality of objects all the time. It is not a priority for Greg.

Peer leader Cadi: Does anyone else have any contributions they'd like to make or observations? Is there anything you'd like to say in response?

Here the *Raw Canvas* peer-leader opens the discussion up to the rest of the group by welcoming their contributions. *Raw Canvas* designed the pedagogic approach with guidance from the artist educators. They have made it deliberately philanthropic (theme 3) by inviting young people to speak. By inviting the experts as volunteers (they are not paid for their time) they are asking the experts to share the idea that art is a worthwhile cause, a good activity and worth giving up time for. So both expert and *Raw Canvas* are philanthropic subjects, *Raw Canvas* towards others and Greg towards himself. This is part of what motivates them to take part and so cannot be ruled out as unimportant. I asked one of the experts why he had agreed to take part. He said:

Expert 2: Cadi asked me to do it and it sounded fun and I thought maybe this would help me to appreciate art or understand more about art. I came yesterday with Cadi just to have a look at some things and she was getting me to think about these things [points to the typed prompt question] and getting me to talk about it a little bit deeper and it was a lot more enjoyable than in the past. It's kind of like you put a bit of work in and then you start getting something back out of it whereas I've never really put anything in before.

Expert 2 is motivated by self-learning in a similar way to Greg. He has been invited by one of *Raw Canvas* (Cadi) who has spent some preparation time in the gallery with him the day before. She has used some of her pedagogic knowledge to get him talking about the work. She has been successful in getting him to engage with the work, he says 'you put a bit of work in [to looking at art] and you start to get something back'. He is surprised by this and has enjoyed it despite having mixed feelings about art in the past. Cadi's pedagogic approach is philanthropic; she wants him to be engaged with the art and to enjoy it as she feels that he will get something

out of it if he does. Cadi places value on the works in the gallery, she has taken part in the planning sessions that India talks about in the opening introduction. Expert 2 talks about putting something in and getting something back out of it, this is philanthropic in the sense that rather than learning something directly a fact for example he appreciates the self-development that he can achieve so his view is that the artwork does him some good, there is value in it. This is less about philanthropy for the 'good' of others and more for the good of the self (theme 3).

There is a tension emerging between *Raw Canvas*' desire to hear from people who are new to art and the new audiences desire to learn to appreciate art. The open pedagogy prompts rather than leads attempts to navigate this tension by encouraging self-learning. In the following extracts *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders Catharine and Eleonora emphasise the importance of collaboration and taking part both by leading the interpretation of certain works and then by opening up the discussion to the rest of the group and welcoming all comments and interactions. They do this verbally as above and they reinforce the approach in their introduction to the session when they say:

Peer-leader Catherine: at some point during the evening we're going to collaborate on a five minute discussion.

Peer-leader Eleanora: Hello everyone, this is We are all Experts*, I think you all know that but as we go through the gallery hopefully someone else will join in.* We are all Experts *is basically bringing new voices to the gallery. What we are going to do is that each one of our experts is going to talk for five minutes in front of an artwork and then we're all going to join in.*

Eleanora says that she'd like other people to join in, she stresses that the workshop is about bringing new voices to the gallery and in her outline of what is going to happen during the session she says that after the experts have spoken 'we're all going to join in'. The emphasis on participation is clear and the desire for new voices is built into the pedagogy of the session itself.

Raw Canvas's openness to other people joining in is also clearly expressed through their visual presence in the gallery where they hold placards. They make themselves prominent in the space. Partly this serves to claim territory in the gallery and also it acts as a signpost so that passers by can identify them and join in. On the placards, there are prompt questions so that onlookers can understand the approach and some of the objectives of the discussion, this makes it easier for a passer-by to participate (see figures 5, 6, 7 and 8).

Back to the dialogue between Greg and the other participants at the *We are all Experts* workshop:

Participant 1: I like what you said about thinking outside of the gallery space, and I think that's really cool to consider the artist as a consultant of you know we are in this world, what's here? Right we've got these trees they're amazing lets just bring them into the gallery space and alienate it and then… [looks around]… fantastic.

Participant 2:I think it's interesting that you were talking about dreams and stuff. That bit struck me like the tiny dresses it is kinda like childhood, but surreal and I dunno, I love it because anyone could relate to it in some way shape or form.

Peer leader Hannah: It's interesting because you were saying about how natural it is like really earthy natural colours but like how you were saying it is really surreal it is at the same time, and that is interesting because you usually wouldn't associate something earthy and real with something surreal and dreamlike.

These participants are performing locally curated pedagogies and they are inevitably different from the educators' pedagogies because they rely on personal interpretation. These educator pedagogies demand that personal interpretation is subjected to peer review in the form of discussion, debate and sharing ideas, a kind of agonism as discussed earlier from Mouffe and rather like the *agora* which was the place in the Greek City where citizens met and debated. It is convivial but the debate need not be consensual, this allows for disagreement to take place. The narratives from each of these participants contributes ideas to the ongoing discussion about Keifer's work, each has their own personal interpretation of the work. In fact we could describe those interpretations as a personal learning project as it draws from

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their own past experiences and things they have seen before. They offer them up so that they can inform each other and that is useful. Through such discussion they also validate or not one another's ideas. Greg's interpretation, his 'self-learning project' was the catalyst.

Participant 3: And it's not all beautiful either like parts of it are decaying, I dunno. And I like that about it, like it's got a dress or something quite worn but it looks decayed and not quite so beautiful anymore.

Participant 3 comments retaining the theme of clothing from the previous comment but this time incorporating the analogy to nature suggested by Peer leader Hannah.

Peer leader Hannah: Did the words strike you at all when you were looking at it?

Greg: Sighs. I didn't really notice them. I think because there is so much happening it is easy to overlook them. [Laughs]

The words did not form a part of Greg's self curated pedagogy

RC India: maybe like he is bringing this tree in but it is a dead tree, uprooted tree, and then he has painted white over all of it lost all it life and everything

RC Hannah: White is a pure colour as well, like you would not usually associate white with something that is decaying or dead.

All participants are picking up on a comment just made and using it to expand their own narratives. They are constructing their own knowledge out of this discussion. The piecing together of meaning that we see here is very much a part of engaging with modern and contemporary art. It demonstrates the challenge that is always there, a challenge that makes the experience of art thought-provoking and exciting. There is no predetermined outcome for this discussion; all participants are left to grasp at meaning. A bit like a transductive process in which a crystal in solution grows as an intrinsic part of that the solution, they are in a symbiotic relationship.

Here the dialogue develops in a transductive way as each speaker influences it's trajectory.

Artist Educator: It must have taken a very long time to make. Do you think they visualised it before they made it. Did they have a plan?

P1:I think they probably decided to compartmentalise it and create this pattern. But then, as you go, other things get involved the intricacies of the materials

Peer-leader Hannah: It must have been made for this space or for a very similar one.

RC India: It is really purposely made like to look really naturally occurring like these burn marks and dried earth but is super manipulative, not natural, the timescale of making.

Participant 4: Ever since you said it looked like it was from mars I can't stop thinking it was from another planet, even the palm tree is like a palm tree on mars, I like it, I think its good but you know its confusing. Who's the artist?

Greg: Anselm Keifer

P4: Aah [non the wiser]

P5: I think it's more sinister. There's a man trap up there or a crown of thorns or a chastity belt or something.

Greg: The white dresses remind me of a little music box doll when you get in an awful horror film when the music box is playing and you know something horrific is about to happen.

P6: actually the writing is what disturbs me most about the piece of art because it's all references to Christianity in German and in Latin actually especially these ones with the trap and everything reference Mary, it's a very sinister picture of Christianity and I am still trying to find out what the picture of Christianity of the artist is and what he was trying to express about Christianity in this.

P5: It's not very positive.

RC Cadi: because it's about palm Sunday, are we all agreed on that?.. but just thought about why the tree has fallen over and maybe that means something it is quite a statement to make {laughs}

P7: The red clay makes me think of things dead and drying up. And also, mastering the earth. The human artefacts mixed in with dying is interesting.

P1: I think the red stuff is a very heavy part seems to symbolize mass and weight which is perhaps in contrast to the Christian references maybe it's something to do with a kind of evolution and it's called 'Energy in Process' plus there's a bit of evangelism.

RC India: It doesn't strike me as religious at all 'cause you see religious art as really gold and ornate and on some kind of pedestal and stuff. Goes back to something pagan, religion is the last thing I thought of when I saw this, but maybe it's because of the way we have manipulated religion.

P5: or the way religion has manipulated us.

In these extracts of narrative exchange it is clear to see that the audience member/expert, Greg takes the lead and *Raw Canvas* follow the discussion. It is not 'teacher' led. This dynamic is motivating for the participants who want to get involved. The audience (theme 4), are perceived as future friends, not just participants and certainly not 'learners'. Although they do curate the pedagogy throughout *Raw Canvas,* do not perceive themselves as having anything to teach. They see their role as host and catalyst but not expert. This is akin to Rancière's 'equality of intelligences'. In talking about the figure of the child in Rancière and Freire described in Bingham and Biesta (2009) who recount the learning subject who is not-yet-able to think for themselves. *Raw Canvas* do not want to construct the learning subject (theme 2) in that way and so they use the word 'participant' to describe the learner because it implies a more appropriate level of active agency.

The gallery is a public space (theme 5) and as such people usually self-regulate in terms of adhering to the rules of the gallery. *Raw Canvas* is constantly under-surveillance from the gallery assistants but the public nature means that there is never an issue about discipline or unacceptable behaviour during workshops. Their construction (theme 2) as peer-leaders enables them to be learner and educator, interpreter and speaker. It does not enable them to be artist or maker.

There is no one definitive learner and one definitive educator to be located through these narrative accounts of the work. I have described the process by which the idea

for the workshop and the concepts to be explored were collaboratively developed by myself as programme curator, the Artist Educators, *Raw Canvas* peer-leaders and their invited speakers. As a result, the pedagogy is continually shaped and the role of the learner changes hands many times. This is, as Rancière and Freire would describe, an emancipatory learning experience. Although *Raw Canvas* speak a lot they are learning too, there is no 'master explicator 'as Rancière would describe it. The exchange is philanthropic (theme 3) because of the widening participation agenda from which it comes which construct the audience (theme 4) as learners in need of help and support. This is disruptive to the pedagogic process in which agonism and dissensus would provide a useful lever for opening up ideas, fractures and areas for further discussion. Such philanthropic practices are unhelpful to the goal of education because they limit the extent of what the learner can learn.

The most striking aspect of *Raw Canvas* pedagogy is the informal way in which activities are conducted. Whilst, at the time, I was in no doubt that this was an important part of *Raw Canvas* events it made me very uncomfortable as an educator/manager because my instinct was always to tidy up the activities to cut out some of the milling around and to make them more productive in terms of the production of knowledge. My imagined subject (theme 1) was on a journey of discovery about art. Whilst for *Raw Canvas* the production of new friends and social bonds in such a free-floating atmosphere was the most important. For them the process of leading the group was deeply subjective and the imagined other was someone with whom they would create a conducive atmosphere with and then share some ideas about art. *Raw Canvas* allowed the events to unfold and for people to self-direct themselves within it. This is connected to notions of critical hermeneutics and the possibilities of the emancipation of the learner through gallery learning. Critical thinking is one of the main skills to be gained through gallery workshops and critical hermeneutics is useful for understanding the theoretical basis for some of *Raw Canvas*' activities because they construct pedagogy that is open and free-flowing and critical hermeneutics is a clear attempt 'to arrive

at unrestrained communication' (Gallagher, 1992, 239). However, there is a tension that I was affected by in which the educator faces a challenge between a position of rigorous criticality in relation to the artwork or supportive nurturing in relation to the learner. This position is constantly being negotiated. In chapter 5, I talked about a sliding scale between artwork and learner that the educator moves along depending on the educational needs of the situation. In the situation described above I am feeling that the activity is too learner focused and lacking criticality. The problem with this lack of criticality is that it may force young people to accept the dominant ideology as there is limited opportunity within the socially based pedagogy for critique, dissensus or agonism as the social nature emphasises the desire for a convivial atmosphere. It also presents a problem in relation to the point of the activity or rather what is to be learned. A truism that counteracts the will to become entirely open and inclusive is that 'schooling, regardless of its master, is always a form of imposition' (Wood, 1984: 231). As we have seen from the workshop dialogue self-learning is a powerful pedagogic tool in this context.

Emancipation cannot be delivered from outside' (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1986: 65).

Whilst the open approach to knowledge and learning is one that I subscribe to I am concerned that it failed to retain young people who came from communities where a more conservative attitude to knowledge and learning prevailed. I'm thinking particularly of some young people from minority ethnic communities like the 'Street Genius' boys, who were second-generation African immigrants, I talked about in chapter 5. For these learners the authority of tradition was important. In generating a meaningful educational experience for them, I needed to adopt a more conservative hermeneutical approach and to appreciate the importance of local hermeneutical models.

We can see in Freire's educational proposals a model for local hermeneutics. A local hermeneutics would first study existing interpretations in order to describe, explain, and evaluate them. It would not, for example, be a predetermined principle (Gallagher, 1992: 338).

In working with the Street Genius boys, I was using a predetermined principle or ideology of non-reproductive interpretation. This did not adequately take account of the learner. I was uncomfortable with taking a reproductive or conservative approach believing, perhaps wrongly, that this was ideologically weak. In proposing a critical hermeneutic approach as a way forward with educational work in galleries it may be wrong to claim that such an approach would not include any reproduction of knowledge. Placing too great an emphasis on the problems associated with cultural 'reproduction' could be distracting here, instead to reconsider cultural traditions in a contemporary context is valuable for teachers *and* learners. To unravel this 'knot' it is useful to consider how tradition is relevant in today's world and how traditions are allowed to evolve and mutate rather than simply to be reproduced.

In chapter 4, I explored hermeneutics and discovered that the pedagogies of display at Tate are governed by a conservative hermeneutical approach whilst the hermeneutics of learning activities belong to a moderate hermeneutical approach. As such learning at Tate maintains that interpretation is productive and transformative rather than simply reproductive. In educational experience, like the one seen in this workshop, the process is one of 'both assimilation and accommodation' where assimilation takes place under a tradition-informed schema but the schema is constantly being modified in the process of the learner accommodating new knowledge (Gallagher, 1992: 263).

Bourdieu maintains that the habitus of the student influences how and what they will learn, it instills particular values (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). If education is built around particular values and traditions, which reflect a particular social grouping and ignores those of other social groups, then it is likely to reproduce the former at the expense of the latter. As such, education is always reproductive; in critiquing Bourdieu and Passeron Gallagher contests that 'there is never pure

reproduction or a pure transformation; the actuality is somewhere in between those abstract extremes' (Gallagher, 1992: 266). For Gallagher the fact that 'sociologists declare that all education imposes the dominant culture' is to over simplify. Gallagher points to adopting a more conservative approach when the situation demands it. In the context of the Street Genius project, it is not pure conservation of tradition that is required but openness to evolution in which traditions are allowed to mutate. Such an approach feels as if it would be more learner-focussed and achieve greater results in terms of widening participation.

Freire's literacy teams are required to do preliminary research in order to ascertain the nature of the particular or local constraints that define the educational situation before they define their critical pedagogies (Gallagher, 1992: 274).

Gallery education programmes that 'target' particular audiences could do similar in order to establish useful pedagogies and crucially out of respect for the socio-cultural context of prospective learners. That 'critical conversation is characterised by *both* autonomy and authority' (Gallagher, 1992: 271) is a fundamental ambiguity not to be resolved but to be recognised.

Conclusion

Cultural organisations should not hold a monopoly on culture sanctioning only the artworks contained within their own collections. I have explored the purpose of the gallery, it's collection and it's role within cultural learning especially in relation to the working class boy that Toby describes. The learner's subjectivity as constructed here is perceived as lacking in culture rather than having culture of his own. Under which circumstances are learners' cultural identities explored at Tate? I talked in chapter 5 about the negative response to the skate park that *Raw Canvas* created. This was an opportunity for those young people to bring their cultural influences to the gallery and to showcase and celebrate them there. This was not considered positive and yet those learner identities, as locally based youth, were highly prized by the gallery in economic terms. *Raw Canvas* set out to create 'culture vultures' but it appears that the gallery's definition of 'culture' was too narrow to embrace young people's cultural interests in more than a peripheral way. Gallagher and Freire propose locally produced pedagogy to best meet the needs of specific communities. What though of learning programmes in which the cohort of learners is mixed, representing many communities? Rancière's approach suggests a more personal system for learning. Perhaps this is the way forward?

In this chapter, I have presented data from two sources. This data is seen through the lens of themes listed at the beginning of the chapter coupled with the theorising of Freire and Rancière. I began by asking 'how the learner as subject is imagined in this pedagogical practice?' In the context of youth programmes the learner is imagined (theme 1) as someone who needs support someone who is 'lacking' in Bingham and Biesta's terms. This contrasts with the construction of the learner in programmes for adults, where the learner is already motivated and can handle the challenging nature of the pedagogic relations. The agenda of widening participation has been very instrumental in the development of youth programmes and less of a feature of schools or public programmes development. We can see this from the *Raw Canvas* workshop in which the least art literate participants receive the most

focused attention and encouragement. This is not a display of 'equal intelligences' but is in fact more indicative of the 'banking method'. Conservative, moderate and critical pedagogies are employed depending on the needs of the learner. The more art literate participants are left a little more room to fend for themselves: and the pedagogy is moderate with more room for criticality. This constructs learners in particular ways (theme 2).

Through the themes that I have explored there is an underlying sense of philanthropy (theme 3) at the gallery aimed towards helping those who are less confident or less familiar with the place this can be exercised at the expense of those who are more confident or familiar. A philanthropic attitude is natural for people who value art and want other people to do the same. This philanthropy can be put to good use but it sometimes hampers any real discussion about art from developing. This could be seen as patronising to the new comer.

Young people want to be heard although they are familiar with being conceived as 'noisemakers'. To become speakers Rancière says that the hegemony has to change. *Raw Canvas* attempted to do this by constructing a pedagogy that starts from the assumption that participants are already speakers. There is an underlying philanthropy (theme 3) coupled with the creation of an agonistic space (theme 5) of encounter and dialogue.

The educational programmes that I have gathered data from are concerned with person-formation (theme 2) or learner transformation rather than formal assessment methods. In the curator interviews, the learner is imagined as being from a similar background to the curator. They are rebellious, seeking alternatives to escape the confines of family upbringing: but what if the learner seeks new experiences but does not want to change? Learners who broadly share the background that is prevalent in the institution are able to experience the new without the fracture of change.

In this chapter I also asked 'does the pedagogy presume a particular subject?' It is clear from the pedagogies employed in *We are all Experts* that there is an assumption about the learner already having a level of criticality and the ability to ask questions. The learner is assumed to be someone who knows the basic codes/value of art as at no point are those unwritten symbolic references explained (theme 1 and 2). What has become evident is that whilst the *Raw Canvas* programme struggled with who to engage and how to engage them there were some strong interactions around art works. If the overarching goal is to broaden audiences then is challenging, critical pedagogy appropriate in this environment? Or would an approach that was initially more conservative be more successful in building links with hard-to-reach audiences?

The limitations of such strategies for inclusion are that they work exclusively within a particular 'distribution of the sensible', to use Rancière's vocabulary. The symbolic and real power that surrounds them has a significant influence on the pedagogies that are constructed. However much of an aspiration it was, those pedagogies did not reconfigure the distribution of the sensible in any significant way. Whether, this is more to do with the pedagogies per se, or because of the overarching scholarly and conservative pedagogy of the organisation is hard to say. What is clear to me now is that the system of signs and insider art-knowledge must be constantly questioned to avoid it becoming a 'given'. The potential exclusivity of events with a social nature needs to be scrutinised and adjusted in future if they are to be inclusive.

Chapter 10
Where does this point for pedagogy?

In my thesis, I have investigated the socio-cultural factors that determine what and how young people learn in the art gallery. I have reflected on policy with reference to Selwood et al (1995) and Wallinger and Warnock (2000) and others. I have considered the reception of the art object (O'Neill and Wilson, 2010; Bal and Bryson (1991, 2001) and (Vergo, 1994). I have used the framework of hermeneutics offered by Gallagher (1992) and Heywood and Sandywell (1999) to consider the particular approaches to interpreting the art object used by Tate in educational and exhibition work. From there I focussed in on the pedagogies used by youth programmes; initially by looking at the defining features that separate gallery learning from school or college learning and went on to research critical pedagogies, Darder, A. Baltodano, Marta P. Torres, R. D. (2009) and social constructivist approaches, Hein (1998) in order to better understand the gallery pedagogies that have emerged. As gallery education is public facing in a way that compulsory and formal education is not I focussed much of my attention on exploring the ways in which relations with the audience are managed. I looked at the socio cultural factors that influence the learning that takes place in the gallery with particular interest in emancipatory pedagogies through research into Freire (1970), Rancière (1984, 1991, 2009) and Bourdieu (1984, 1990, 1997). I established a methodology that was responsive to the theoretical propositions that were thrown up by this research, and, I explored the vast archive of material about the *Raw Canvas* programme to test the theory in relation to the youth programme itself and vice versa to explore the youth programme by using the theory as a tool to locate recurring themes. I have interrogated my data using themes drawn from the theoretical investigations and have located three areas of particular interest: equality, inclusion and pedagogy.

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Inclusion

Socio cultural factors have a significant impact on the learning that takes place in particular the political and egalitarian drive towards including everyone in the arts. In the field of youth programmes this means creating opportunities for non-attenders and first time visitors. Anticipating these learners is problematic. Through my research, I have tried to locate who the unknown learner is, in educational terms, and in audience development terms, and I have discovered that the two are different. They are distinct and demand different types of pedagogy.

The research process has enabled me to view my data with criticality and also to see areas of potential for the future. Rancière's work on the 'equality of intelligences' in particular has helped me to see the limitations of some *Raw Canvas* pedagogies, the ones that aim at inclusion, and to shape potential pedagogies for the future in order to create more productive and equal relations with the audience.

Writing this thesis has been an attempt to understand the factors that enhance or constrain communication between workshop participant, educator and artwork. I have emerged with the conviction that the gallery education pedagogy is constrained by the tension that exists for the educator between a pedagogy that comes from art criticism and a pedagogy that comes from an inclusivity agenda. In the former, the learner is challenged by a criticality that disregards them, and in the latter, the learner is over protected and the pedagogy can be passive and unchallenging. The educator feels uncomfortable when the pedagogy is too soft. This discomfort comes from a sense of 'towing the line', of colluding with the inclusion agenda by which the institution benefits economically. In such circumstances, the learner does not benefit educationally they merely become part of the 'culture club' and lose out on a potentially valuable and productive learning experience. This kind of learning is reproductive. The autonomy afforded to gallery educators means that the direction they take is largely determined by the ideological position they take. At Tate Modern, although this was progressive, open and social it still led to inequality.

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Equality

Through my theoretical analysis I have questioned whether the original aim of 'making culture vultures' is valid in ethical and educational terms?

My insistence on the emancipatory nature of *Raw Canvas* was based on a utopian aspiration and because of the need for audience development as a requirement of my role I was in danger of over claiming the potential benefits of the programme by attempting to align with truly emancipatory pedagogies. In writing this thesis I have been able to question the supposed 'freedom' that is implicit within emancipatory aims: freed from what and to what? This led me on to focus on speech as a right, and as a freedom, and something young people learn to do. Some are listened to and some are not. Government reports 'Learning to Listen' (DCMS, 2003) and 'Every Child Matters' (2003) emphasise, amongst other things, the need to consult with young people and respect their opinions. In this research, I have explored the problems associated with creating pedagogic programmes to achieve such aims when the purpose is to create an equal opportunity for everyone. One socio cultural factor that determines what and how young people learn is their starting point. Working with mixed (by age and ability as well as by gender, ethnicity, class) cohorts of attendees in gallery education the starting point is not the same for everyone but we continually say that it is in order to give everyone the same chance. This does not work as a strategy and in order to provide a better chance we need to acknowledge the inequalities, accept them and start from there (Rancière, 1991).

The emphasis on the social, whilst extremely beneficial in engaging and maintaining audiences, can be a significant barrier to access. It would be helpful if future pedagogies could stop trying to create convivial and consensual relations and give young people the skills and confidence not just to speak but to agonise or 'trouble' the problems of interpretation: education should make young people critical of the world around them if it is to be empowering. Placing funding into the hands of big

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organisations dilutes the potential for this because they have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. Devolve funding so that smaller groups, who can occupy more neutral positions, can work with young people to explore 'culture' beyond that which belongs to the funded organisations collection. If the main reason for doing such work is to build audiences for an institution, rather than building cultural audiences in general, then the pedagogies employed are going to be directed towards the interests of the organisation and their 'Performance Indicators' rather than in favour of the best learning experience for the young people involved.

In order to discuss the notion of art for everyone we need to consider the function of art in society, either it is for social emancipation, revolutionary, an instrument of social vision or it sits in an aesthetic realm outside of society and occupies a purely aesthetic position immune to social issues (Mouffe, 2013).

Pedagogy

Schemes like *Raw Canvas*, where the audience programme their own events, disrupts the idea of simply consuming culture and introduces active and productive relations with high-culture. However, this activity remains on the margins of core gallery activities. Learning in museums sits at the intersection of policy and practice. It is influenced by: social justice, equity, inclusion, philosophy and theories about learning. As a result the ways of speaking used by culture professionals are often rhetorical by nature. They are 'sealed' which leads to them becoming normalised in the day to day communications of organisations internally and externally to the public and policy makers and as a result the value systems become invisible, organisational views appear neutral rather than making visible the particular positions occupied by them.

Where next?

This research process has enabled me to reflect upon my perceived failure to attract enough new audiences to Tate Modern. Through my research, I have become clearer that I, and the **Raw Canvas** group, were trying to achieve the impossible. It is too

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often that the responsibility for difficult widening participation initiatives falls within the job role of young, part time cultural workers when they should be recognised as issues for the whole organisation. This research has allowed me to explore the blocks and the barriers that prevent participation and to understand that there is a much bigger social and cultural issue that needs to be tackled by a radical change in attitudes towards inclusion/exclusion and cultural learning which I address in my policy recommendations at the end.

The distinctive contribution of this thesis to the field of art education in museums and galleries is that inclusion initiatives often fail to achieve the equality that they set out to create. Audience development should not be the primary objective of an educational programme, although it may be an important by product. Initiatives that are aimed at attracting new audiences need to be supported by a research framework to measure their success rather than relying solely on educators to achieve this goal. There is a great need to deconstruct the sea of rhetoric and philanthropic gesture that surrounds educational work in cultural settings as this risks strangling the real learning potential of engaging with art objects. By disassembling the taken-for-granted ideologies, which aim at inclusion, I have uncovered the processes by which widening participation initiatives often fail; in the reluctance to introduce pedagogies that are challenging to learners and the choice instead to adopt activities that are pleasant and/or fun. Adopting conservative attitudes towards art, education and traditional values is not the solution though as that risks alienating new comers and rendering the art museum a relic of times gone by. The barriers to inclusion are both pedagogic and attitudinal: many stem from British colonial history. They are to do with the ways in which audiences are imagined and constructed by the institution, rather than what they are actually taught.

In my thesis, I have unpicked the tensions that exist between policy and practice to understand the learning that takes place. It is this rhetorical speak that creates the

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barrier for new audiences as they are not given the opportunity to discuss the culture on show or question the fundamental values of that culture.

The once-common opinion of culture as being "not for the likes of us", or of museums as "dark and dusty places" filled with "stuffed birds in glass cases", is not easily eroded, despite the dramatic changes that have taken place across the sector in recent years (DCMS, 2007).

I strongly maintain that culture should and could be for everyone but we need to open it up more to discussion, and, in particular, to rethink the format of such dialogue and extend the possibilities for participation. I don't think places like the Tate can lead on this as their role is one of looking after the art in their care and this runs counter to pedagogies which aim to open up debate. In the end the cultural workers job is one of pedagogy and that can be open and inclusive or closed and exclusive. Museums and galleries can be encouraged to offer the former but the education department should not be held responsible for the organisations audience development – that is a cross organisational issue and perhaps even an issue for society as a whole to tackle. Educators should be set free to educate.

New theoretical ideas that have emerged since *Raw Canvas* are 'Agonism' (Mouffe, 2013), 'Dissensus' (Rancière, 2009) and 'Affect' (Deleuze in Badiou, 2000). All three are useful in counteracting some of the problems and offering up new ways of thinking about the value of working in the gallery with young people.

The recent shifts in curatorial strategies known as 'the pedagogical turn' (O'Neill & Wilson, 2010), suggest alternatives to institutional or state led education and a significant shift in the function of art and education. In discussion about this 'turn', we are able to reconsider 'what our efforts in the arts in relation to education make possible and for whom' (Graham, 129 in O'Neill & Wilson, 2010)? Strategies for such engagement are, by nature, continually in development. Beech presents 'three theories of the art encounter… relational, antagonistic and dialogical practice' which contribute to 'the emergence of a new social ontology of art' (ibid. Beech: 51). The
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move towards art taking a more responsive role in relation to society rather than a rarefied aesthetic or academic approach resonates with my findings. Graham cites the pedagogic investigations of Ferdnand Oury and Célestin Freinet in the 1960's for their 'self-reflexive mode of educational study' (Freinet) and the individual relations with their class, school and wider community (Oury) (O'Neill and Wilson, 2010).

The status of culture at Tate is continually called into question here and rather than simply taking that culture to a new generation of young people it holds the most potential if we can help them to acquire the critical skills required to interrogate it. The cultural organisation has to continue to loosen up it's tight hold on the interpretation of such works as it has been doing through young people generated podcasts, gallery tours and the like. This type of project should be prioritised in order to enable other cultural interests to have a stake in the gallery.

The paradox between the gallery as political and the gallery as academic space is negotiated on a daily basis by the gallery staff. In itself, this will not change but what is critical is a greater awareness of the impact of politics on educational programmes, not least to avoid young curators like I was from trying to achieve the impossible. My labour was used as an 'instrument of state management' in bringing in and civilising new audiences (Graham, 2010, 126). Graham's question: what do our efforts in the arts make possible and for whom?' (Graham, 2010: 129) remains a touchstone for my conscience as an educator.

In the end the driving force has to be about the art, rather than audience development, and a decision must be made either it's about encouraging people to think about art or inviting people to think. If we encourage people to think about the art in our care then we are at best teaching critical engagement and at worst a form of art appreciation. However, if we provide young people with thinking skills then they can apply those skills as they wish: to art, politics, life and so on. These are transferable skills and useful as such. Education ought to empower young people to

take a critical stance. Such questioning and criticality is simply an underlying principle of existence.

Policy recommendations

In the light of my concluding discussion of this research, I believe that the following recommendations should be implemented:

Audience development should not be an unspoken, hidden or implicit element in the educators' role. New posts should be created in which audience researchers are employed as core staff members. This is not currently the case in public facing organisations. In this way, educators can be freed up to create learning content not recruitment strategies. Audience knowledge ought to be gathered by appropriately trained researchers working alongside learning, visitor service and exhibition teams. The delivery of research and evaluation is currently done by independent researchers: this is financially unsustainable for arts organisations. Although external research projects are valuable, there should also be audience research roles created as core staff posts in public-facing institutions. Researcher posts would enable a much more intensive planning and awareness process coupled with constant reflection in the form of research into the outcomes of projects.

In cultural organisations we need to continually ask questions about who defines what quality is. Who judges quality? What is quality? Whose values are we using? Philanthropic or benevolent gesture, however well intentioned, is off-putting to potential new audiences. Challenging pedagogic content is much more rewarding than empty audience development initiatives aimed at 'catching' new audiences. To avoid falling into soft-idealism cultural learning needs to be evaluated according to what has been learned rather than how enjoyable the experience was for participants as is currently the case.

It is important to allow for debate: art is a contentious subject. Too great a focus on sociability can lead to exclusive events that appeal to like-minded people. Where a mixed audience is desired, leave room for discussion and argument to take place. This will allow for a range of ideas to be expressed, not just those that are in agreement with each other. Ranciere's ideas about 'dissensus' are useful here (Ranciere, 2010). Ranciere gives us a framework in which disagreement is profitable. These ideas are extremely useful in the context of cultural learning. There is a marked difference between 'community' and 'publics' in which the former suggests harmony and the latter allows for individuals. What needs to be encouraged is a dissensual space within which publics 'come together' around issues which are debated. This is close to Mouffe's ideas about 'agonism' in which she demarcates the importance for disagreement in public relations (Mouffe, 2013). The cultural space is a place where representational practices or 'ways of seeing' can be challenged in order to open up new or modified ways of seeing: not for the purpose of conversion but to open up potentials.

Personal learning for all is too idealistic in the context of cultural learning because we can never really know the audience in such brief encounters. We need to open up 'dissensual' spaces and the pedagogic strategies we create have to be able to anticipate difference but, create ways in which this can be embraced and built upon. This creates a challenging space of encounter where outcomes are unpredictable. Rather than attempt to develop personal learning for every learner, which would be impossible, we need to work on ways to develop pedagogies of the encounter between learners and art works that are able to respond to what happens between them.

Organizational rhetoric is not neutral: it upholds the core values of the organization. Participants may not be in agreement with some of the core principles, make sure they are visible to all and open for discussion. This point relates to the last whereby the notion of challenge is central to the pedagogy.

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Allow new cultural forms to guide interpretation. Prescribing the process and outcomes of a project risks failure as old ideas are simply reproduced. Take risks by letting the participants decide on which outcomes and processes are appropriate. This will lead to interpretations which are meaningful to participants rather than simply of value to the institution. This is to do with the notion that we do not know what art is as this is a moveable and dynamic feast emerging from the multiple spaces and experiences of artists. We could argue that contemporary art is not concerned with what already exists but with future potentialities and also for a people yet to come.

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Figure 1

Raw Canvas with Speakers Corner

Spoken Word night: Raw Canvas collaborate with Speakers Corner in the East Room at Tate Modern, 2006
Photo credit: Tyrone Lebon

Figure 2

Skate Park

Skate park outside Tate Modern during *The Long Weekend*, Tate Modern, 2006
Photo credit: Ivo Gormley

Figure 3

Skate Park

Skate park outside Tate Modern during *The Long Weekend*, Tate Modern, 2006
Photo credit: Ivo Gormley

Figure 4

Young Mums workshop

Mother and baby looking at Gerhard Richter, Cage 2 (2006) during a Young
Mums workshop with Artist Educator Lucy Wilson, June 2008
Photo credit: Esther Sayers

Figure 5

We are all Experts

India Harvey leads the group as they go up to the gallery during *We are all Experts* at Tate Modern, June 2006.
Photo credit: James Deavin

Figure 6

We are all Experts

Talking about Robert Morris, Untitled (1967-68), Re-made (2008) during *We are all Experts* at Tate Modern, June 2006.
Photo credit:

Figure 7

We are all Experts

Talking about Anselm Kiefer, Palm Sunday (2006) during *We are all Experts* at Tate Modern, June 2006.
Photo credit: James Deavin

Figure 8

We are all Experts

Greg (left) talking about Anselm Kiefer, Palm Sunday (2006) during *We are all Experts* at Tate Modern, June 2006 with Cadi, *Raw Canvas* Peer-leader (right). Photo credit: James Deavin

Appendix 1
Initial research investigations
Data capture from Raw Canvas alumni

Handwritten notes on interview sheet:

Rakelli } 2004   Lea } 2005   Alumndera } 2006
Holly)   Rakelli)   Eva)

Esther Sayers Raw Canvas Alumni Research 1st interviews 11.10.08

Unstructured interview questions for past Raw Canvas peer-leaders

Zurich – Switzerland.

1. Name
2. Age and DOB   20·01·85
3. What is your parents occupation   medical Dr.   Illustrates childs books – PT kindergarten Teacher
4. Where do you live at the moment?   Berlin
5. Are you in education, employment or unemployed?   employment
6. What do you do?   → Monopol – Art Mag
7. When were you involved in the Raw Canvas programme?   Advertising
8. When did you do the training course?   art market
9. For how long did you work for Tate?
10. Do you think Raw Canvas has effected your career or educational path?   Galls, Mus, auctions.
11. In what way?
12. What skills did you gain?
13. Who do you mention Tate work to:
14. Employers, Family, Friends, Educators

2005
↓
2007
July
2-5 yr

Lee

CV was already in arts.

Value £

Students like a course.

323

Appendix 2
Reflection on initial research (notes)

Esther Sayers Raw Canvas Alumni Research 1st interviews 11.10.08

I am only interested in the ones who have used the programme in their later lives.
How will I know who has or hasn't unless I speak to everyone?
Would like some basic information from everyone.
Unstructured interviews with a few, followed by questionaire to large group,
followed by in depth interviews with a selected group (there may be many layers
to this part of the investigation)

Appendix 3
Initial data capture

Data capture

Art & Ideas course, Tate Modern 12 January 2009

Focus of the research
1. Motivations for attendance
2. Effect. To form an understanding of how the course is beneficial to other areas of their lives.
3. Meaning making. To look at the way that the meanings (for an art work) are constructed by consensus, through conversation. Ideas are combined and texture is given to the interpretation that exceeds that which one person could come up with on their own.
4. To look at the structure of peer to peer conversations about art.

Edited out:
5. To explore what participants learn from the course.
I don't think that participation is always about learning, what is 'learning'?

Methods
My intention is to find out what young people get out of a course in a gallery and their motivations for attending. The gallery is not a school. Their attendance is voluntary. The course is not accredited.
Interviews
Questionnaires

To record and transcribe conversations to look at the way that everyone in the group offers different ideas.
Sound recording
Visual
Take photographs of the group talking around an artwork, annotate the images to show the rythym of the conversation and the development of the meaning outside of each participant.

Questions
Did you book for yourself or did someone book for you?
Why do you want to do this course?
What do you do?

Researcher
I am Curator for Young People's Programmes, as designer of the programme I already believe that it has benefit for participants but I am not sure in what ways and I don't have evidence to support my beliefs. Want to hear it from them to avoid second-guessing. I am seeking to establish non exploitative field relations. I am aware that my role is not impartial. This research is structured observation. I will be a covert researcher and an overt observer.

Appendix 4
Details of the Us and the Other project

Us and the Other – Esther Sayers and Janet Hodgson

Aims and objectives
To make a collaborative video work which explores perceptions of otherness.
To produce the material to enable the production of an exhibitable artwork.
To conduct a research process which will inform the outcome of the artwork.
To work with and train members of Raw Canvas in both the research process and production of this work.
To work with a selection of staff at the Tate, people from it's immediate constituent audience/users and selected individuals from the wider world.
To be responsive to the thoughts, feelings, prejudices, aspirations and subjectivity of participants.
To work from the perspective of the Tate.
To explore and explode the multi-layered voice of Tate Modern and it's engagement the public locally, nationally and internationally.

This is an application to enable the research, interview, filming and draft editing process to take place. The budget will not cover final production, presentation or exhibition of the work for which separate funds must be sought.

Project description
The work will be a collaboration between Esther Sayers and Janet Hodgson and will grow out of filmed interviews that record the process of investigation as we search to discover how the Tate fits in and is defined by it's immediate neighbourhood and wider environment.

We will investigate and record how the Tate sees and defines both 'itself' and the 'other' and how those 'others' see and define the Tate. We will ask participants; Who are you? Who is like you? Who is different from you? Who is your 'other'? Who do you want to communicate with? What do you want to say?

Tate has a constituency of many different individuals working within distinct departments all of whom have different ideas of who they are and who the 'other' might be. Raw Canvas will be involved as interviewees, researchers and as 'crew' for filming and editing, wherever possible filming will be done at the interviewees centre or workplace.

We would aim to work with a cross section of Tate staff and follow their leads in researching and contacting their 'others'. We'll ask them to define the 'other' and say what message they'd like to communicate, they'll each choose someone to speak to and we'll film their conversation. The second person will then be asked to nominate someone they'd like to speak to and the message they'd like to convey… the process repeats itself over and over until we have built up a kind of family tree of participants. The more wide ranging and disparate the group the better eg. Raw Canvas > Education Curator > homeless youth > politician > artist > doctor. The process is ongoing, it will be the individual participants who select each other and become a chain linked by their perceptions of 'self' and 'other'.

During the project we will continually assess the work to inform the format of the final exhibition. At this stage there are numerous possibilities from a projection onto the outside of Tate Modern, on monitors in Peckham Library, as an inflight movie on Concorde etc. The final outcome will be decided in consultation with the Tate.

This project will provide an opportunity for Raw Canvas to work closely with artists on developing and producing a collaborative artwork. They will learn about research processes, technical procedures for filming and editing, the structure and working of Tate and develop outreach skills and meet a range of new people.

Staffing

Filming crew	x 6 Raw Canvas
Artists	x 2
Editing crew	x 4 Raw Canvas
Researchers	x 2 Raw Canvas
Participants	x up to 50

Time
20 days filming
15 days editing

Dates
Develop contacts with potential Community Youth Groups from now onwards
Start working with Raw Canvas in April 2002
Majority of filming in July
Editing in August/ September
Present in the Autumn 2002 (dark nights)

Equipment

Video cameras from Tate and artists own
DV cassettes
Use Tate computers and software for editing (ensure technical support is available)

Questions for interviews
Briefing notes for interviewees
Who are you ?
We will ask you to introduce yourself to camera .

We will ask about your role at Tate Modern what do you do ?
Why you do it ?
How do you know when you are successful ?
Who is your audience internally and externally ?

Are there a number of audiences ? do you have an ideal audience do they differ from the audience you have now? can you describe them ,class ethnicity, nationality educational profile etc….we will go into detail about this as we will want to find a member of that audience group.
Why do you want to talk to them?
What do you want to say?   have you got any questions for them ? what do you want to tell them ?
Is you audience the same or different from you |? In what ways?
Is there anyone you wouldn't want to talk to ? can you describe them and why?

Each interview will follow this basic format, but as each interview is more like a conversation inevitably the questions will differ depending on the particular interview.
Any questions please get in touch
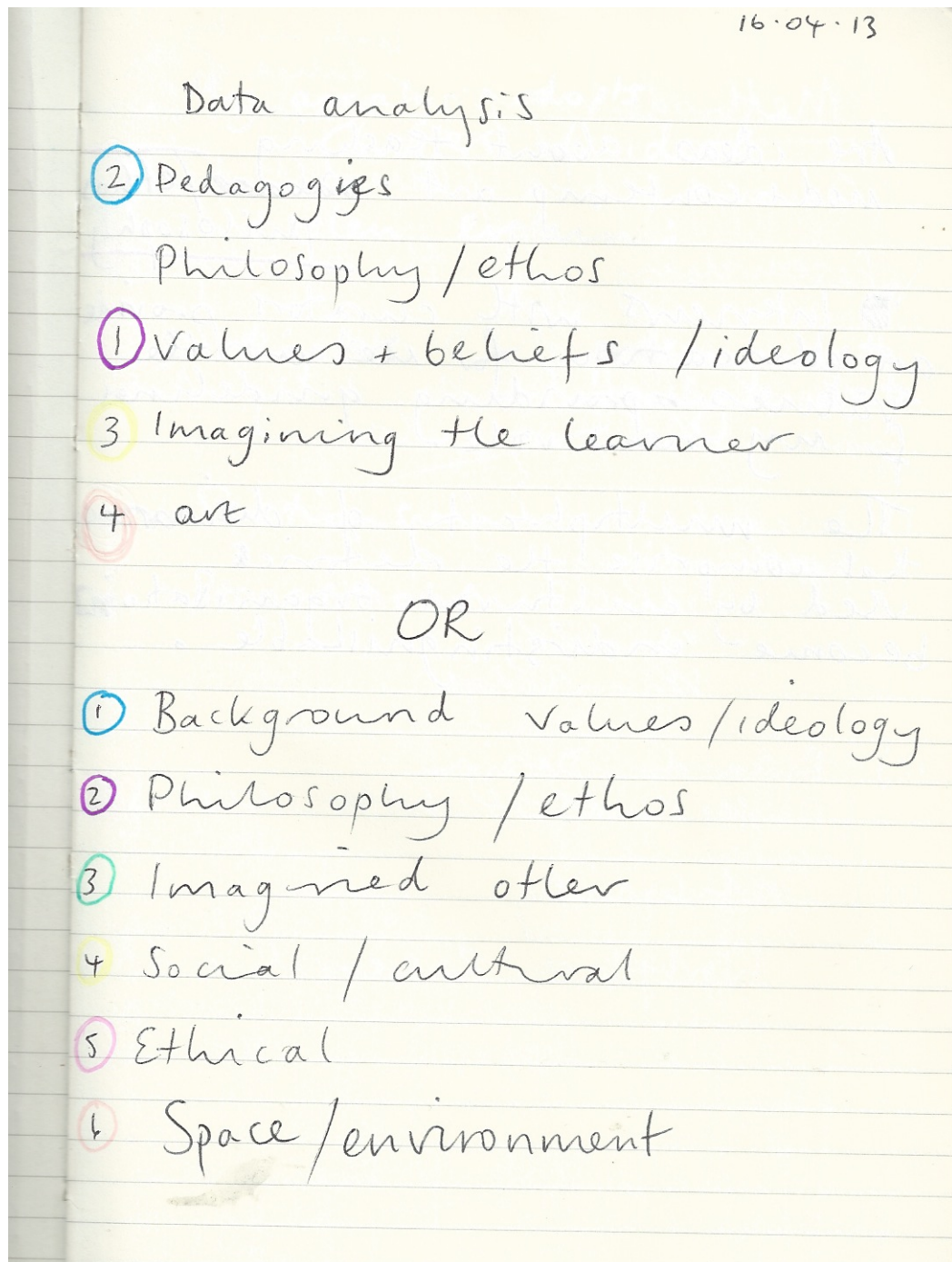
Appendix 5
Data clip list for *Us and the Other*

Esther Sayers - Data 1 - One and the Other interviews						
Interviewee	Tape	Clip name	Notes about selection	Themes/coding	Start time	End time
Toby Jackson Head of Interpretation and Education	tape 2 13/05/02		Defining who he is, artist/educationalist	**who** is educator	01:25	02:30
Toby Jackson Head of Interpretation and Education	tape 2 13/05/02		Defining what gallery education is vis a vis formal education	gallery education	02:30	03:57
Toby Jackson Head of Interpretation and Education	tape 2 13/05/02		gallery space as an environment for learning	knowledge about learning environment	04:00	04:34
Toby Jackson Head of Interpretation and Education	tape 2 13/05/02		learning aims/constraints		04:34	05:19
Toby Jackson Head of Interpretation and Education	tape 2 13/05/02		curriculum knowledge	knowledge of **what** should be taught	05:19	06:50
Toby Jackson Head of Interpretation and Education	tape 2 13/05/02		Interpretation, meaning of and education, meaning of	hermeneutical approach	06:50	07:20
Toby Jackson Head of Interpretation and Education	tape 2 13/05/02		heuristic/constructivist methods	Knowledge about **how** teaching can be structured	07:20	08:15
Toby Jackson Head of Interpretation and Education	tape 2 13/05/02		audience development, widening participation	inclusion	16:24	17:16
Toby Jackson Head of Interpretation and Education	tape 2 13/05/02		gallery education programmes are aimed at non specialists	inclusion	17:18	20:04
Toby Jackson Head of Interpretation and Education	tape 2 13/05/02			pedagogies for inclusion	20:05	21:30
Toby Jackson Head of Interpretation and Education	tape 2 13/05/02		non attendance	widening participation	21:35	27,30
Toby Jackson Head of Interpretation and Education	tape 2 13/05/02		Non attenders profiles	widening participation	38,30	
Toby Jackson Head of Interpretation and Education	tape 2 13/05/02		personal reaction to an art work - why valuable	how **learner is imagined**		
Toby Jackson Head of Interpretation and Education	tape 2 13/05/02		what's the value of art?	values and beliefs	48,20	49,25
Esther Sayers Curator: Young People's Programmes	tape 1 13/05/02	clip 1	explaining role	who is the gallery educator	00,12,00	00,25,00
Esther Sayers Curator: Young People's Programmes	tape 1 13/05/02	clip 1	who the programme is for	wp	01,44	02,30
Esther Sayers Curator: Young People's Programmes	tape 1 13/05/02	clip 2	identifying the other	how **learner is imagined**	10,23	11,15
Esther Sayers Curator: Young People's Programmes	tape 1 13/05/02	clip 2	identifying the other	how **learner is imagined**	11,55	14,
Esther Sayers Curator: Young People's Programmes	tape 1 13/05/02	clip 2	value of art	values and beliefs	14,55	17,00
Esther Sayers Curator: Young People's Programmes	tape 1 13/05/02	clip 2	value of art	values and beliefs	17,10	17,20
Esther Sayers Curator: Young People's Programmes	tape 1 13/05/02	clip 2	value of art	values and beliefs	17,39	18,14
Esther Sayers Curator: Young People's Programmes	tape 1 13/05/02		what's the value of art?	values and beliefs		
Esther Sayers Curator: Young People's Programmes	tape 1 13/05/02	clip 3	identifying the other	how **learner is imagined**	00,42	03,04
Esther Sayers Curator: Young People's Programmes	tape 1 13/05/02		identifying the other	how **learner is imagined**	03,44	05,24
Esther Sayers Curator: Young People's Programmes	tape 1 13/05/02		transforming the learner	what the learner learns	05,45	06,00
Esther Sayers Curator: Young People's Programmes	tape 1 13/05/02		identifying the other	how **learner is imagined**	07,05	08,34

Esther Sayers Curator: Young People's Programmes	tape 1 13/05/02	identifying the other other	Ideal participant	10,00	12,57
Esther Sayers Curator: Young People's Programmes	tape 1 13/05/02	what do these yp do for tate, how work with them	strategies	13,00	14,00
Esther Sayers Curator: Young People's Programmes	tape 1 13/05/02	demographic of the other	how **learner is imagined. Who the learner is imagined to be.**	15,25	18,46
Esther Sayers Curator: Young People's Programmes	tape 1 13/05/02	operating outside society	values and beliefs	19,08	19,40
Tom Janson Raw Canvas Peer-leader	tape 1 13/05/02	Tate want to include lots of people from lower class backgrounds	aims and purpose	29,00	
Sophie Howarth Curator: public Programmes		Money		30	
Sophie Howarth Curator: public Programmes	Tape 5 27/05/02 Pedagogy		Pedagogy		
Sophie Howarth Curator: public Programmes	Tape 5 27/05/02 Pedagogy	Opening out, not packaging up knowledge	Knowledge	57	
Sophie Howarth Curator: public Programmes	Tape 5 27/05/02	When the approach is right there isn't a problem	Measuring success	58	

Appendix 6

My key to colour coding for data analysis of interview transcripts. Document shows my early decision-making. The second key was selected for use.

16·04·13

Data analysis

2 Pedagogies

Philosophy / ethos

1 values + beliefs / ideology

3 Imagining the learner

4 art

OR

1 Background values / ideology

2 Philosophy / ethos

3 Imagined other

4 Social / cultural

5 Ethical

6 Space / environment

Appendix 7

These are sample interview transcripts. This annotated document demonstrates the process of coding for data analysis.

Data 1 – 'Us' and the Other

Toby Jackson interview 13.05.02

Tape 2

[handwritten annotation: Self-subject-construction]

[handwritten annotation: Social]

Well, I would have said teacher, I suppose, or educationalist, or one of those kind of terms but I don't like any of those because I don't do any teaching anymore, I used to and educationist has a kind formal ring to it as if I could be a government officer and because I work in this informal space I don't really think that what I do is education. I suppose I would define myself as an ex-artist because I trained as an artist and an ex-educationist because I use to work in formal education so I have worked in all sectors of education and now I don't know it's a kind of hybrid, working in a museum, because it pulls together the kind of history, practice, theory that I used to do but also the kind of methods of teaching or engaging people with ideas which you get in museum space but in a very informal kind of way, not in a formal accredited way. So, I find it quite difficult to describe myself and it's the same difficulty we have with the word in my title which is *[handwritten: prestige]* head of interp and education because we keep thinking of dropping the word education and very time we have an argument or discussion about it we end up keeping it because well its quite good for having a conversation with government organisations or sponsors or

[handwritten annotations in right margin: Values / ideology; hybrid prof. identity; What gallery ed. is.]

1

Appendix 8

These are sample interview transcripts. This annotated document demonstrates the process of coding for data analysis.

governors who understand the term education who understand the term education and can connect with it and if you drop it you loose

that ease of connection, so we retain it..

Interviewer: Why do you want to drop it?

Because, I'm not sure, it gives the impression that there's a formal process going on which you get in education institutions like a school or a college and that you're involved in a progression or a course or a time based activity where your learning concepts or building up concepts and ideas,where as your engagement in a gallery is much more fleeting, it's much more compacted, its contained and any progression is at the behest of the lecturer or the teacher who comes with the group or the individual pursuing their own activity and interests if they are coming say for a conference. So we don't have that kind of control that you have in the conventional notion of education.

00.04 It's a different kind of space its not a classroom or a studio or a lecture hall, I mean, it's a public space and it has art works hanging in the gallery so the actual space itself and the architecture and the text of the building is completely different from a school or a university or an art school it is a different space physically and conceptually its different and the time that you have to spend with

Handwritten annotations:
- how decide criteria
- is this ideological?
- in gallery ed. Here isn't

Appendix 9

These are sample interview transcripts. This annotated document demonstrates the process of coding for data analysis.

people is very, very, different, its much shorter and the agenda is different. It's different in the sense that we're not here to service a curriculum, we're not here to produce results, to achieve standards, we're not here to meet government deadlines in relationship to qualifications, we're not here to satisfy an exam board, so we haven't got those constraints, so even if we wanted them we haven't got them, and we don't want them, so in theory it gives us a freedom to operate differently from the agenda that's offered us by the systems with whom we collaborate, schools, universities etc.

Interviewer: Education suggests learning something.

Well education also suggests learning something, there are parts of education where the teaching is minimal and the learning is to the fore. So, yes it does suggest teaching something.

Well you could say that good education does that as well [translating something] What you are describing really is maybe a certain way of describing education which is a kind of socialization where the imperatives are not so much to do with the needs of the individual but to do with the needs of the state or the needs of the institution when it comes to stats for example or meeting government targets. So, interpretation is, again it depends how you define it. There's an element within good education where there is translation going on and

[Handwritten annotations: "culture of learning in the gallery involves ff/after time.", "teaching", "'We' have decided that.", "+ as a result we have created this."]

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Appendix 10

These are sample interview transcripts. This annotated document demonstrates the process of coding for data analysis.

hermeneutics

there's an element of education where it is very teacher led, where the process that children are going through is directed, prescribed by the teacher. There are certain aspects of education where is very heuristic and I would say the same here, you get those kind of elements. I would think we are biased towards the heuristic rather than the didactic. By that I mean almost like falling through learning, learning through trial and error, through experience, so its more experiential, an engagement with the physical presence of an art work where you can ask questions of it, where you're not quite sure where you are going to end up, where the outcome is not prescribed, where you're not going to be tested on bits of knowledge at the end of it. *Arrived at this from working w/ mdc who have created this culture*

00.20 it would change, because if you take any of those you get a mix because even in the community organisations

this is about institutionalised how. What's prioritised + which pedagogies come out of that ideology.

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Appendix 11

Example of consent form used to gain permission for the repurposing of interview material gained during the *Us and the Other* project.

<u>CONSENT FORM</u>

I have spoken with Esther Sayers about her use of my interview transcripts that were gathered during the *Us and the Other* project in 2002. I understand that although the interviews were not conducted as data for PhD study they are to be presented and analysed by Esther Sayers as part of her PhD research. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in research reports and/or publications to come from this research. I am happy to be named in this research and for my quotations to be attributed to me.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to my interview transcripts being used in this research.

YES   NO

I agree to the use of attributed quotations in any research report or publication that comes from this research.

YES   NO

Participant name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 12

Consent form used to gain permission for using material gathered during *We are all Experts* workshops.

<u>CONSENT FORM</u>

I have spoken with Esther Sayers about her use of my interview transcripts that were gathered during the *We are all Experts* workshops in 2009. I understand that the interviews are to be presented and analysed by Esther Sayers as part of her PhD research. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in research reports and/or publications to come from this research. I am happy to be named in this research and for my quotations to be attributed to me.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to my interview transcripts being used in this research.

YES   NO

I agree to the use of attributed quotations in any research report or publication that comes from this research.

YES   NO

I am happy to use my real name in this research

YES   NO

I would prefer my identity to be concealed in this research

YES   NO

Participant name: __HANNAH ROSE WHITTLE_____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____ HRW _____

Date: __01/06/14_____