

‘The something else was really valuable’: how a
gallery education programme worked with
primary schools during the pandemic

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List of abbreviations

ACD – art, craft and design

AR – action research

ARP – Arts Reach Project

BLM – Black Lives Matter

CoP – Community of Practice

CDP – Collaborative Doctoral Partnership

CP – Creative Partnerships

CPD – Continuing Professional Development

DCMS – Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport

DfE – Department for Education

FSM – Free School Meals

GECOP – gallery education community of practice

HMS – Hear My Story

MAT – multi-academy trust

PACoP – primary art community of practice

PPT – PowerPoint

PSHE – personal, social, health and economic education

RSC – Royal Shakespeare Company

SEND – Special Education Needs and/or Disability

SG – steering group

SLT – Senior Leadership Team

SoW – scheme of work

TALE – Tracking Arts Learning and Engagement

TSA – Teaching School Alliance

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Abstract

Gallery education programmes have holistic benefits that support children's social and emotional needs. These needs were particularly important during the disruption of the pandemic. This thesis explores how a gallery education programme changed to support primary teachers during the pandemic, when the normal ways of doing things, for example, being in the gallery, were disrupted. The literature has established that partnerships between schools and the cultural sector are beneficial, however, they can be challenging. During the pandemic, both the cultural sector and schools experienced a disruption – how did gallery educators respond to the uncertain context, and what did teachers think of this response? This study aimed to research how a gallery education team changed their practice through a relationship with teachers during this tumultuous period. The study took an ethnographic approach with the Schools and Teachers team at Tate gallery during a period of remote working. This included observations of online meetings and events, email correspondence and working documents, as well as interviews with gallery educators and teachers interacting with the programme. The thesis uses communities of practice to understand the gallery educators' practice as continually changing in relation to a new social and institutional context. The pandemic context increased the importance of connecting to primary teachers and school practice to help understand and respond to the new reality. The gallery education team wanted teachers to explore non-directive artist practice as a teaching approach. Primary teachers valued what was on offer but did not alter how they taught. After a period of change, the gallery education practice largely returned to a pre-pandemic practice. The values and difference of gallery education became important to safeguard and maintain, requiring teachers to 'translate' experiences into the classroom. This research suggests that the gallery education sector needs to better articulate its value for the primary classroom and offer more 'ways in' for teachers.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

At the start of 2020, a gallery education team at Tate's London art museums, Tate Modern and Tate Britain, ran a programme at capacity for a school audience. For schools, the team offered self-led visits, artist-led workshops, artist-created resources to use in the galleries, alongside ongoing teacher professional development days and school partnership projects. Additionally, the programme had increased attention as Steve McQueen's Year 3 exhibition (which involved 75% of primary schools in London) was open, and, every school day, hundreds of school children visited the show at Tate Britain.

However, by March 2020, as more and more information about COVID-19 came into the media and cases increased, the number of school visits began to decrease. The schools booking assistants fielded emails and calls from teachers who wanted to cancel visits; schools were concerned about going to a public building and getting there on public transport.

One gallery education team member was worried about the ongoing impact of COVID-19 on the programme, foreseeing the cancellation of events for the whole academic year. However, for most of the team, it seemed like something that would resolve itself quickly. Two team members joked about an event they were finding stressful to organise potentially not happening due to COVID-19. It couldn't not happen. It seemed unbelievable.

As more cases of COVID-19 came to light, team members' concerns and anxiety grew. The government response was slow, with initial advice to continue as usual, expecting many staff absences. However, the reaction within Tate was quicker. On 13th March, Tate issued guidance to staff to prepare to work from home; on 16th March, a phased closure until at least May was internally announced. The gallery education team rushed to cancel all planned school visits (including those to the Year 3 exhibition) and teacher events; in addition, they had to inform project partners and contact artists contracted to work on projects.

Concurrently, some team members were at home affected by Covid or contact with someone with Covid. These team members prepared for remote working, which would be new to most of the team. In the office, as the possibility of remote working became a reality,

conversations turned to how meetings would happen. Would it be on WhatsApp? How would that work? This would be tricky.

On 18th March 2020, Tate's London galleries closed to the public. Only a skeletal security staff remained in the building; all other staff started to work from home. After a period of rushing to close the programme, many of the gallery education team found themselves with little to do. This was particularly true for team members whose roles revolved around school visits to the galleries.

In the following weeks and months, it became clear that the art museums would not be reopening in May 2020, and even when they did, the large numbers of people involved in school groups would make them difficult to accommodate. Events continued to be postponed, which felt initially hopeful for the gallery educators but eventually disappointing when they were inevitably cancelled.

In this period, the gallery education team were forced to reconsider their roles and what a gallery education programme is without access to the galleries. The audience had not gone away, but their needs had changed - what would teachers and their pupils require during this period?

This thesis presents findings from an ethnographic study of the gallery education team responsible for the schools and teachers programme at Tate's London sites, as they responded to the disruption of the COVID-19 pandemic and the social needs it created, with a particular focus on working with primary schools. The gallery education team's desire to support children and young people, as well as their teachers, during the turbulence of the pandemic, was pressing. Gallery education was a potential tool to process the social and emotional impacts of the pandemic for children and their teachers, connected to a Recovery Curriculum (Carpenter & Carpenter, 2020). The team believed art offered a way for teachers to explore issues like racism in the wake of the Black Lives Matter movement and for children's own cultural backgrounds to be valued. The values and difference of gallery education in this uncertain time were important to enable young people to have nondirective experiences with art that allowed them to learn about themselves and others.

Using a communities of practice theoretical framework (Wenger, 1998), this thesis examines how the gallery education team had a strongly held practice which valued contemporary art-led approaches and the potential of art to enable someone to learn more about themselves and others. The thesis will show that the COVID-19 pandemic drove a major alteration of practice.

For the team of gallery educators at Tate, in addition to changing how gallery education could happen, the pandemic raised questions that addressed the heart of gallery education, for example, its relationship to the curriculum in schools, what gallery education professional development for teachers does within the current primary school context and how what is offered responds to teachers' needs. During a period of constriction of art in primary schools and reduced funding for learning programmes in the cultural sector, this research offers recommendations on how gallery educators can best reflect on what they offer for primary schools and examine what is of value.

This chapter introduces the current context of the cultural sector and art education in schools, highlighting that both sectors faced challenges on entering the pandemic. In the following section, I present a timeline of the pandemic and its impact across the cultural sector and schools to outline the context in which the gallery education team were working. I also examine the effects of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. The pandemic and the BLM movement have had ongoing impacts in museums and galleries, which I detail. This context demonstrates that the work of the gallery education team faced exigent circumstances. The final section of the chapter introduces the research question. I start by explicating my relationship to the research. I then detail the pandemic disruption to the original research design and outline the new research design.

The cultural sector and art education in schools: a challenging context
Tate is one of numerous organisations in the cultural sector that provide creative opportunities for schools. In addition to museums and galleries, the cultural sector includes theatres and other arts organisations. Although in this thesis I refer to the broader cultural sector, I am particularly, although not exclusively, interested in organisations that focus on visual arts, which aligns with the national curriculum subject of art and design. These are frequently galleries or art museums.

School pupils and their teachers are an important audience for art museums and the wider cultural sector. They sometimes form part of organisations' mission statements (e.g., Museum of London, n.d.). Nearly all museums and galleries (96%) offer facilitated visits for schools; they also frequently offer continuing professional development (CPD) for teachers and longer-term projects (Arts Council England, 2016). In 2019/20, 2,015,000 children and young people in formal education visited the Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport (DCMS) sponsored museums and galleries. In this period, Tate Galleries had 295,000 visits from this audience (Gov.uk, 2021a).

However, the impact of austerity on the funding of the cultural sector's work with formal learning groups is a challenge. As school budgets have become tighter, schools have been less likely to be able to pay for these experiences themselves, and neither is it likely that it is attainable for organisations to financially sustain these programmes independently. Consequently, much of this work is funded publicly, by trusts or philanthropists. This precarious funding situation has created an environment in which organisations do not necessarily share learning from unsuccessful projects for fear of not receiving further funding (Jancovich & Stevenson, 2021). Therefore, much literature on the cultural sector's work with schools emphasises projects' successes rather than exploring the challenges. Another consequence of this restricted funding is that longer-term change is hard to address as projects are often funded on a short-term basis (Jancovich & Stevenson, 2021). Further to this, outcomes for young people and teachers may not be immediate and, therefore, are harder to capture in evaluation that takes place at the time.

Interestingly, schools are one of the most heterogeneous audience groups in the cultural sector (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007). The diversity of the school audience is a consequence of the school-age population in England being more ethnically diverse than the adult population (Gov.uk, 2023). Additionally, particularly during the New Labour period in England (1997-2010), museums and galleries were encouraged to target schools with high levels of Free School Meals (FSM) (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007), used as a proxy for socioeconomic deprivation. Cultural organisations are frequently encouraged to broaden their audiences and reach a wide range of people (e.g., Arts Council England, n.d.; DCMS, 2016), making school groups an important audience.

Nonetheless, there are indications that school groups' visits to cultural organisations are decreasing. Since 2012, the number of formal learning visits to DCMS-sponsored museums and galleries has remained relatively stable (DCMS, 2023), whilst the number of pupils in England has been increasing (Gov.uk, 2023). Children and young people are increasingly more likely to engage with a gallery or museum outside of school rather than in school (DCMS, 2020b). A recent survey highlighted that schools are finding it difficult to visit cultural organisations due to funding pressures (The Sutton Trust, 2023).

Alongside a testing context for the cultural sector, the arts in schools have come under increasing pressure in the curriculum. On coming into power in 2010, the Coalition Government made policy changes largely considered detrimental to the teaching and learning of arts (J. Adams, 2013; Arts Council England, 2015). These include the introduction of the EBacc in secondary schools, which excludes arts subjects, and a knowledge-based curriculum that is not conducive to the different ways of knowing and learning that may occur in the arts. Moreover, prior to 2019, Ofsted (2015) inspections were overwhelmingly concerned with performance indicators (in primary, in literacy and numeracy), which contributed to schools prioritising these subjects in the curriculum.

These pressures have led to reduced time given to art in primary schools. Survey findings suggest that time spent on art and design has decreased (The All-Party Parliamentary Group for Art, 2023); schools struggle to cover everything they are required to, leaving little time for arts subjects understood as less of a priority (Parker, 2022b).

Access to good arts provision in primary schools appears to be a privilege, as only some schools have maintained their arts programmes. This seems to include some fee-paying schools (Cultural Learning Alliance, 2017b) and 'arts-rich' schools, which have chosen to maintain a strong arts offer (Cairns, Landreth Strong, Loblely, Devlin, & Partridge, 2020; Thomson & Hall, 2023). Artsmark, a quality standard to which schools can apply, also encourages schools to maintain a good arts offer (Artsmark, n.d.).

Seemingly to counter the narrowing of subjects on offer in schools, the current Ofsted framework, introduced in 2019, encourages a 'broad and balanced' curriculum (Ofsted, 2019). Additionally, Ofsted has recognised the squeeze on art and design in their subject

review, which advocates for the subject (Ofsted, 2023). The cultural sector and creative industries have also been vocal in their advocacy for a curriculum in schools that values the arts (e.g., Arts Council England, 2015; Sky Arts, 2022). Notably, the Department for Education (DfE) seems less concerned with broadening the school curriculum. The recent White Paper continues to underscore the importance of literacy and numeracy outcomes, mentioning no other subjects by name (DfE, 2022b).

However, staff in primary schools may not be adequately equipped to provide a 'broad and balanced' curriculum (Parker, 2022b). In England, generalist teachers are likely to be responsible for teaching art and design. Some of the current primary teacher workforce is hesitant about their ability to teach art. Over 40% of primary teachers do not feel confident they have the skills and experience to provide high-quality art provision (B. Cooper, 2018). Reasons for this include a lack of support with the subject in initial teacher education and ongoing professional development. Generalist primary teacher trainees are unlikely to receive significant initial training in the subject on one-year courses; the average may be as little as two to four hours (Thomson & Vainker, 2022). In teachers' ongoing careers, there are limited opportunities for subject-specific CPD (Cordingley et al., 2018). Primary teachers are most likely to participate in subject-specific CPD in maths and English reflecting the political focus on these areas (Cordingley et al., 2018). Many teachers who attend art and design CPD self-fund or attend in their own time (NSEAD, 2016; The All-Party Parliamentary Group for Art, 2023). Even leads of the subject have restricted access to training; as many as 35% of art and design leads rarely attend, and 20% never attend, art CPD (NSEAD, 2016).

A further complication is that the school sector has increasingly become academised, moving the regulation of schools to central government and away from local authorities, reducing access to local authority resources such as arts advisors and CPD (Matthews, 2018). Schools increasingly hold CPD in school. However, many primary art leads are not necessarily able to provide high-quality CPD, having insufficient professional development opportunities themselves (Cordingley et al., 2018). In the context of limited resources and skills in schools, the cultural sector's offer of professional development and projects seems to present a potential remedy.

Although learning programmes in cultural organisations and arts in schools are challenged in the current political context, they benefit children and young people. The benefits of access to art for young people are increasingly well-documented. Thomson and Maloy's (2022) Rapid Evidence Review categorises five benefits of art and design education:

1. Disciplinary learning

As well as developing technical skills related to the art form, art education supports design thinking skills, critical thinking and higher-order thinking (Thomson & Maloy, 2022). Art enables problem-solving, resilience, leadership, team building and independent learning (Thomson & Maloy, 2022). Moreover, art education supports creative and divergent thinking (Catterall & Pepler, 2007; Hui, He, & Ye, 2015; Thomson & Maloy, 2022).

2. Being and becoming

Art education is relevant to young people and their personal development, in particular, it supports them to develop agency (Thomson & Maloy, 2022). Contemporary art, a foundation of gallery education, explores subjects such as identity, social injustices or climate change (Hardy, 2006; Tuazon, 2011). This can support children to learn about themselves and the world around them. Contemporary art offers a more diverse range of artists for inspiration than in the canon of modern or pre-modern artists, and children are more likely to see people like themselves represented (Dash, 1999; Page et al., 2006/2009). Engagement with issues important to young people and artists who are representative of them can empower young people.

3. Civics and citizenship

Art supports young people to become cultural citizens (Thomson, Hall, Earl, & Geppert, 2019). Art education enables children and young people to become critical and evaluative as they engage with their increasingly visual world as art teaches questioning and reflection (Knight, 2010). Through this children and young people become critical audiences and active producers, contributing to communities and public conversations (Thomson & Hall, 2018).

4. Building pathways for the future

Art education has societal benefits; explicit teaching about careers in the cultural and creative sectors can encourage young people to pursue these careers in the future (Thomson & Maloy, 2022). This supports the sector's aims to increase diversity and representation in the workforce (DCMS, 2016).

5. **Wellbeing**

Art-making is often linked to positive wellbeing effects, although evidence for this relies on self-reporting questionnaires (Thomson & Maloy, 2022). During the pandemic, the link between participation in art and/or cultural experiences and improving personal wellbeing was explicitly made (e.g., Gotthardt, Rakoczy, Tallon, Seitz, & Frick, 2022).

Significant interest and resources have focused on exploring how the arts might benefit wider academic achievement (for instance, literacy and numeracy outcomes). However, there is mixed evidence for this (Anders, Shure, Wyse, Bohling, et al., 2021; Catterall, Chapleau, & Iwanaga, 1999; Thomson & Maloy, 2022; Winner & Cooper, 2000). Attainment impacts in other subjects are often used to attribute value to the arts, but it is more important to understand the benefits of the arts on their own terms (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016; Hetland, Winner, Veenema, & Sheridan, 2007; Winner & Hetland, 2000).

Despite significant identified benefits of art education that could help young people navigate the pandemic period, the COVID-19 pandemic brought changes that made engagement with the cultural sector and art teaching and learning challenging. Some of these changes were beyond anyone's control, such as the need to socially distance. Other changes resulted from government policies and institutional priorities, as detailed in the next section.

Disruption: the shock of the COVID-19 pandemic

The COVID-19 pandemic, declared in March 2020, had unprecedented impacts on the cultural sector and schools. It has been a formidable task for gallery educators and primary teachers to continue operating. This section offers a timeline of how government regulations and societal pressures have changed and evolved throughout the pandemic in schools and the cultural sector.

Moving to digital: the first lockdown

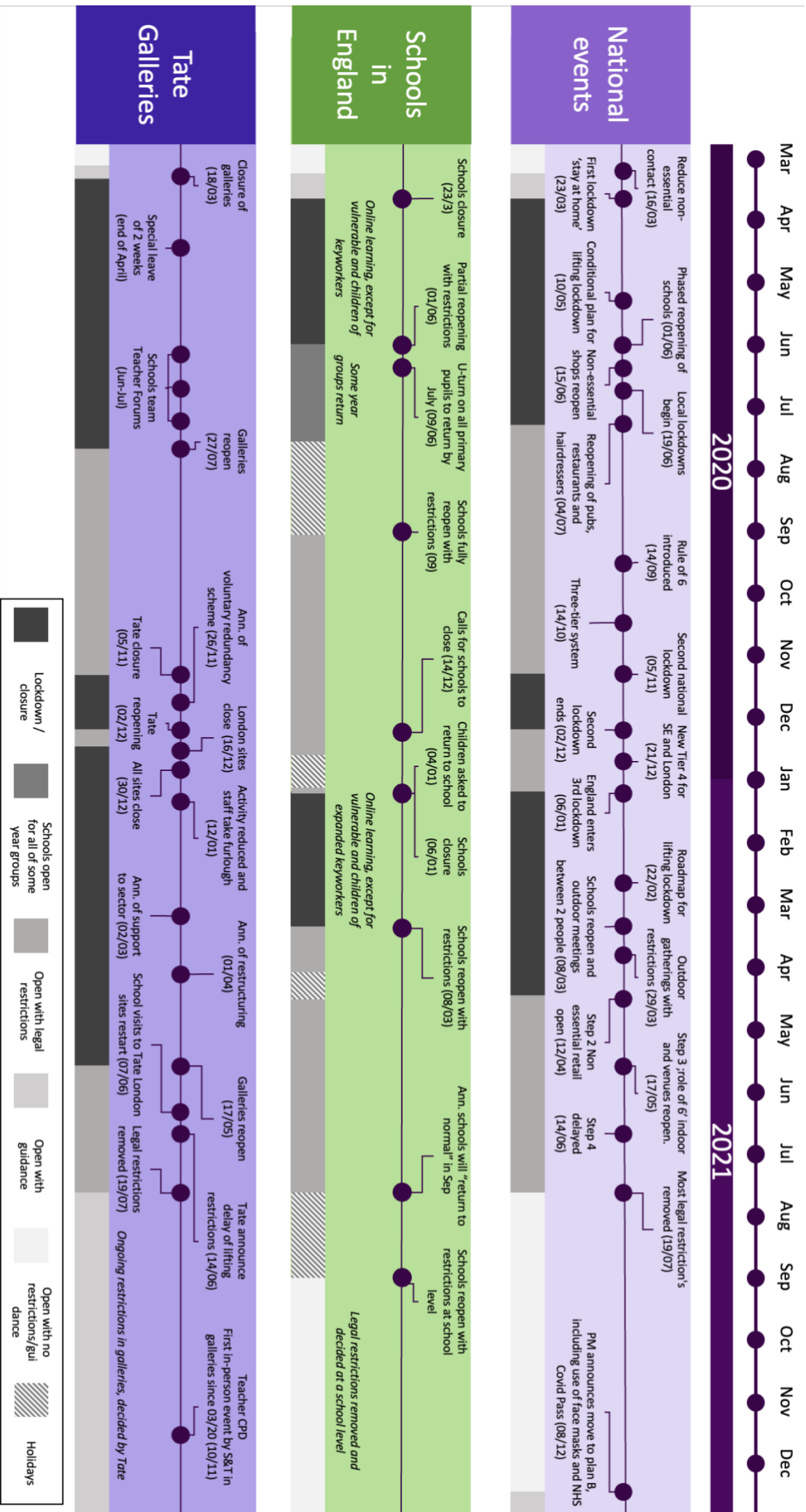
On 23rd March 2020, schools closed for most pupils in England. They partially reopened for Reception, Year One and Year Six on 1st June 2020 and for all year groups in September 2020 (figure 1-1). The government poorly planned and managed the part-closures of schools and move to hybrid experiences (Timmins, 2021). In this closure period, only children classed as vulnerable and those whose parents or carers were key workers could still attend school; most children were schooled at home. Therefore, teachers were required to develop new skills to teach at a distance. The internet and digital devices offered a way for teachers to connect with their students and teach learning content, including live or pre-recorded lessons or sharing of resources; however, not all pupils had access to digital devices and/or Wi-Fi, government support to provide these was slow (Staufenberg, 2021). Some schools also offered physical items, such as worksheets. In addition, teachers, parents and carers were able to use several resources already available online, for instance, BBC Bitesize, as well as resources created specifically for this home learning context, e.g., Joe Wicks' P.E with Joe.¹

The cultural sector experienced enforced closures from 23rd March 2020 (Tate closed from 18th March) to 27th July 2020. Figure 1-1 shows how the periods of closure for the cultural sector were more extended than those of schools. Of course, the closure of Tate and other cultural organisations meant a loss of income. Many organisations took advantage of the government furlough scheme, and there were also some redundancies; education teams were particularly negatively impacted by redundancies, principally in the USA but also in the UK (Chevalier, 2021; Downey, 2020).

Particularly within this first lockdown period, cultural organisations, which had lost their primary way of engaging with their audiences, rushed to respond with digital materials suitable for using at home. This quick response did not necessarily reflect audiences' needs in the new pandemic context, and Simon (2020) called for the sector to slow down and consider their response. Additionally, the increased use of digital raised challenges as the sector lagged behind others in its digital infrastructure and capacity (Walmsley, Gilmore, O'Brien, Torreggiani, & Nightingale, 2022). In addition, it was difficult to monetise digital

¹ <https://www.thebodycoach.com/blog/pe-with-joe/>

Figure 1-1 - timeline showing events relating to the pandemic



resources when there were so many free resources and events online (Gray & Wright, 2021).

Learning programmes have been part of the move to digital, and the number of museums with digital learning programmes increased during the pandemic to respond to the home learning context (ICOM, 2021). In the over-saturated digital market, some organisations found it hard to compete for the family audience; families often preferred to use digital learning materials from organisations with an already established offer, e.g., BBC Bitesize (Kidd, Nieto McAvoy, & Ostrowska, 2021; Walmsley et al., 2022). Digital programmes were not learning teams' only response. 'Arts packages', which included physical art materials such as pencils, pens and paper, for families, were also frequent (e.g., A New Direction, 2020). Even in digital experiences, materiality was significant for learning teams. Rather than thinking of digital and material as a binary, Galani and Kidd (2020, p. 300) describe, 'digitally mediated material encounters'. A 'digitally mediated material encounter' acknowledges the importance of materiality in the museum experience, encouraging the participant to engage with physical objects whilst participating digitally.

Different experiences: reopening and the second and third lockdowns

When schools reopened in summer and autumn 2020, significant restrictions were in place. These restrictions were hard to keep up with and often did not come with support to implement them. School policymakers expressed a lack of trust in central government (Fotheringham, Harriott, Healy, Arengé, & Wilson, 2021). Schools were required to allocate 'bubbles' of students and teachers, often based on year groups or classes with associated teachers and support staff. 'Bubbles' could not mix, for example, they were required to be kept separate in the playground, canteen, assemblies or after-school clubs. The government also issued guidelines on how to make schools safer; these included an emphasis on hand washing, enhanced cleaning and keeping spaces ventilated. Schools changed timetables to accommodate different arrival times and break times for children, and, as staff could not mix, staff meetings were held online. In classrooms, the sharing of materials, e.g., pens, was limited (DfE, 2021b). On top of this, as those with Covid and their contacts (i.e., members of bubbles) were required to isolate, the high absence of pupils and staff caused significant interference with day-to-day school and children's education (Danechi & Roberts, 2021).

In January 2021, schools opened for one day following the holiday and then closed on 5th January until 8th March 2021 to all pupils, apart from vulnerable children and children of key workers. For this lockdown, schools were more prepared for online learning; more pupils had received digital devices, and schools had developed ways of using them. Teachers were encouraged to teach a full curriculum online. Parental satisfaction with the work provided, which was more interactive, was higher, although some parents struggled to keep up alongside other commitments, such as working from home (Rekha Liyanagunawardena & Williams, 2021). Surveys with senior leaders and teachers also suggest that compared to the first lockdown, there were more live lessons and pre-recorded teaching. However, engagement was still relatively low, with only 55% of children returning their last piece of work; this was likely to be lower in schools with higher levels of disadvantage (Nelson, Andrade, & Donkin, 2021). Although the difference in time spent on learning for groups with different socioeconomic statuses reduced from the first home learning period, there remained a significant difference (Pensiero, Kelly, & Bokhove, 2021). Groups with lower socioeconomic status generally continued to spend less time on schoolwork. Not all children were able to engage with the learning on offer. The correlation between lack of time on schoolwork and levels of disadvantage indicates that there were barriers for children associated with disadvantage, such as the digital devices children had access to, or the amount of time parents had to support their children.

Teaching any subject in these circumstances was challenging; however, art and design, with its focus on material experience and space requirements, was particularly affected. The Office for National Statistics (2021) suggests that less art and design was taught in remote learning periods than before the pandemic. When the subject was taught, it required more parental support, particularly for younger children. In school, sharing art materials was a challenge. Extra-curricular clubs, common in the arts, became difficult if they involved 'bubbles' mixing. Many schools chose not to visit external organisations during this period due to the risks associated with public transport and/or public spaces.

Unlike schools, arts organisations were open for a shorter period (figure 1-1). When arts organisations reopened in July 2020, they did so with restricted numbers and in challenging circumstances, the number of people in one group was limited to six. This often meant that school groups could not be accommodated (this was the case in Tate's London sites). Unlike

schools, the cultural sector closed again from 5th November to 12th December and again in London from 16th December (the rest of the UK at different points) until 17th May 2021. Government bailouts for the sector were welcomed but did not match the loss in income (Gray & Wright, 2021).

While the first lockdown had seen a proliferation of digital resources produced by arts organisations, these were reduced in the second lockdown period, as more staff were furloughed with increasing financial pressures. For active learning programmes such as Tate, the National Gallery and the Fitzwilliam Museum, approaches during this time were varied. Some programmes sought to digitally replicate the experience of being in the gallery (e.g., C. Smith, 2021), whilst others adopted new ways of reaching out to communities that would not usually visit (e.g., Noble, 2021a).

Reopening: back to normal?

When schools reopened in March 2021, restrictions were still in place. However, by July 2021, all government restrictions, including bubbles and staggered start times, were removed. Schools could decide their own safety measures at a school level (Madeley, 2021). Testing for COVID-19 continued into the autumn term 2021. Although contacts of positive cases could attend if testing negative (DfE & Williamson, 2021), high staff and pupil absence continued, making it a challenging time to attend or work at a school (Weale, 2021).

Arts organisations were able to open on 27th May 2021 and did so with restrictions on numbers of visitors which reduced income potential. In July 2021, legal requirements for reduced numbers were removed. However, many organisations retained them, including Tate.

The COVID-19 pandemic was not the only crisis to affect the cultural sector and primary schools during the period. As the pandemic revealed and reinforced societal inequalities, on-the-ground social movements gained momentum (Pleyers, 2020). The following section explores the impact of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement on the cultural and educational sectors. The movement forced the sectors to reflect on racism and representation. Although this is an important context that influenced the gallery education team during the pandemic and I thought it would be a significant part of the thesis, during the fieldwork period, the gallery education team's work in this area was mainly research and

preparing for future work. They also were involved with another collaborative doctoral project that explored racism.² Therefore, the impact of the Black Lives Matter movement does not form a central theme in the thesis. However, responding to the movement did influence projects and pedagogical decisions in smaller but significant ways. For this reason and as the BLM movement was central in the development of the PhD project, I have decided to include further information on it as context.

A series of crises: the Black Lives Matter movement
Both schools and the cultural sector have been grappling with the impact of the resurgence of the BLM movement following the murder of George Floyd by police in the USA on 25th May 2020. The movement highlighted ongoing institutional and broader societal racism. The issues the campaign raised are not new and have been continually presented about society (e.g., Eddo-Lodge, 2014), Tate specifically (e.g., Allday, 2016) and schools (e.g., in school leadership, Coleman & Campbell-Stephens, 2010). However, protests and attention have impelled organisations to act.

For the arts sector, the BLM movement has been experienced as one of a series of crises (Prottas, 2021). It has resonated in the cultural sector because there are stark, visible inequalities in who works for it and who accesses it. The workforce is primarily from white, middle-class backgrounds - various protected characteristics,³ such as disabled people, trans people and global majority people (Campbell-Stephens, 2020),⁴ are under-represented (Brook, O'Brien, & Taylor, 2018; Scott & Brook, 2023). The 2016 White Paper for Culture aimed to address this lack of diversity in the cultural workforce (DCMS, 2016). The limited representation in the workforce has implications for the type of experiences on offer; gallery educators may have 'blind spots' to their own cultivated status leading them to create learning experiences that replicate exclusive institutional norms (Sayers, 2014). Additionally, there are continuing inequalities in who engages with arts organisations and

² <https://www.tate.org.uk/research/studentships/janine-françois>

³ Protected characteristics in the UK are: age, gender reassignment, being married or in a civil partnership, being pregnant or on maternity leave, disability, race including colour, nationality, ethnic or national origin, religion or belief, sex and sexual orientation.

⁴ I have chosen the term 'global majority' to describe the people affected by institutional racism (Campbell-Stephens, 2020). I recognise this conflates the experiences and identities of many people. However, I use the term in preference to other terms (such as BAME, ethnic minority or person of colour), to not define people in relation to Whiteness and to recognise that people from these backgrounds form the global majority.

how they engage (Brook, O'Brien, & Taylor, 2020). The likelihood of attending a museum or gallery increases with higher income, and people from a White or Mixed background are more likely to participate than those from Black or Asian backgrounds (DCMS, 2020a).

This lack of representation in staff and audiences conflicts with organisational priorities, which are often to enable everyone to access cultural institutions (e.g., Museum of London, n.d.; Tate, n.d.-b). This gap between aims and reality is important as cultural organisations receive public funding and have a prominent role in the country's cultural life. Arguably, Tate (and other art museums and galleries) defines what is culturally valuable as the artists Tate chooses to exhibit or collect benefit the artists reputationally and their value in the art market (Gørrill, 2018).

Contradictions between what cultural organisations say and do have been noted on social media. Following the murder of George Floyd and outrage on social media, many organisations released statements of solidarity condemning racism; they did this without acknowledging ongoing racial and racist issues within their organisations and the experiences of their own staff. Tate released a statement which was criticised by creative collaboratives and artists (e.g., Black Obsidian Sound System, 2021; The White Pube, 2020), as well as journalists (e.g., J. Campbell, 2020). These groups perceived Tate to be particularly inactive around issues of racism in artist and staff experiences and the artwork on display, for instance, the Rex Whistler mural (Marshall, 2021).

Ongoing issues of a lack of representation are important for school groups as schools tend to be some of the most diverse audiences of arts organisations (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007). Although not currently evidenced, there could be a risk of young people experiencing racism (as staff experience it) and not seeing their cultures represented in the cultural sector's offer and workforce. Therefore, addressing systemic racism within organisations for this audience is essential to create safe experiences.

The responses in schools to the BLM social movement have varied. On an individual level, some schools have released anti-racist statements, and many are addressing representation in their curriculums. Schools have similar issues to the arts sector in terms of the workforce. Although no national data is collected on primary art leads and subject specialisms may be

allocated on a somewhat random basis, frequently changing (Gregory, 2014), we know that the teaching workforce is 85.6% White British (78.5% of working-age people in Britain are White British). This compares to 65.4% of pupils (Gov.uk, 2021b). Although applicants to Initial Teacher Education courses from global majority backgrounds are over-represented, they are less likely to get a place than White British peers (Worth, McLean, & Sharp, 2022). There are also decreased rates of retention for global majority teachers, sometimes linked to racism, and global majority teachers often experience 'glass ceilings' in their career progression (Tereshchenko, Mills, & Bradbury, 2020).

In both schools and the cultural sector, how steps to become anti-racist are taken has become a contentious issue. In summer 2021, the public removal of several statues of figures related to the slave trade was highly publicised. Oliver Dowden, then Culture Secretary, condemned this stating that any DCMS-funded organisations that removed statues and other objects risked losing funding. Statues needed to be kept and contextualised, called a 'retain and explain' approach (Dowden, 2020). Dowden's statement marks an interventionist stance on behalf of DCMS and has left cultural organisations in a tricky position, balancing two varying agendas, one which acknowledges that institutions are racist and strives to address this, with another that denies this is the case and seeks diversification without changing the current systems. The clash of these two positions has been described as a 'culture war' (Duffy et al., 2021).

Schools, too, have felt the pressure of the different responses to the BLM movement. Although there has been growing activism by young people and staff to address racist systems (e.g., Mukhtar, 2021), the government has prohibited the teaching of Critical Race Theory in schools (Trilling, 2020). Additionally, a key Government report, the Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities (2021), emphasises the high levels of academic achievement of certain ethnic groups and the underachievement of White British children. The report downplays the role of institutional racism in society and, consequently, in schools (Modhin & Walker, 2021). It insinuates that addressing institutional racism in schools is not a priority as it is not a significant problem. Charities working to address racism and contributors to the report have questioned the report's authorship, suggesting that much of it was written by the government itself rather than independent bodies (Iqbal, 2021).

During the COVID-19 pandemic, with an increased awareness of ongoing racism and institutional racism in society, there has been a growing consciousness and reflexivity in the positioning of art education, acknowledging that it can be complicit in replicating inequity (Coalition for racial equity in the arts and education (crea+e), 2020; R. Martin, Hovde, & Hiroti, 2021). The BLM movement, therefore, has implications for this study.

The following section explores how the cultural sector and schools have responded to BLM and post-pandemic government priorities.

The (ongoing) disruption of the crises
Although the pandemic has ended, the resulting challenges are still present for schools, particularly as the pandemic exposed and exacerbated existing inequalities within the school system. Children had significantly different experiences during this period. Children with high-income parents received more interactive remote learning experiences, had more resources (digital devices and analogue, e.g., pencils) and spent more time learning (Andrew et al., 2020; Easterbrook et al., 2023; Pensiero et al., 2021). Overall satisfaction with school learning materials was lower for parents from low-income backgrounds (Rekha Liyanagunawardena & Williams, 2021). Many children and their families experienced 'digital poverty', meaning they did not have (enough) devices and/or a Wi-Fi connection to engage in online learning. Disadvantaged groups who may have had worse experiences with home learning have been more affected (Farquharson, McNally, & Tahir, 2022; Howard, Khan, & Lockyer, 2021). A government scheme sought to address this, but there were delays in its implementation (Staufenberg, 2021).

For pupils, there has been particular concern from the government about 'lost learning' and 'catching up' with financial resource largely centred on a tutoring programme to counter this (DfE, 2021a, 2021d). 'Lost learning' is primarily concerned with literacy and numeracy, which have been impacted during the pandemic period (Farquharson et al., 2022; Howard et al., 2021). The government's concern for lost learning led to some schools introducing a catch-up curriculum. What a 'catch-up' curriculum is has been interpreted at a school level, with some primary schools streamlining what is taught and others prioritising core content. Schools that reduced their curriculum expressed regret that children missed out on wider experiences (Nelson, Lynch, & Sharp, 2021).

However, the narrative of 'lost learning' has been detrimental to schools and pupils; Harmeey and Moss (2021) suggest that 'learning disruption' is a more helpful term to acknowledge the broader social and societal impact, this centres on the disruption's effect on children's social and emotional wellbeing. The impact in this area was significant – children were concerned with their safety in school, anxious about having to self-isolate if they caught covid, and worried about catching up with schoolwork (Children's Commissioner, 2020). Even after some time has passed, the social impacts of the pandemic on children have been overlooked by government, for example, although the importance of pupil wellbeing for learning is mentioned in the White Paper of 2022, improving literacy and numeracy outcomes nationally are overwhelmingly the focus of the report (DfE, 2022b).

Although the holistic impact of the pandemic on children has not been fully appreciated by government, schools have had different responses. Moss, Bradbury, Braun, Duncan, and Levy (2021) found that schools' priorities differed from the government's focus on lost learning. Schools wanted to support children's wellbeing as well as their learning. Staff considered how wellbeing and learning interacted and influenced each other. Coming out of the pandemic, rather than focusing on lost learning, many schools concentrated on a 'recovery curriculum', a holistic approach to learning, allowing pupils to express their emotions and process what has happened (Carpenter & Carpenter, 2020). A recovery curriculum seeks to address pupils' wellbeing and anxiety (Nelson, Lynch, et al., 2021). This recovery often involved using arts, which, throughout the pandemic period, became increasingly associated with improving wellbeing (Gotthardt et al., 2022; Traunter, 2020).

In addition to social impacts on young people, in the post-pandemic period, school staffing and teacher wellbeing remain issues (Weale, 2022). Teachers and senior leaders reported experiencing significant stress during the pandemic, which impacted their wellbeing (Thomson, Greany, & Martindale, 2021). Teachers found it difficult to navigate the uncertainty of continually changing government advice and restrictions and manage their workload. Teachers were negatively affected by perceptions of the profession in the media, particularly the misconception that teachers were not working when schools were partially closed (Kim, Oxley, & Asbury, 2022). These issues seem to have led to teachers leaving the profession in high numbers (M. Martin, 2023) and continuing high staff absence levels (R. Adams, 2023).

The teacher audience that the gallery education team were working with was navigating the demanding context I have described. At the same time as schools have been traversing a altered and challenging context, the cultural sector has also faced its own difficulties.

Before the pandemic, museums and galleries lagged behind other sectors in their digital presence (Crooke, 2020). While larger organisations with a digital presence before the pandemic were better equipped to respond than smaller ones, the pandemic exposed the sector's lack of preparedness in the digital sphere (Kidd et al., 2021). Most cultural organisations have seen their digital presence grow over the pandemic. However, there continues to be resistance from cultural workers to entirely replacing live experiences. Cultural workers believe audiences want in-person events. Blended models offer a compromise and continue to be popular with staff (Gray & Wright, 2021; Walmsley et al., 2022). Digital practitioners in museums and galleries consider that there is still work to do in integrating the digital across the work of organisations (Kidd et al., 2021). Nonetheless, the pandemic encouraged cultural leaders to think more strategically about their digital offers (ICOM, 2021). This included considering the digital's role in responding to the BLM movement.

Following the BLM movement and a period of reflection, many cultural organisations sought to address under-representation in their collections and programmes. Addressing under-representation has increased focus on artists from global majority backgrounds, particularly in exhibitions.⁵ For staff, there has yet to be a significant change; some global majority creative and cultural workers continue to experience racism (Ali, Guirand, Byrne, Saha, & Taylor, 2022). However, there has been continuing work by cultural organisations to change the demographics of audiences. Although the increase in the use of digital may seem like a more democratic way to engage with audiences, cultural organisations have struggled to engage new audiences through digital events and resources. The growing use of digital media has not been mirrored by a broader range of people accessing these opportunities. It has, however, enhanced accessibility for some disabled people (Walmsley et al., 2022).

⁵ Examples include *The Black Fantastic* at the Hayward Gallery and *Life Between Islands* at Tate Britain.

In addition to the move to a more significant role for digital in the offers of cultural organisations, visitor numbers to museums and galleries following the pandemic have yet to return to pre-pandemic levels. Tate had 8,263,828 visitors in 2019/20. In 2021/2022, this was less than half (3,069,406). Although exact visitor figures for Tate in 2022/23 are not currently available, the Association of Leading Visitor Attractions (2023) reported that visits are 74% of pre-pandemic levels. This indicates some recovery but a significant reduction from pre-pandemic. The decline in visitor numbers has implications for income generation. Additionally, many organisations came out of the pandemic with a reduced workforce, thus limiting the programme that can be sustained.

The pandemic has had a mixed impact on learning programmes. They are affected by the financial restraints of cultural organisations and challenges in schools (staff absence/wellbeing and financial pressures). Walmsley et al. (2022) found that, on the one hand, the pandemic improved some organisations' relationships with schools; on the other hand, far from all learning teams even kept in touch with schools as learning staff may have been furloughed or made redundant (Giasemi & Stamatina, 2020).

This thesis will focus on a gallery education team working within the complex and challenging context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Their audience, in this case, primary school teachers, also faced disruption and exigent circumstances.

The Research Design

The research project and my relationship to the research
My supervisors, Professor Pat Thomson at the University of Nottingham and Dr Emily Pringle, then Head of Learning Practice and Research at Tate Galleries, originally conceived the research project. The AHRC Collaborative Doctoral Partnership programme funded the doctorate to research how art and artistic practice support creative learning in primary schools. As the research project involved school groups, it would research the gallery education team responsible for the schools audience, the schools and teachers team at Tate (referred to as the gallery education team in this thesis). As well as Dr Emily Pringle working in the same department as this team, my academic supervisor at the University of Nottingham, Professor Pat Thomson, had an established relationship with the team.

In 2019, I applied for the opportunity and was successful. I was particularly interested in the project as I had experience both in schools, as a teacher, and working in an arts organisation, as an education and outreach officer.

To reach this point, my own privileged position influenced my career choices and experiences with art education and cultural organisations. These experiences have also informed my research. I am a white, middle-class, cis woman, a position similar to many of the cultural workforce and primary teachers (Brook et al., 2018; Gov.uk, 2021b).

I have benefited from access to the arts at school, university and home. My secondary schooling offered numerous opportunities to engage with the arts. I could take two arts subjects at GCSE and had the option to continue to do this at A Level. Art was my favourite subject at secondary school. I visited the National Gallery on a school trip and several galleries during my A Level. Art and design had a high status in the school as they got good results. Although I did not visit galleries or museums at home, I grew up in a creative environment where things like painting furniture or walls were common. The arts were valued at home and at the school I attended. I was able to do an Art Foundation in my hometown, then went on to study a BA in History of Art and Spanish. I decided to study these subjects because I enjoyed them, without considering the financial implications, which I now recognise as a privileged position.

After my undergraduate degree and then an MA in History of Art, I participated in a low-paying arts education internship, which would not have been possible if I had had to support dependents. I also had parents to fall back on if needed. When there were few options for paid art education work, I completed a PGCE in secondary modern foreign languages. At the time, significant funding was attached to the course, which enabled me to do it (there was no funding attached to the PGCE in art and design). On reflection, my interest in teaching languages was limited. I found the five terms I taught at a secondary school challenging. It felt clear to me that it was a system in which some students would succeed and others would not; whether you were one or the other felt pre-determined. Many children were in and out of alternative provisions, particularly Pupil Referral Units .

After leaving teaching, I returned to arts education, working in a small arts organisation on a programme with long-term partnerships with secondary schools and youth centres. With a

few exceptions, interactions with primary schools tended to be more one-off. I worked with a range of schools. Some had fantastic arts provision, and I worked closely with teachers who were prioritising the arts in a range of subject areas, using them in their teaching and connecting their students to their local communities. On the other hand, through the one-off encounters with primary schools, I came across schools offering little to no arts provision; for example, I remember asking a child in a workshop if they enjoyed art at school, and they looked confused and said, 'I'm in Year Four, you only do art in Year Three'. I also recall a conversation with a teacher in which they expressed sadness that Year Six are not able to do art until after the Standard Assessment Tests that generally occur towards the end of May in the summer term. I, therefore, held mixed opinions about art education in schools, which I continually reflected on during the study.

In October 2019, I started the Collaborative Doctoral Partnership (CDP) project between the gallery education team responsible for the schools and teachers programme at Tate's London galleries and the University of Nottingham. The nature of the CDP programme meant that I was hosted by Tate, where I occupied an insider-outsider position (Hamdan, 2009). Having come from a job in arts education, I was able to partially occupy an insider position; this increased my acceptance within the gallery education team. On the other hand, not being employed by the organisation and having a prior career in teaching also allowed me to occupy an outsider position. The team valued my outsider status as someone with experience in the school sector. As Dwyer and Buckle (2009) find, insider-outsider is not a dichotomy. Specific characteristics may allow you to occupy an insider position, whereas others may position you as an outsider. I say more about this in chapter 2.

As the PhD was collaborative with the gallery education team, the research needed to be developed in discussion with them so that it could inform ongoing practice. Therefore, in conversations with the gallery education team and my supervisors, I developed a research project that drew on various previous or current research and non-research projects in the gallery education team. These projects are briefly detailed below:

- The gallery education team had recently been involved in Tracking Arts Learning and Engagement (TALE) research (Thomson & Hall, 2018), co-led by my supervisor, Professor Pat Thomson, at the University of Nottingham. The study involved two

cultural organisations, Tate and the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC). TALE researched secondary schools engaged with the two cultural organisations. One strand examined the role of the arts broker teacher in supporting arts rich environments in these schools. Crucial to the gallery education team was the difference between their programme and the one offered by the RSC; the RSC worked with whole schools, whereas Tate worked with individual teachers.

- My supervisor, Professor Pat Thomson, had been particularly involved with a Tate Summer School where teachers were invited to a week-long immersive programme led by artists (Thomson, 2014). Thomson had identified strengths of the programme; the gallery education team employed a model of CPD that respected the teacher as a professional with expertise (Thomson & Hall, 2023). Through this work, she also identified that although individual teachers enjoyed and benefitted from the project, they needed help to take the learning from it into the wider school (Thomson, 2014).
- The Steve McQueen (b.1969) Year 3 exhibition at Tate Britain opened in November 2019. The project displayed Year 3 class photographs. As 75% of primary schools in London were involved, the gallery education team had a prominent role in supporting the project. Year 3 worked with generalist teachers (a new audience). The gallery education team had usually worked with art lead teachers in primary (their teacher audience was predominantly secondary art specialist teachers).

Additionally, the gallery education team was aware of the context in primary schools detailed at the start of this chapter. Arts were being squeezed, and the cultural sector lacked the financial resource to provide intensive projects with individual schools on a large scale.

This context and the three strands detailed above fed into the gallery education team's development of a new research project with primary schools, Arts Reach Project (ARP), to explore, 'How can cultural organisations and schools work together to foster arts rich learning and teaching environments in Primary Schools?'. There are several features of the project which were new to the gallery education team and are important to note:

- The project centred on primary schools; the team responded to the previous dominance of the secondary audience and the opportunity that the Year 3 project had created (initiating relationships with a large number of primary schools);
- The project intended to work with whole primary schools, not individual teachers (often art leads), which was a new way of working for the gallery education team;
- It aimed to explore how arts rich environments could be fostered in primary schools through engagement with a cultural organisation. However, the gallery education team acknowledged that more traditional ways of doing this, such as having an artist in a school for an extended period, were not financially achievable in the current context. This collaboration would be a 'school change' as the arts would increase in importance across the school.

My research was initially centred on this project. My original research question was: *Gallery Education for School Change: How does a Gallery Education Programme adapt to support schools to become arts-rich?* My research was designed to take place in an action research (AR) project's 'reconnaissance' period. AR is an approach which seeks change whilst in a cycle of action and reflection (P. Adams, 2010). Figure 1-2 details the cycles envisioned for this project.

In AR, the reconnaissance phase is commonly considered a 'fact-finding' stage identifying problems and key people relating to those problems (P. Adams, 2010; Bana, 2010; Eley & Lathlean, 2006). This can be done through a literature review (Mason, 2005), but more

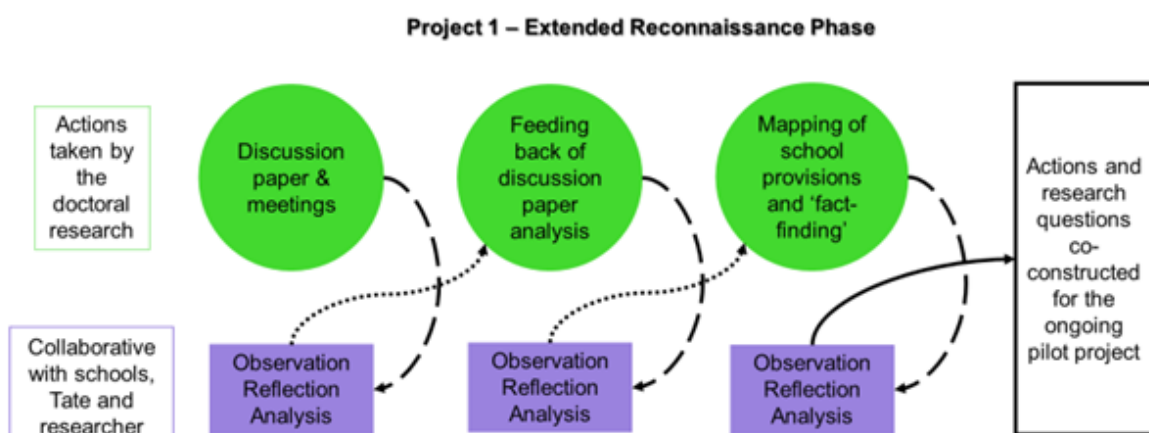


Figure 1-2 - diagram of AR cycles planned for the original research design

Ongoing community formation
 Through sharing of values, beliefs and experiences

commonly in educational or community settings, is completed by spending time in the environment, observing and interviewing participants (for example, Kyneswood, 2019; Tragoulia & Strogilos, 2013). Additionally, activities, such as making a video or art installation, can be part of this process (Townsend, Thomson, & the 'Get Wet' team, 2015). Reconnaissance can also be about 'community formation' (Townsend et al., 2015, p. 38). The reconnaissance phase in the ARP was envisioned to create space to get to know each other and to formulate research questions. This would enable schools and Tate to co-construct their future actions in partnership.

In summer 2020, I started attending online ARP meetings and events and co-wrote papers that the steering group used for reflection in the project. However, the progress of the project was slow. Before I could fully implement this proposal, the impacts of the pandemic forced me to reconsider and redesign the project.

Disruption and reshape of the research design
Given that I developed my research design in March – May 2020, the possibility of disruption was highly likely. With my supervisors, I had set the end of 2020 to review the project's progress. In early January 2021, my partner organisation (Tate) announced a further contraction of activity and increased its use of the furlough scheme. At this point, it became clear that, whilst ARP would continue, the activity level would not enable me to collect enough data within my study period.

In part, the context shaped and limited the new research design. When submitting my original research design in May 2020, I had proposed a Plan B, a survey of the offers of the cultural sector during the pandemic. However, given the impact of furlough on the sector and particularly learning teams, it felt a difficult time to build the new relationships required to implement this. I, therefore, decided to continue working with Tate as I already knew the team and had access to the programme (a newly developed Plan C). Through Tate, I also gained access to teachers engaging with the programme.

In conversation with my supervisors and the gallery education team, I redesigned the research. My subsequent research question incorporated my first but was broadened to ask, *How does a Gallery Education Programme change to support teachers with art during a pandemic?* This included some key changes to the research design:

- I widened the question to research the whole programme of the gallery education team; this incorporated the project I had been previously researching (ARP) but also a digital resource the team were producing and the other areas of work, such as planning for the reopening of the art museums;
- I changed the methodology to an ethnography to reflect this change from one project to the whole programme. Given my participants' lack of time to participate in collaborative, reflective cycles and the slow development of ARP, this seemed necessary. An ethnography allowed me to be with the gallery education team as the pandemic programme developed. This was primarily a 'remote' ethnography, employing methods from digital ethnographies (Kulavuz-Onal & Vásquez, 2013; Pink et al., 2016). I observed online meetings, events, email chains and documents. These observations were supplemented with interviews with the gallery education team and with teachers who had engaged with the programme. I will expand on this approach in chapter 2.
- Rather than researching whole schools, I adapted to work with individual teachers. This was due to a concern that schools were not able to participate in research projects (as they dealt with the challenges of the pandemic); however, my experience so far had shown that individual teachers were still keen to engage. Additionally, my conversations with the team highlighted the importance of connections with teachers, especially how they influenced and shaped the team's actions. I had noted that the team had decided not to directly engage with the curriculum. I, therefore, assumed that this was a more complex relationship than manifesting teachers' requests as programme;
- I changed to focus on the context of the pandemic, as it could not be avoided. The research question references the level of change needed for a gallery education programme to work in this transformed environment, having lost one of their principal ways of engaging with their audience: the gallery. Although the research question does not directly examine the impact of the resurgence of the BLM movement, which concurrently occurred with the pandemic, it was ever-present in the gallery education team and for the teachers who participated.

Of course, the research must contribute to knowledge, as well as being practically useful to Tate and other similar arts education programmes. The following section details this contribution.

Contribution to the literature

This thesis contributes to research on the impact of the pandemic on the broader cultural sector, particularly research into the specific implications for gallery education teams that work with schools. In addition, it adds to the established literature on artist-school partnerships. This thesis offers the following:

1. A detailed account of how a team of gallery educators, a community of practice (CoP) (Wenger, 1998), navigated the challenges of the period. There are a few studies of the use of CoPs to respond to a crisis (Ann Amaratunga, 2014; Curran, Murphy, Abidi, Sinclair, & McGrath, 2009; Ghamrawi, 2022) and some that identify CoPs as a protective factor that can help people respond to changing circumstances (Bolisani, Fedeli, Bierema, & De Marchi, 2021; Ghamrawi, 2022). This study will show that a CoP can also be emotionally challenging to maintain during a crisis;
2. A deeper understanding of the impact of the pandemic on the cultural sector (ICOM, 2021; Walmsley et al., 2022). The literature identifies the growth of digital programmes in museums, which was the case in this study. Walmsley et al. (2022) found that larger organisations were protected from some of the challenges of the pandemic by their (normally better) existing digital infrastructure. However, this research will show that Tate's existing digital infrastructure did not meet the demands of the whole organisation, meaning that teams were affected differently;
3. The researcher has been present in discussions about what gallery education might look like in a digital environment and during a pandemic. Going further than Giasemi and Stamatina (2020), the research explores how the gallery education team came to use particular digital tools, as well as the benefits and limitations of digital;
4. Information on how teachers have responded to changes in the cultural sector, a group so far missing in published accounts. For example, both Noble (2021a) and C. Smith (2021) detail how their art museum learning programmes have changed and the reasons why; this thesis builds on these to add what teachers thought of these changes. Bridge England Network (2020) identified that teachers were keen to

collaborate with cultural organisations during the pandemic. This thesis identifies how motivations altered during the period;

5. As well as addressing the pandemic context, the research builds on the broader literature of gallery education and art education in schools, referenced in chapter 3. It adds to the literature which explores how engagement with gallery education pedagogies may or may not change a teacher's practice (e.g., Galton, 2010; Hall, Thomson, & Russell, 2007; Noble, 2021b). It finds that some of the barriers to a teacher changing their practice are ones documented in the literature, such as different value given to process (valued by gallery education) vs outcome (valued by schools) (Craft, Chappell, Rolfe, & Jobbins, 2012; Hall et al., 2007; Thomson, Hall, Jones, & Sefton Green, 2012). However, it also identifies different values underpinning the two practices, reflecting a move in schools towards a managerial conception of professionalism where the teacher does not have critical input into how and what they teach (Sachs, 2016). It will explore how this is in tension with the gallery education team's own understanding of teacher professionalism;
6. Empirical data about how an ongoing conversation with the curriculum and pedagogical realities of schools impacts gallery education practice. Chemi (2019) and Kind, de Cosson, Irwin, and Grauer (2007) have found that artists working with schools generally do not consider learning from the school environment relevant to their practice. This thesis builds on these studies to argue that the practice of gallery education when working with schools, although led by artist practice, is persistently in conversation with school practice, whether incorporating school approaches or resisting them. It describes this relationship as a push and pull on gallery education.

Researching a gallery education programme during the pandemic is important. The pandemic was a challenging time for gallery educators and schools. In a rush to move on and 'return to normal', those leading the organisations and government may overlook the profound changes needed to operate and the pandemic's continuing impact.

Additionally, as resources in art museums (Easton & Di Novo, 2023) and schools (Drayton et al., 2022) are reducing, it is important to recognise the cultural sector's contribution to schools. Engaging with art and cultural organisations is of value to young people (e.g.,

Anders, Shure, Wyse, Barnard, et al., 2021; SQW, 2018; Thomson & Hall, 2018). Spaces for these experiences must remain.

Moreover, this research details the challenges of a gallery education team working with primary schools. The research will explore how pedagogies from gallery education were difficult to incorporate into primary classrooms. This tells us both about gallery education and primary classrooms. The findings will suggest that gallery education may need to change. For primary schools, it will suggest training needs that need to be addressed and that individual teachers who are keen to engage with gallery education may benefit from support from the wider school. The tension between the two practices is an issue that may be useful for other arts learning teams to engage with.

Chapter outline

The following chapter, chapter 2, details how the study was conducted. I start by reflecting on my insider-outsider position in relation to the study before exploring the remote ethnographical methodology. This chapter details the (mainly) digital methods employed in this study, who the participants were and how they were approached. It also includes a reflection on ethical issues.

Chapter 3 explores the literature the research builds on and introduces the study's theoretical framework, communities of practice (Wenger, 1998). I detail the different histories and values on which the practices of gallery education and art education in schools are founded. I establish the pedagogical approaches of gallery education and primary art education as different. The chapter explores how the two groups work together, highlighting it as a challenging but productive relationship. The final section details the professional development context in English schools to better understand how the experiences in which teachers participated related to the preconceptions of professional development.

In chapter 4, I outline the landscape of practice (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2014) of the cultural sector in which the gallery education team operated. I describe how the sector responded to the shock of the pandemic. The second section of this chapter introduces Tate, which occupies a prominent position in the landscape of practice. I

summarise the gallery education team's organisational priorities and programme during the pandemic.

In chapter 5, I describe how the gallery education team formed a community of practice. They had a shared common purpose of enabling young people to be with art and a practice interconnected with contemporary art. The chapter identifies two sub-groups in the CoP, those new to the practice, whose roles are more closely connected to teachers, and those more established in the team. Between these two sub-groups, I identify differences in their understanding of the practice's relationship to teachers and schools.

Chapter 6 establishes the primary teachers in this study as members of dispersed parallel primary art communities of practice (PACoP). As art leads or art-interested teachers, the teachers in this study occupied central positions in the PACoPs in their schools. Although all their schools valued the arts, practical support was only sometimes available. Teachers' art teaching practice was influenced by dominant primary school practice.

Chapter 7 identifies four phases in how teachers engaged with art and cultural organisations during the pandemic. Teachers described an increased belief in the importance of arts experiences for young people during a challenging time. However, as the pandemic progressed, time and space to offer arts experiences decreased. The chapter compares teachers' rhythms of engagement with those of the gallery education team.

Chapter 8 explores how the gallery education team grappled with school practice, a process which they reified in the term 'bridging'. 'Bridging' supposedly describes how the programme was communicated to teachers. However, as a verbal reification, it meant different things to different team members. The input of teachers, peripheral and core members of the gallery education team shaped the reification of 'bridging'—the following two chapters detail how this, in turn, became reified in practice.

In chapter 9, I offer a case study of the Hear My Story (HMS) project, a series of digital resources the gallery education team produced for primary teachers during the pandemic. I describe HMS as a boundary object to facilitate connection between gallery educators and primary teachers when social distancing was enforced. In a change of approach, the gallery education team drew on the experience of a broker, a freelance primary art education

consultant, to ensure that the resources ‘bridged’ gallery education to schools. HMS was designed to support teachers to value and celebrate the culture of their young people through engagement with global majority artists. These priorities were shared with primary teachers, making them visionary boundary objects (Kubiak, Fenton-O’Creevy, et al., 2014). However, as a boundary object, it was not an object of change but was interpreted within primary teachers’ CoPs.

Chapter 10 uses the CoP concept of ‘boundary encounters’ to analyse a series of four vignettes from the Arts Reach Project, a research project with primary schools. Mainly from the development year, the gallery education team, supported by a steering group, sought ways to enable the learning from CPD sessions to travel throughout the school. The vignettes describe the team connecting, resisting, listening, and finally returning to a particular practice.

Chapter 11 draws from the previous chapters to argue that whilst the pandemic was a period of change, by the end of the study, the gallery education practice had predominantly returned to a pre-pandemic practice. It presents a team that wish to respond to the ongoing situation in schools but also hold reservations about fully engaging with school’s ways of doing things. These reservations are explored, as well as the factors that impeded change. It suggests further scaffolding is needed for a primary teacher audience.

Finally, chapter 12 summarises the research project’s findings and situates them in the literature. It argues that the research contributes to the literature on the pandemic as experienced by the cultural sector by providing an in-depth account with responses from teachers. It also adds to the understanding of art-school partnerships, highlighting the encounter of different values as challenging to this work. It emphasises areas of future study that would benefit cultural organisations and primary schools.

CODA

This chapter located the research in reduced funding in the cultural sector and the current pressure on art education in primary schools in England. It explored the significant impact of the pandemic on both these sectors, finding that the pandemic had an ongoing effect on how cultural organisations could operate and how art was taught in schools. It described the Black Lives Matter movement as a concomitant crisis that impelled change in both groups.

Finally, it introduced the researcher and research question, which explores how a gallery education team responded to the pandemic in relation to teachers.

Chapter 2 - Methodology: a remote ethnography during a pandemic
During the COVID-19 pandemic, many sectors moved entirely to remote working. Although remote working has been technologically possible for considerable time, the mainstream adoption of remote working practices was advanced by the COVID-19 pandemic. This change of working practice potentially opened doors to new ways of researching and knowing, in addition to allowing research that crosses different geographical spaces and time zones.

Historically, ethnographic methods authors assumed that physically being in a space is *the way* of spending time with the cultural group (e.g., E. Campbell & Lassiter, 2014; Gobo, 2008; Madden, 2017). Ethnography traditionally values 'presence' to observe and, therefore, better understand participants. However, during parts of 2020 and 2021, it was almost impossible for this 'presence' to be physical. This study predominantly occurred when restrictions on being with people and in different spaces were in force. For example, advice (or legal requirements) to work from home was in place for almost the entire research period; the art museums were closed on and off. However, the gallery education team continued to operate, meet and collaborate using digital tools. Hine (2015) has noted that if your participants are communicating in a particular way, there seems no doubt that it is appropriate for a researcher to use these methods too.

In this chapter, I start by detailing my epistemological stance as a social constructivist. I then explore my insider-outsider position during the research. The chapter describes the ethnographic tradition into which this study enters and illustrates how 'presence' was enabled during a remote ethnography through digital tools. I establish the field of research, the methods used and the reasons they were chosen. I outline how I analysed the data using a thematic analysis concurrently with a more flexible approach, and how my position shaped how I have written the thesis. I finish with ethical considerations and an audit trail.

Insider-outsider?: epistemology and positionality in the research
I recognise the influence of my own role as researcher as important in the research (Corbetta, 2003). I conducted the research from a social constructivist epistemological position, which purports that knowledge is subjective and shaped by social interactions and the cultural environment. Knowledge originates in everyday life and social relations. People

are important in sustaining this reality as, 'It is a world that originates in their thoughts and actions and is maintained as real by these,' (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 34). The logical outcome of a socially constructed and maintained reality is that different people will experience different realities; these realities could even be contradictory (Law, 2004).

As the researcher, I am located in a particular position which shapes the reality I perceive and the knowledge I produce (Haraway, 1988). My theoretical positioning stands in opposition to the role of an 'objective researcher'. I follow Haraway (1988), a feminist constructivist, in challenging the construction of objective knowledge, highlighting that the assumption of objectivity has effaced the plurality of voices and subjectivities for a 'god view', a white male viewpoint. People experience 'situated realities' that are partial and contingent on a person's background and position. My methodological approach (ethnography) is coherent with this understanding as it does not seek to produce objective knowledge but acknowledges the researcher's role and participants' social reality in creating 'situated knowledge' (Dodworth, 2021; Haraway, 1988).

As I have indicated that my position is critical, I return to examine further my insider-outsider position, identified in chapter 1. There are advantages and disadvantages to being an insider or outsider in relation to a researched group (Bonner & Tolhurst, 2002). An insider may establish relationships with a group quickly but struggle to establish a role as a researcher, not an advocate. Whereas an outsider may need to spend more time developing relationships with a group but may be better positioned to recognise and analyse quotidian events.

My relationship to the research was shaped by my professional experience and knowledge (as an arts educator and a teacher), demographic (white, middle-class, cis woman) and educational (attended university, studied art history) background. This was a similar positionality to many of my participants. My background facilitated my ability to move through different identities. Through my choices to emphasise distinct parts of my identity (Dodworth, 2021), e.g., my teaching or art education experience, depending on who I was with, I have occupied insider and outsider positions at different times (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). For instance, when interviewing teachers, I sometimes shared information about my own professional experience teaching. I hoped our shared experiences would build rapport.

At the same time, with the gallery education team, I emphasised my experience with the cultural sector, taking on a practitioner-researcher identity.

As well as being able to choose to emphasise different areas of my identity, my participants have played a role in identifying me (Chereni, 2014), particularly as my partner organisation hosted me. As I participated in a collaborative doctorate and had a Tate institutional email, teacher participants sometimes identified me with Tate. I often found myself providing explanations on the gallery education team's behalf when talking to teachers.

On the other hand, although I consider myself quite knowledgeable about art and artist practice, I did not have the same level of expertise as the gallery education team. This partial outsider position in relation to the gallery education team allowed me to question things that may be taken for granted within a well-established team, for example, why a reference to Donna Haraway was included in a primary resource. However, this outsider-ness decreased as the study continued; I became more familiar with the team's references, language and ways of working, which have influenced my own (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009).

As well as being a choice made by myself or my participants, my position was also influenced by the institutional context I was working within, a collaborative doctoral partnership (CDP). The CDP allows insider institutional access to a partner that may not be permitted to an external researcher, supporting an insider-outsider position. The studentships are geared towards developing practitioner-researchers (not just researchers) by providing funding for work placements. On the other hand, the CDP student is subject to exterior demands (the university), making the student partly an outsider.

Concerning institutional priorities, I sometimes found my insider-outsider position uncomfortable (Hamdan, 2009). Bureaucratic differences in responses to the pandemic at Tate and the University of Nottingham enforced an outsider status. In the early stages of the pandemic, the two organisations took different approaches. All of Tate's staff were given three weeks of paid leave in April 2020 to recognise the emotional toil of the pandemic. Internal communications emphasised the inability to work normally. At the university, the deadline for my Confirmation of Studies paper did not change (from May 20), and there were no accommodations made at a whole postgraduate student level to acknowledge that working in the pandemic environment was harder than pre-pandemic (there may well have

been accommodations at an individual level). It is important to highlight that I was extremely well supported by my university supervisor during this period, a personal rather than institutional support.

Furthermore, my insider-outsider position became troublesome at another point in the pandemic. In January 2021 (when I was required to redesign my research), Tate reduced activity and furloughed staff. I felt resentful that this may require me to take an unpaid Voluntary Interruption of Studies. I worried about being able to pay bills. At this point, I was still awaiting confirmation that there would be funded extensions. The continuation of activity at Tate (which was necessary for me to continue to research) was entirely outside of my control. This situation emphasised that I received few of the protections offered to complete insiders.

The following section explores how ethnography is a suitable method to generate knowledge from my insider-outsider position and social constructivist epistemology. The section describes how digital tools were understood to enable ethnographic presence in this study.

Ethnography and digital ethnography: being present
Ethnography is frequently used in both Educational Studies and Museum and Gallery Studies (e.g., Craft, Cremin, Hay, & Clack, 2013; Ruck, 2020; Sim, 2019). It is a qualitative research method that enables the researcher to spend an extended period with a cultural group, 'The researcher is immersed in the day-to-day lives of the people and observes and interviews the group participants,' (Creswell, 2006, p. 68).

In chapter 1, I acknowledged that on encountering disruption to my research in January 2021, I no longer felt able to continue with an action research (AR) methodology as the progress of the project it was attached to (Arts Reach Project) slowed, and my participants did not have enough time to contribute to the collaborative reflective cycles. However, the context of the pandemic and the collaborative doctoral partnership had created a situation where I could spend time ethnographically with the gallery education team. Through the initial AR project, I had become integrated into the day-to-day development of the Arts Reach Project (ARP). I was keen to continue to be involved in the project's development, perhaps influenced by my practitioner background. Therefore, I preferred an ethnography

to a series of interviews that took a grounded theory approach. I was also wary of the potential to build new relationships with other cultural organisations to carry out case studies during a pandemic. Ethnography allowed me to observe the practice of the gallery education team, which was necessary to answer the research question, and allowed for the uncertainty created by the pandemic. I was able to respond to how the gallery educators were working.

Ethnography is also coherent with my social constructivist position. In ethnography, it is through the researcher and participants' involvement that knowledge is produced (Aull Davies, 2007). While researching and responding to events, the ethnographer brings their prior knowledge and experience to the data (P. Atkinson, 2015). Recognising this is the case means I had to acknowledge my presence in the field and continually reflect on its impact (Creswell, 2006). I expand on how I systematically reflected on my position and relationship to the research in the participant observation section of this chapter. The collaborative nature of the doctorate meant that I wanted to ensure that my research was useful to the gallery education team and that they were involved in its development. Therefore, ethnography's recognition of the role of the researcher and the participants is not only coherent with my social constructivist epistemological position but my recognition of the importance of my participants' expertise (Broadhead, 2010).

One of the important principles of ethnography, being present with the cultural group, was experienced differently during the COVID-19 pandemic. The importance of unmediated presence in ethnography dates to its origins in Anthropology. In the early 1900s, Bronislaw Malinowski established that spending time in the field - usually a defined, locatable geographical place - was preferable to remote mediated research based on literary representations and other secondary sources (S. Walton, 2018). However, over more than the hundred years since the development of ethnography, humans' ways of being and communicating in the world have changed significantly. New ways to be present in the world have emerged. The digital world has grown in importance in ethnography as how the Western world communicates changes.

The digital and the internet have become part of many peoples' daily lives. Hine (2015) describes ethnography for the internet as 'embedded, embodied and everyday'. The

internet has become 'embedded' and entrenched in our daily routines; it is not a separate activity. It sits alongside other ways of doing things and is integrated into our lives. Although the internet is multi-spatial and crosses geographical regions, it is also an 'embodied' experience for the user in ways that other activities are, such as driving a car. It has become quotidian, 'everyday'; it is no longer something out of the ordinary in ways that it might have been when the internet was first growing in popularity. Although the virtual might have been considered a separate space in the early days of the internet, aspects of many people's lives have been taking place online for some time. The former binary between digital and analogue or material experiences does not hold; they are often experienced together (Shumar & Madison, 2013).

However, although the digital has become more integral in Western society and prevalent in ethnography, there continues to be some suspicion of digital tools' ability to allow the ethnographer to be with the participant group. Hine (2015) notes that mediated communication (i.e., using digital technologies) is sometimes mistrusted because, historically, ethnographers have been keen to experience first-hand to see the whole picture. Landri (2013) argues that our limited understanding of presence has led to the exclusion of ethnographic studies of online learning communities from the broader ethnographic literature. Face-to-face interaction is privileged, in what Landri (2013, p. 240) calls the 'crisis of "being there"'. The dominance of physical presence in ethnography is certainly enduring, so much so that with the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in March 2020 and the inability to meet physically, it was still possible to ask, however, the answer was affirmative, 'Ethnography: does remote research really count?' (Jacobson & McCune, 2020). This is not to say that ethnographers eschew digital technologies. When technology is used, however, it is more often employed to create an archive, to, 'preserve, or at least restore to our memory, our live experiences in the field,' (Gallagher & Freeman, 2011, p. 359), rather than as a method of experiencing in and of itself.

This misgiving may be because how digital tools mediate presence differs from 'being there' in person. Using social material approaches, one can understand the ethnographer's presence as mediated through technological tools and virtual spaces (Landri, 2013). This mediation, '*expands the ethnographer's presence in the field*' (emphasis in original, p.252).

Far from being tools which neutrally convey presence or enforce a distance, digital tools enable different forms of presence. For example,

- An online chat room may allow both asynchronous/synchronous activity and covert or candid observation (Kulavuz-Onal & Vásquez, 2013);
- The researcher may be required to be a member of a group or forum but also be able to only observe and not participate (Kulavuz-Onal & Vásquez, 2013);
- Online platforms can also allow the researcher to be both present and absent (N. James & Busher, 2013);
- Video tools, the go-to communication tool during the pandemic, create a 'live digital co-presence' (S. Walton, 2018), enabling the researcher to 'be there' synchronously.

The pandemic changed how many people used digital tools and the internet. Even well before the pandemic, digital ethnography was described as an 'emergent research environment,' (Pink et al., 2016, p. 26), requiring researchers to be flexible in a continually changing context. Although the digital tools used during the pandemic were not new, how they were used was novel. The innovative use of digital modes of communication during the pandemic made it an area I reflected on as I researched. In the following section, I discuss my experience conducting an ethnography remotely and how I identified different ways the digital tools I used mediated my presence. I start with a reflection on my concerns about researching in this way.

A remote ethnography/digital artwork: parallel experiences?

Throughout my research, I drew parallels between carrying out an ethnography remotely and an art museum education programme running without the gallery spaces. Art museums' educational and cultural value for people is often assumed to be about 'being in' the place without fully understanding why this may differ from seeing an image online. Benjamin (1936/2008) describes the artwork as having an 'aura' that reproductions cannot replicate. As I compared digital artworks with a remote ethnography, I could see potential gains from digital tools, such as the shared experience with my participants. Nonetheless, my early research notes are tinged with concern about 'missing out', 'How is sitting in on Zoom meetings, following email trails, etc., different to being with them in person? What

am I losing?' (Researcher reflection diary, 05/02/2021), as my presence was digitally mediated.

I discovered my own preference for physical presence, one that is shared by the ethnographic literature (Landri, 2013). It is also shared by the sector in which the study took place, where attaching value to physically being with art has been essential to the business model, 'being there' or the 'cultural experience' is the *raison-d'être* of programmes and organisations, even some digital programmes (e.g., C. Smith, 2021).

The next sections detail how the comparison of a remote ethnography and an art museum's education programme without a gallery led me to reflect on the elusive nature of the presence I sought and the type of presence digital tools could bring.

Dislocated presence

When I started my ethnographic research, I entered a context that was still evolving.

Although the gallery education team had been working remotely since March 2020, many team members had been on furlough during this period. Working practices were still developing. Whilst Fitzsimons (2013) entered existing communities, I entered a community that was coming into being and finding ways to connect.

I experienced a sense of dislocation from where the action was happening in the early part of my research. I worried that meetings were taking place that I was not invited to, that chats were happening I was not included in, and that I frequently felt a step behind the team, like I had missed a conversation,

I am keen to find out what people knew about this meeting before it happened, particularly in relation to work on the digital resource ending... I feel quite out of the loop. (Field notes, 14/06/2021)

My concerns about 'missing out' are not particular to carrying out a remote ethnography (e.g., Reynolds, 2017), as an ethnography is always partial. However, they were heightened; a physical body in a space is harder to forget than including an email address in a meeting invite or email chain. Rather than being continuously present in an office space, remote ethnography meant presence in bouts of time during meetings. Email chains and sharing of documents did not maintain this sense of presence.

As my relationships with the team strengthened, I realised that other team members felt the same too. N. James and Busher (2013) have described online learning spaces for teachers as 'liminal spaces', where hierarchies are disrupted. However, rather than a liminal space where hierarchies were disturbed, furlough, unequal workloads, and access to strategic information at an institutional level reinforced hierarchies. I return to the dynamics in the team in chapters 5 and 8. The digital tools created a 'disrupted presence'.

Lingering presence

Alongside my attendance at meetings, my presence in other areas was signalled. My email address appeared in email chains, and the platform that hosted shared documents even showed the initials of who was 'present' in the document, including where on the document they were working. My presence, as mediated by shared documents, was lurking; digital tools allowed me access to the ongoing life of a document or resource in a way that I may not have been able to in person. I used this to track the development of resources and email bulletins being sent to teachers, see how the language used was evolving, and how the document developed.

Researching in this way was a form of subtle observation. I considered this a 'lingering presence' as the initials stayed longer in the document than my active involvement with them. The digital tools tracked and left a trace of my presence in ways that my presence in physical documents would not be felt or could be more controlled by my participants, for example, by sharing particular sections or withholding some documents. This level of access was a benefit of researching this way as it facilitated my understanding of the team's working process. However, I perhaps should have further reflected on the impact it had on my participants; how did my lingering shape the decisions that were being taken?

Hyper-presence

The dislocated and lingering presence I experienced during my fieldwork was punctuated by moments of hyper-presence during meetings. My presence disrupted normal ways of doing things. In the first meeting I attended for a particular project, one of the assistant curators asked, 'Is it a normal meeting?' My presence disrupted the flow of the regular meeting. A face in a box on Zoom, my presence was announced, and I was immediately identifiable as a new person and a researcher. There had been no informal conversations in the office over coffee to soften the transition of my joining meetings. After the meeting, I reflected on my

impact on proceedings, 'My presence felt slightly uncomfortable, particularly with staff who I have had less contact with... I feel it relaxed a bit as the meeting went on, but I worried I hindered conversation as it [the meeting] finished early' (Field notes, 23/03/2021).

I kept my video stream on in my observations (unless requested). I could not sit at the back of the room or the far end of a table; I shared an equal space on the screen with my participants. Being on Zoom as a researcher felt exposing, facial expressions and eye movements are emphasised. Zoom also limits how and where you can move; initially, it felt like a strongly 'embodied' (Hine, 2015) experience. The camera and screen shaped and mediated my presence in these ways.

As a researcher in this situation, although Zoom created a potentially unsettling hyper-presence, I found ways to soften this presence. As I became more familiar with the setting, I became able to contribute more and become more involved in what was going on; my participation became increasingly active (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010). My feeling of hyper-presence dulled as time passed, and the jarring sense of observing from a screen and being observed softened.

With hindsight, my reflection on the impact of my presence may have been misfocused; it was not necessarily my presence that disrupted the meeting but the participants' sense of exposure. This hyper-presence on the Zoom screen potentially generates new ethical questions to consider as it intensified the feeling of observation for the participants, particularly as the boundaries between professional and home life blurred. In my research, I approached this by reflecting on whether it was relevant to include something in the data, which I detail in the ethical considerations section.

As my working methods evolved and became more formalised, my concern with 'missing out' dissipated, and the ways of working became more embedded. As time progressed, I realised that informal conversations, email exchanges and more formal interviews were essential to supplement my observations. Throughout my research, I moved from searching for an elusive presence to better understanding the type of presence that digital tools enabled (Landri, 2013). In the following section, I reflect on how I entered the field and the methods I used during the study, including participant observation and interviews.

Establishing a field, methods in the field and leaving the field

The research took an emergent design approach (Pailthorpe, 2017). The context of the pandemic meant that it was incredibly challenging to plan with any certainty; however, ethnographic studies are always responsive to developments in the field (P. Atkinson, 2015; E. Campbell & Lassiter, 2014). In my study, I was working through the disruption of the pandemic (Leonard & Ward, 2022) as a changed field of gallery education was emerging. It required me to move online to a remote working environment. When moving online, I had to do different things; it is not possible to conduct an online ethnography in the same way as an in-person one (Kulavuz-Onal & Vásquez, 2013). The following sections explore and reflect on how I entered and left the field, as well as the methods I chose and why.

Entering the field

In a digital ethnography, it is not possible to enter or leave the field in the same way you may be able to enter or leave a geographically locatable site (Parker Webster & Marques da Silva, 2013). For instance, entering the field might mean starting to engage in activity related to the research topic; it might mean employing a set of practices such as participating in a discussion forum rather than entering into a geographic space (Kulavuz-Onal & Vásquez, 2013). My entering the field (firstly in the ARP in summer 2020 and then the wider programme in spring 2021) involved starting to attend meetings and being copied into email chains. These activities formed my field of study and were shaped by the opportunities available to me (what meetings was I given access to, what email chains did I want to be cc'd into) (Amit, 2000). My engagement in participant observation created the field of study; I detail how I approached this in the following section.

Participant observation

Participant observation is paramount in ethnography (P. Atkinson, 2015). It consists of spending time with a community group in their day-to-day lives. Rather than only seeking to empathise with or understand the participants' point of view, during participant observation, the researcher looks for patterns in social interactions, acknowledging that, 'Social life has its own rhythms, its cycles, its distinctive tempi. These temporal flows are themselves patterned and ordered,' (P. Atkinson, 2015, p. 18).

As the gallery education team were working remotely for most of this period, for me, this meant spending time with my participants online. It included the following activities:

- Attending meetings and events;
- Following email chains;
- Observing and sometimes commenting on documents the team were working on.

My reflections on my experience of presence in the previous section add some detail to this. I acknowledge that this was a significant level of access enabled partly by the CDP scheme; my Tate institutional email facilitated access to the online system where documents were shared. My access was also enabled by the trust I had built with the team.

During my observations, my insider-outsider role and my relationship with my participants were important (Aull Davies, 2007). The insider part of my insider-outsider position meant that I did not need to spend time learning about the background to the gallery education practice; however, I also needed to ensure that I maintained my outsider perspective and did not 'go native' (Bonner & Tolhurst, 2002). This would have meant I would have taken the practice I encountered for granted. I tried to maintain the role of 'researcher' by positioning myself slightly apart from the team.

Participant observation is a way to observe 'non-declarative' knowledge (Rinaldo & Guhin, 2022). Non-declarative knowledge is the skills and habits that have become automatic for those doing them (Lizardo, 2017). My observations were guided by my research question and aimed to:

- Gain an understanding of how the resources or events that the gallery education team were producing were made, in other words, gallery education's habits of practice;
- Observe how the gallery education team was maintained through team meetings and reflections;
- Observe how teachers engaged during events;
- Discern how the team reflected on these events and, where possible, how this related to teachers' own reflections;
- See how these reflections (and those of teachers) were incorporated into ongoing practice;
- Understand how the work during the pandemic did or did not fit into the broader strategic plan of the gallery education team.

Of course, I also noted things beyond this remit if they caught my attention.

As well as observing, the ethnographer often participates in the social context. DeWalt and DeWalt (2010) differentiate between levels of participation from passive participation, where the observer is present but does not interact with participants, to complete participation, where the researcher is a member of the cultural group and participates in their activity. P. Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) have noted that this model evades and conflates certain elements that make a difference to the researcher's position. This includes the types of activities the researcher participates in and how completely the researcher occupies an insider or outsider position (P. Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994, p. 249). However, it is still helpful in conjunction with my reflection on my insider-outsider position and relationship with the research. Within my insider-outsider position, my level of participation varied between moderate and active (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010). When first starting observations, I became familiar with the team's work, and my participation was limited to asking for clarification. However, my participation increased during the study. In meetings, I asked about the motivations for decisions. I shared relevant information about schools or events I had attended. Moreover, I took on minor roles during my fieldwork, e.g., assisting with selecting schools for the ARP. This activity also gave me experience in doing the work of the gallery education team, and I was able to personally encounter some of the challenges and barriers that the gallery education team faced in their roles. For example, in selecting the schools, I experienced how difficult it is to find schools that satisfied all the requirements. I also participated fully in events run by the gallery education team. Although the extent of an ethnographer's participation is sometimes employed as a marker of the quality of the research, Aull Davies (2007) notes that it is the researcher's, 'critical reflection on the nature of their participation and its suitability to the particular research circumstances,' (p.84) that is more important. I, therefore, critically reflected on my participation and how it shaped my research.

I documented my observations through field notes. When in an online meeting, I took handwritten scratch notes, which I expanded into full field notes (appendix 1) when I could by typing them up, most often directly following the meeting and certainly on the same day. Scratch notes allow the researcher to focus on the participants rather than writing lengthy notes (Lönngren, 2021). On a video call, this may be more relevant. I did not want to stare at

my notebook throughout the meeting as my face and eye contact were the only body language available to me to show interest and engagement.

At times, for example, in the ARP steering group meetings, I was responsible for providing minutes. This is an example of my participation. This emerged as the project started during the pandemic, and many of the gallery education team were furloughed, meaning I took on the role of an assistant curator. In addition to the minutes, I also wrote a reflection on and account of the meeting for the research, as the meeting minutes served a different purpose to the ethnographic field notes. For example, the meeting minutes were used to track specific decisions or actions for the group, whereas, in my research, I was interested in the details of how these decisions were made, which may have been superfluous to the minutes.

Additional to the field notes was that some ARP steering group meetings and events (e.g., CPD sessions) were recorded. Participants were always informed that this was the case and that the recordings would be used for my research. This enabled me to go back and watch or listen to the meetings or events later. The recordings served a reflective purpose as I could compare my field notes, created at the time or shortly after, with how I felt afterwards.

My participant observations were accompanied by an ongoing researcher diary to which I contributed daily. In this, I reflected on ongoing interactions with the field, including emails being sent, access to shared documents, interviews, attendance at sector events and reading relevant literature. My researcher diary allowed me to reflect on emerging themes and my relationship to the research, including my position in the study. This was essential as researcher reflexivity is important in ethnography (Aull Davies, 2007). It was a space for me to examine the influence of my insider-outsider status on my perceptions of what was happening. How were my own assumptions about how arts organisations should work with schools manifesting in my observations?

Interviews

Interviews are often included in ethnographic research, although it is not always agreed what their purpose is (Jerolmack & Khan, 2014). Jerolmack and Khan (2014) argue that researchers can (mis)understand what participants say in interviews as a direct

representation of what they do. This establishes a distinction between what people say and what they do. However, Rinaldo and Guhin (2022) note that the binary between saying (in interviews) versus doing (in participant observation) is oversimplified. Interviews in ethnography can provide access to a different form of culture to participant observation. Rinaldo and Guhin (2022) use Lizardo's (2017) categories of culture (declarative, non-declarative and public) to understand the types of culture provided by each research method. Interviews are better tools for observing the declarative culture (knowledge acquired through transmission, which the person will likely be aware they know). Interviews also offer access to public culture, which Rinaldo and Guhin (2022) divide into meso, 'the organizational rules, social groups, and institutional norms,' (p.45) and macro, the rules and beliefs that extend beyond the community at a societal level. Therefore, through interviewing participants, I sought to gain access to other forms of culture, reflections on organisational priorities and aims, as well as the broader societal context and gallery education's role in art education in primary schools.

I interviewed all fourteen members of the gallery education team, regardless of role. At the time, many of the team job-shared and were naturally in pairs. I, therefore, interviewed many of the team in pairs. Within these pairs, the job levels were the same. In a 'group interview' (Hartas, 2010), the participants also responded to each other, and I found the amount they did this varied.

The interviews were optional, but the whole team (fourteen) chose to participate. One motivation behind interviewing the whole team was to provide equity of experience. It was important for everyone to feel valued and that their experiences were relevant. It was also valuable to hear the different perspectives within the team (Hartas, 2010). In addition to team members, I met with a primary art consultant working closely with the gallery education team. I interviewed the director of a teaching school alliance who was a member of the ARP steering group, as these were people involved in the work of the gallery education team.

The majority of interviews I undertook were formal. As the gallery education team and I worked remotely for most of the study, arranging a time was necessary. I was not going to bump into someone in the office and was less able to talk to them after a meeting as meetings were often back-to-back, and there was no time moving between them. The

formality of the interviews also established my outsider researcher position. At times, I felt that I was asking questions I knew the answers to; however, I did not want to take for granted the gallery educators' perspectives that being a partial insider may lead me to do (Bonner & Tolhurst, 2002).

To conduct the interviews, I chose a live synchronous interview as this was how a lot of communication within the team took place. Although conducting a live interview via video tools has been possible for a long time, other digital methods of interviews have often been preferred, such as email interviews (O'Connor & Madge, 2017). However, the pandemic may now have shifted this. With the rise of video tools, like Zoom and Teams, within the pandemic context, using these tools more closely replicated 'normal ways of doing things'.

In interviews, I always started by asking the participants to explain their roles. I followed this question with a series of open questions (appendix 2), which allowed participants to interpret in ways I had not predicted. The interviews provided a chance to ask questions that did not come up in the participant observation (Hartas, 2010). This included questions that reflected on the purpose of gallery education, the macro culture (Rinaldo & Guhin, 2022).

These interviews served a reflective purpose for the gallery education team, and I decided to feed back from early analysis of them. I saw the feedback session as an opportunity for the research activity to inform team practice. Additionally, it felt extractive to complete a series of interviews that had raised issues that would be useful for the team to hear and then keep this information private for an extended period. I decided not to include documentation of the feedback session in my data, although I acknowledge that it will have still informed my ongoing thinking. I decided to not include the data as much of the content was about team relationships; it had little relevance for the wider thesis. I was also aware that team members would possibly be identifiable, so I felt it would not be ethical to include information about personal relationships (see the Ethics section in this chapter). For this feedback session, I drew out six themes from the interviews and presented relevant anonymous quotes from the transcripts under a theme. This was shared with the team. I then led a session online with the team, where they responded to prompt questions I had included.

As part of my study, I also interviewed twenty primary teachers. I did this as the research question required me to understand teachers' needs during the pandemic and how teachers responded to the changes in the gallery education team. Necessarily, there is an imbalance in the data for the two groups (gallery educators and primary teachers), reflected in the weight given to each group in the thesis and the findings.

To gain primary teachers' perspectives, I chose an interview rather than a survey as it allowed me to ask follow-up questions and hear in-depth about their experiences. I preferred a synchronous interview using Teams over an email interview as I was concerned that teachers might forget about an email. A live interview was helpful for other reasons; there were things that teachers might have themselves overlooked if not prompted. For example, when I asked how teachers used Tate's Hear My Story (HMS) resource, teachers may have taken this for granted as it followed the patterns of other projects.

Mostly, I interviewed teachers who were engaged with the Tate gallery education programme. All teachers taught in state-maintained primary schools (all but one in London). Two teachers taught in a Specialist Provision, which had both a primary and a secondary school. If I had a relationship with teachers, I approached them independently, such as the ARP steering group members. However, other teachers were recruited through a Tate gatekeeper. I also approached two teachers independently through social media. This was a convenience sample (Waterfield, 2018). This means that rather than randomly selecting participants or seeking participants representing a range of experiences (e.g., ones who had never engaged with Tate through to those who frequently did), I interviewed teachers who were engaged with Tate. Additionally, the teachers did not represent the range of experiences that teachers have with the arts. My participants were often art leads, some with qualifications in an art-related subject. The teachers who did not have academic qualifications were interested in art. In addition, as they were all able to actively engage with art, although some less than they would have liked, they were teachers whose schools supported the arts.

Given the impact of the pandemic, I was concerned about teachers being able to volunteer their time to be interviewed. This contributed to my decision to use a convenience sample. My concern also meant I interviewed teachers who had not directly connected with Tate.

These were still useful interviews as the teachers reflected on how they engaged with cultural organisations and their value in their schools.

My interview questions to teachers (appendix 3) asked them to reflect on how they had taught art during the pandemic. I then asked about teachers' engagement with Tate, such as how they had used the HMS resource (if appropriate). I also asked about their more general experience of CPD with the cultural sector. The interviews were semi-structured, which allowed me to ask follow-up questions. Interviews were time-limited (between 30-60 minutes), so there were times I needed to prioritise Tate-related questions if teachers had another commitment.

The majority of interviews with gallery educators and teachers took place online. There are mixed opinions about whether it is harder to build rapport with participants using online video tools (Lo Iacono, Symonds, & Brown, 2016). Although I had established relationships with the gallery education team, I interviewed teachers I did not have established relationships with, and I found it challenging at times to build rapport. Even though you have a video stream so you can see facial cues, I found it harder to read emotions through the screen and was more reliant on verbal speech (Lo Iacono et al., 2016). N. James and Busher (2006) have said that when conducting a live interview online, it is best to replicate an in-person one as closely as possible. To do this, I started the conversation with an informal chat, which might happen when you arrive at a school to meet a teacher.

My preference for teacher interviews was conducting them in person as it allowed me to see the school, and I found it easier to build rapport. When it was legally possible, I offered this as an option. I interviewed two teachers following the first CPD in person (in a café) and conducted one focus group at a school.

I decided to conduct a focus group as I was concerned about recruiting teacher participants. Therefore, when a senior leader suggested I come to the school to talk to a group of teachers about using Tate's HMS digital resource, I was keen to do so. There were still restrictions in place at the time, and in a classroom, I sat over two metres away from all the participants. The conversation mainly concentrated on the HMS resource, and I focused on facilitating a discussion around it (Hartas, 2010). A focus group introduced new dynamics. The teacher who had organised the group to come together was a member of the Senior

Leadership Team (SLT), so I am aware that the other teachers may have been restricted in what they could say. For example, they were unlikely to criticise things the SLT were responsible for.

I transcribed all interviews. An automatic transcription was generated by Teams, which I then corrected. In in-person interviews, I used an audio recorder and a transcription machine; again, I corrected the transcription myself. This meant that I familiarised myself with the data.

Collecting artefacts

Additionally, during my ethnographic study, I collected visual and written documents (normally digitally) from the gallery education team. These included:

- Resources produced by the team;
- PowerPoints shared in CPD sessions;
- The team aims and objectives, or mission statements;
- Descriptions of projects;
- Artwork created by young people in response to the digital resource;
- Documents the team produced;
- Information from websites of cultural organisations working in the local area;
- Information about schools in the local areas, e.g., demographics, references to arts on the website.

I also photographed or screen-grabbed the following:

- CPD sessions (online and in person);
- Documents shared in meetings;
- Displays of artwork at schools produced responding to Hear My Story (online and in person);
- A display of the HMS project in Tate Britain;
- The website description of the programme.

Collecting visual and material culture is a frequent method in ethnographies (P. Atkinson & Pugsley, 2005). Its frequency is unsurprising as visual materials are part of the participants' worlds (Wagner, 2006). The artefacts that cultural groups create are part (and a product) of

their experience of social reality, and material culture is part of our understanding of self (Tilley, 2001). The documents produced by the team showed how the team presented and understood their own practice.

Additionally, visual material can provide an important counterbalance to words (Hartas, 2010). This was useful in this study as the digital tools generated a lot of textual data.

Engaging in the cultural and educational sectors

In addition to engaging with the gallery education team and conducting interviews, I attended 26 online sector events (seminars, conferences, CPD for teachers, and networks). These included events for cultural educators (i.e., members of learning teams) and those for teachers. My attendance at these events was facilitated by their being online. Most of them were free to attend and I had more flexibility because of the lack of travel.

Zilber (2014) notes that inter-organisational spaces are under-researched. However, organisations rarely are completely siloed and operate in wider structures. The purpose of attending these events was to situate the gallery education programme in a broader context and understand the type of events my participants may be attending. It also enabled me to be aware of the type of opportunities available to teachers. Therefore, when teachers mentioned a particular resource or event, I was able to understand the reference.

Leaving the field

How ethnographers leave the field is sometimes overlooked (Gobo, 2008). When ethnographers can choose to leave the field, Gobo (2008) suggests examining whether the group has become overly familiar or when new data is not shedding light on the research question. As a PhD student, my leaving the field was dictated by institutional timelines and moving on to a six-month training placement. Leaving the field was difficult. As I came to the end of my study, I had yet to experience an in-person event; I felt a sense of loss moving on as more of the programme returned to being in the galleries.

Therefore, I continued to engage with the activity relating to an upcoming in-gallery CPD. However, my main contact with the team outside of preparation for the CPD stopped in September 2021 at a meeting where the team responded to a crisis within the team. I felt uncomfortable ending the study at a difficult moment for the team. I, therefore, decided to 'touch base' in the New Year. I did this in spring 2022. Given the interruptions to my

research and that attending gallery education team meetings had established a routine in an uncertain time, it is unsurprising that I felt hesitant leaving the field.

The following section examines how the data I generated through the methods detailed in this section was analysed.

Analysis of the data

My research produced a significant amount of textual data, largely focused on what people said. Digital tools and recordings have emphasised this kind of data. When on a video call, you are not moving to a new room or space; for example, I could not describe the layout of my living room more than once. I understand this predominantly textual data as mediating or translating what I experienced in the field, even when transcribed speech. The field notes and transcripts produced from these experiences are not 'unmediated representations of a simple social reality' (P. Atkinson, 2020, p. 49). They are more concerned with knowledge production than representation (Coles & Thomson, 2016).

In my research diary, I started a continuous process of data analysis. I reflected on emerging themes and made connections between my study and developments in the sector and the wider literature (P. Atkinson, 2015). Therefore, I had already identified potential themes that I brought to finally analyse the data, for example, the relationship between gallery education and the curriculum. My interest in this theme was undoubtedly prompted by my background as someone with experience as both a teacher and an arts educator (Aull Davies, 2007).

In the more focused analysis period, I used NVivo to code themes and took an inductive approach, allowing other themes to emerge. This was a type of thematic analysis; thematic analysis is flexible and can be used by different frameworks (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) outline a six-step process, which I have annotated below:

1. Familiarizing yourself with your data

I re-familiarised myself with the data by re-reading it and using a code on NVivo to highlight things that stood out to me (a way of noting my initial ideas). At the end of each day, I wrote a short reflection on this process.

2. Generating initial codes

I generated some codes from my first read-through (step 1) and collected text into these codes using NVivo. There is no fixed rule of prevalence for qualitative data, and I decided on prevalence as relative within the data; for example, if a theme had only been coded five times, whilst other themes had been coded many more, I did not continue to use the code.

3. Searching for themes

I grouped these codes into themes.

4. Reviewing themes

Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that themes must be checked against the coded extracts and the entire data set. I did this through NVivo and generated a mind map of the themes. In this stage, I changed, amended and merged themes to better reflect the data.

5. Defining and naming themes

I spent time with the (largely) textual data to clarify themes further. I did this by re-reading and generating short pieces of writing relating to a theme (appendix 4). I describe these as 'inbetween writing' (Coles & Thomson, 2016). This allowed me to define the themes.

6. Producing the report

Finally, I further analysed the themes by selecting examples for writing.

The themes I identified through the above process are subjective; however, a theme, 'captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set,' (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82).

Thematic analysis by prevalence has limitations. Moving beyond prescriptive procedures enables novel directions in analysis (Frank, 2010; B. Smith, 2016). Something crucial in the data may not be prevalent; it may just occur once but be highly significant. In quantitative data, an 'outlier' may be eliminated; however, in qualitative data, 'exceptional data' may reveal different perspectives (Phoenix & Orr, 2017). 'Exceptional data' may stay with the researcher (Frank, 2010; Phoenix & Orr, 2017). That was the case in this study. For example, an ARP steering group meeting stuck in my head, and it eventually shaped the project's direction. This was not repeated and, therefore, was not a theme (although some of the

contents were themes in the analysis). I used a separate code to identify these vital moments or important statements in interviews.

In addition to thematic analysis and highlighting 'exceptional data', I used a series of questions (appendix 5) for which I created summarised answers to analyse my interview data in a table. Re-engaging with my data in this way enabled a fresh look at the data (B. Smith, 2016). An example question is, 'What is the relationship between the programme and the curriculum? Is it changing?' My questions drew on the themes of the interviews, such as the purpose and benefits of art for young people. For teachers, I also brought together their experiences of any of the gallery education team's programmes. This process enabled me to collect responses together to identify similarities *and* differences.

Following these activities, I created short pieces of writing, 'liminal texts' (P. Atkinson, 2020) or 'inbetween writing' (Coles & Thomson, 2016), to further analyse and understand the data. I wrote on themes from the data and created vignettes of particular meetings or events, 'exceptional data'. This 'inbetween writing' was a further level of analysis used to support my thesis writing (appendix 4).

In the following section, I examine how the thesis was written and my role as a researcher in shaping it.

Writing the thesis

The decisions I have taken from my insider-outsider position have influenced the data generated, what has struck me and how it has been formed into this thesis (Aull Davies, 2007). The thesis is largely based on the relationship between gallery education and school practice during the pandemic. This relates to my own professional background and interest as someone with experience in art education and as a teacher. Someone with a fine art practice may have chosen to explore the gallery education team's relationship to contemporary art practice more closely.

When writing the thesis, I have presented two chapters (chapters 9 & 10) as case studies. Case studies are a way to interpret singularities (Bassey, 1999). In chapter 10, I present the findings in four vignettes. These do not indicate a prevalence in the data but have been identified as 'exceptional data' (Phoenix & Orr, 2017) when the project changed or

particular ideas were explored. Researchers frequently present findings that are the most telling or contain a specific story. I have chosen vignettes that I considered intriguing, Bloom-Christen and Grunow (2022) note that,

A good vignette sheds light on the complexities of a given situation from a particular angle. Like a signpost or an index finger inviting the reader to peak into a specific direction, a good vignette asks a question rather than answers it. (p.10)

I was drawn to the examples in my vignettes as they had different layers and interpretations; they were complex.

In the next section, I reflect on my ethical considerations throughout the research project.

Ethical considerations

During my research, I took an 'everyday ethics' approach (Banks et al., 2013). An 'everyday ethics' approach is a concept developed for community-based participatory research that notes that in collaborative research boundaries between researcher/participants blur. Ethical considerations outside of traditional university ethical approval systems may occur. In employing this approach, I was influenced by the project's initial conception as an action research project. The collaborative nature of the doctorate (pp. 30-32) meant ensuring a close partnership with the gallery education team. Therefore, I endeavoured to keep ethical questions present through conversations about what would be acceptable or inappropriate to include in my field notes. This was particularly important as the pandemic was a testing period for many people.

The period in which my research took place was emotionally challenging. Many people experienced loss of income, loss of loved ones and illness. Moreover, people took on additional caring and childcare responsibilities. Therefore, being responsive to any ethical issues arising was important. For example, when recruiting teachers to be interviewed, I considered what I knew about the current school context and whether it felt ethical to ask them to volunteer time to participate in an interview. I delayed approaching most of my teacher participants until September 2021. Although I recognised that schools were still under immense pressure, it felt like a more appropriate time to contact teachers as restrictions were reduced.

An 'everyday ethics' approach included considering how my relationships with the gallery education team were maintained (Banks et al., 2013). The approach informed conversations with the gallery education team about what activities were included in the research. This was pertinent in a CPD session which encouraged participants to reflect on their own positionality concerning issues such as racism and unconscious bias. The assistant curator felt that these discussions should be confidential and their inclusion in the data would inhibit discussion. Participants may fear making a mistake on a sensitive topic that would then be included in the research. The assistant curator and I agreed to not record the break-out sessions, nor would I make observational notes from them. Although I may have made a different choice on my own, ensuring my participants felt comfortable with the research was an important part of maintaining my relationships with my collaborative partners. However, I note that though even these break-out discussions were not included in the data, I was present and they still informed my thinking (Kara, 2018).

At times, I also chose to not include personal data in the study as I exercised an ethics of care (Banks et al., 2013). I was sensitive to my participants' emotional needs. As my participants were at home, there would sometimes be interruptions from their home lives, e.g., children or pets. As this was not a focus of the study, I excluded these from the data set. I also decided to not include a feedback session on the interviews I did with the gallery education team as I felt that the focus on inter-team relations was not relevant to the thesis. This choice is further detailed on page 58.

The collaborative nature of the PhD had additional ethical implications. Interviews with teacher participants in the Arts Reach and HMS projects were part of my PhD research and served an evaluative purpose or informed ongoing practice for the gallery education team (particularly in ARP). The collaborative nature of the doctoral programme assumes that the research undertaken will inform the host organisation's ongoing practice. Therefore, sections of the transcripts were shared with the gallery education team. Teachers were made aware that this would take place.

Particularly in the ARP, the intention had been that the research process would be collaborative with all project group members (including teachers) but as I have detailed (p. 36) the ongoing pandemic changed the project, and it became clear that the teachers did

not have time to participate collaboratively. The January 2021 research design acknowledged that teachers' involvement in the study would be much less than that of the gallery education team. A consequence of this imbalance was that although the gallery education team had access to the transcripts of teacher interviews, the teachers did not have the same access to either teacher transcripts (apart from their own, should they wish) or those of the gallery education team. My closeness to Tate through the collaborative scheme (e.g., embeddedness in the gallery education team, ability to share data securely) no doubt influenced this disparity experienced by the participants.

The project also encountered more traditional ethical concerns. The decision was taken to anonymise all participants in the research. As it is public knowledge that it is a CDP, Tate will not be anonymised; however, everything else will, including the names of schools. This means that individuals will not be identifiable or suffer any adverse consequences. I have used pseudonyms for all participants. Additionally, I have slightly fictionalised roles in the gallery education team, so individuals are less identifiable.

Another area where considerable time was spent examining the best approach was around large group sessions, for instance, CPD sessions, where not all participants would consent to be included in the research. In these large groups, unlike in quantitative data, where a participant's contribution may be easily identifiable, it is difficult to 'remove' data from one participant as it enlightens the ongoing discussion and may still inform a researcher's thinking (Kara, 2018). In practice, this only occurred on one occasion, where one participant of 26 did not consent to be included in the research. This participant did not have a significant role in group discussions, but conversations in which they were featured have been removed from the data.

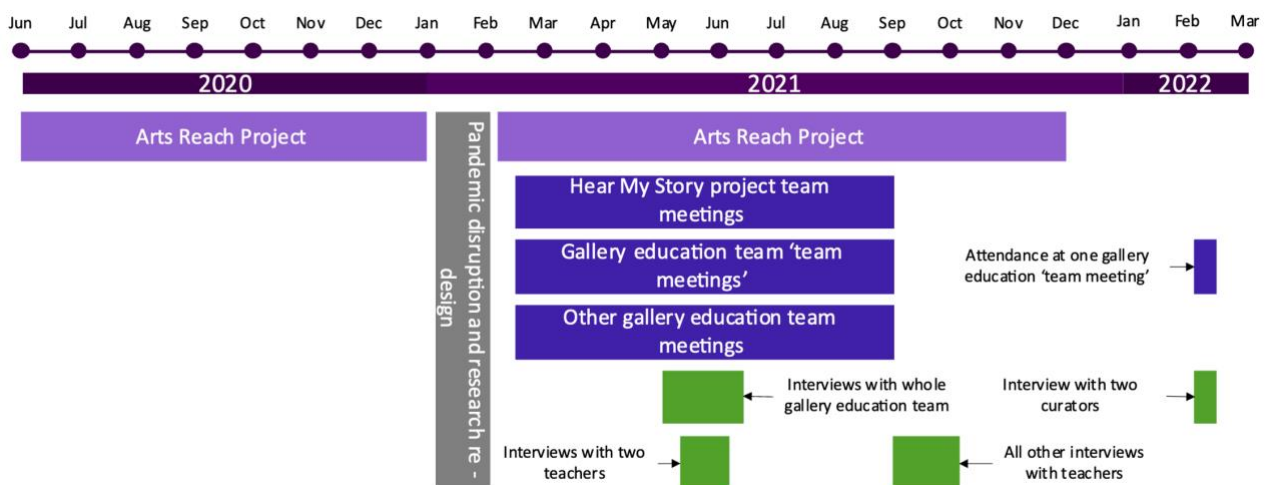
The pandemic introduced additional concerns about in-person work. When conducting in-person interviews or meetings became legally possible, I always offered the option of interviewing online if they preferred. On the few occasions I conducted in-person interviews, e.g., a focus group, I ensured that I took appropriate precautions in line with guidance and what participants were comfortable with. This included staying two metres apart from my participants. Although this introduced a slight awkwardness to the focus group, as all were accustomed to these restrictions, it was not a particular issue.

The following section provides an audit trail of the data collected.

Audit trail

The timeline of my data collection manifests the disruption of the pandemic. Figure 2-1 is a timeline of the data collection. I observed the ARP project from summer 2020 as part of the original research design.

Figure 2-1 - diagram showing the researcher's activity and involvement with the gallery education team



Following the redesign (in February 2021), I expanded my observation to look at the broader gallery education programme for the last seven months of the study. I attended over 50 meetings with the gallery education team, including those relating to HMS, see chapter 9, reopening the gallery for the schools' audience, developing a wider teacher audience, team reflection sessions and team meetings (table 2-1). I also attended several meetings outside of the team and Tate-wide open meetings.

Table 2-1 - showing meetings attended (all online unless stated)

Name of project/meeting/event	No. attended
Arts Reach Project (ARP) Steering Group	14
ARP Project meetings	35
Hear My Story project meetings	13
Audience Action Plan (developing teacher audience) meetings	6
Team meetings	8
Reopening planning meetings	3
Other meetings (e.g., with other Tate staff)	4
Meetings with cultural organisations	2
Tate wide open meetings	5
Continuing Professional Development sessions	4 (1 in person)

Reflection sessions	4
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Interviews

Table 2-2 lists the interviews conducted with all fourteen members of the gallery education team.

Table 2-2 - showing interviews with gallery education team (all online)

No.	Interview type	Role	Date
1	Pair	Assistant Curator (a)	Spring 2021
		Assistant Curator (b)	
2	Pair	Assistant Curator	Summer 2021
		Assistant Curator	
3	Pair	Curator (a)	Summer 2021
		Curator (b)	
4	1-to-1	Curator	Summer 2021
5	Pair	Schools Booking Assistant	Summer 2021
		Schools Booking Assistant	
6	Pair	Schools Booking Assistant	Summer 2021
		Schools Booking Assistant	
7	1-to-1	Curator	Summer 2021
8	Pair	Assistant Curator	Summer 2021
		Assistant Curator	
9	1-to-1	As 1(a)	Summer 2021
10	Pair	As 7	Spring 2022
		As 2(a)	

I also interviewed one member of the Steering Group of the ARP. Table 2-3 details the teacher interviews and teachers' relationships to the Tate programme.

Table 2-3 - showing interviews with teachers

No.	Interview type	Online/in person	Roles	Involvement in Tate project(s)	Date
1	1-to-1	Online	Art Specialist	None	Summer 2021
2	1-to-1	Online	Generalist Teacher	None	Summer 2021
3	1-to-1	Online	Art Lead	Hear My Story (HMS)	Autumn 2021
4	1-to-1	Online	Generalist Teacher	Common Projects, Schools Bookings	Autumn 2021
5	1-to-1	Online	Art Lead and Senior Leader (SLT)	Common Projects	Autumn 2021
6	1-to-1	Online	Art and Culture Lead	None	Autumn 2021
7	Focus group	In person	Art Lead and SLT	HMS	Autumn 2021
			Generalist Teacher	HMS	Autumn 2021
			EYFS Teacher	HMS	Autumn 2021

			EYFS Teacher	HMS	Autumn 2021
			Nursery Teacher	HMS	Autumn 2021
8	1-to-1	Online	Generalist Teacher	HMS	Autumn 2021
9	1-to-1	Online	Generalist Teacher	HMS	Autumn 2021
10	1-to-1	Online	Art Lead	HMS	Autumn 2021
11	Pair	Online	Generalist Teacher	ARP, HMS	Autumn 2021
			Senior Leader	ARP, HMS	Autumn 2021
12	1-to-1	Online	Art Specialist	ARP	Autumn 2021
13	1-to-1	Online	Art Specialist	ARP	Autumn 2021
14	Pair	In person	Art Lead (a)	ARP (Steering Group member)	Autumn 2021
			Art Lead (b)	ARP (Steering Group member)	Autumn 2021
15	1-to-1	In person	As 14a		Summer 2022
16	1-to-1	In person	As 14b		Summer 2022

CODA

The chapter has detailed my social constructivist epistemological understanding of knowledge creation. My own background, the participants and the collaborative doctorate identified me in an insider-outsider position. The chapter described how I employed methods from digital ethnographies as the research took place during a period of social restrictions and remote working. I identified the types of presence enabled by digital tools. I described the methods used, participant observation, interviews, and collecting artefacts. My participants were a gallery education team and teachers interested in art, a convenience sample. The chapter has outlined how the data analysis took place and how the thesis was written. The research encountered ethical considerations which were managed in line with ethical regulations and with an ongoing 'everyday ethics' approach.

Chapter 3 - Communities of practice in art education: histories, pedagogy and boundary encounters

Gallery education and art education in schools have different histories that have shaped practice and priorities; the literature has established that bringing the practices together is beneficial but can create tension (e.g., Gregory & March, 2020; Hunter, Broad, & Jeanneret, 2018; Thomson, Hall, & Russell, 2006). Gallery education values process and doing (Pringle, 2006, 2018), whilst policy in schools has created a subject, art and design, where skills and progression are important, meaning there is a focus on outcomes (Briggs, 2022; Craft et al., 2012; Hall et al., 2007). When the groups work together, these distinctive values and ways of doing things can come into conflict (Harding, 2005a; Herne, 2006; Riding, Talbot-Landers, Grimshaw, & O’Keeffe, 2019). These encounters are also opportunities for both groups to learn and develop (e.g., Imms, Jeanneret, & Stevens-Ballenger, 2011; Kenny & Morrissey, 2020).

However, the pandemic changed how this work could happen. Changing practice is challenging, and the cultural sector had to adapt to a new and continually shifting context. My research investigated one example, the work of the Tate galleries education team responsible for working with the schools and teachers audience.

To support the analysis of my data, I use the concept of communities of practice (CoP) to explain how a team of gallery educators had a coherent approach that responded to new ideas, concepts and context, including the pandemic. Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger first proposed the concept of communities of practice in the early 1990s in their work on apprenticeships (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Wenger resists offering a strict definition of CoPs (Wenger, 1998). However, broadly defined, they are groups of people with shared interests who collaborate, interact and carry out a collective activity (Wenger & Wenger-Trayner, 2015). The CoP concept is widely employed, particularly in management science (D. Barton & Tusting, 2005); it has also frequently been used in gallery education and art museum literature (e.g., Herne, 2006; Noble, 2021b; Riding et al., 2019).

The first (A) of five sections of this chapter introduces the analytical framework of communities of practice (Wenger, 1998), which is used in this thesis. I argue that the concept allows me to conceptualise the gallery education team as a learning group with a

history of shared practice. I then detail the literature on how CoPs respond to crises, such as the pandemic. The following section (B) reviews the historical, social and political developments that have shaped gallery education (and, therefore, the gallery education team at Tate) and art education in schools to understand the development of the current approaches in galleries and primary schools. In the third section (C) I outline the current pedagogical approaches in the two CoPs, highlighting that they are distinct. The fourth section (D) examines collaboration between the two sectors through the CoP concept 'boundary encounters' (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2014). This establishes that art-school partnerships are an area of research that has received significant attention from researchers, finding that misunderstandings can hinder practice, but the partnerships are valuable. The final section (E) of this chapter explores the professional development context in schools to situate the continuing professional development (CPD) of the gallery education team. I demonstrate that the dominant model of professional development in schools is different to some opportunities offered by the art sector.

A. Introducing Communities of Practice

As people who work closely with practising artists, the gallery educators frequently referred to 'their practice'. In a CoP, practice is more than doing; it includes stories, received histories and responses to common problems. The Oxford English Dictionary defines 'practice' as, 'The carrying out or exercise of a profession,'; it is contrasted with theory, 'The actual application or use of an idea, belief, or method, as opposed to the theory or principles of it; performance, execution, achievement; working, operation,' (Oxford English Dictionary, 2022). This definition juxtaposes theory and practice; however, practice can also encompass the thinking and the doing, blurring definitions between the two (Kemmis, McTaggart, & Nixon, 2014). Praxis is strongly connected to practice. Kemmis (2011) highlights that praxis has two meanings, one as morally informed action and another as history-making action; therefore, praxis has the potential to transform the world around it. Both have relevance to the idea of practice employed in this study.

To be considered a CoP, a group should have three features, mutual engagement, joint enterprise and a shared repertoire (Wenger, 1998).⁶ Through mutual engagement,

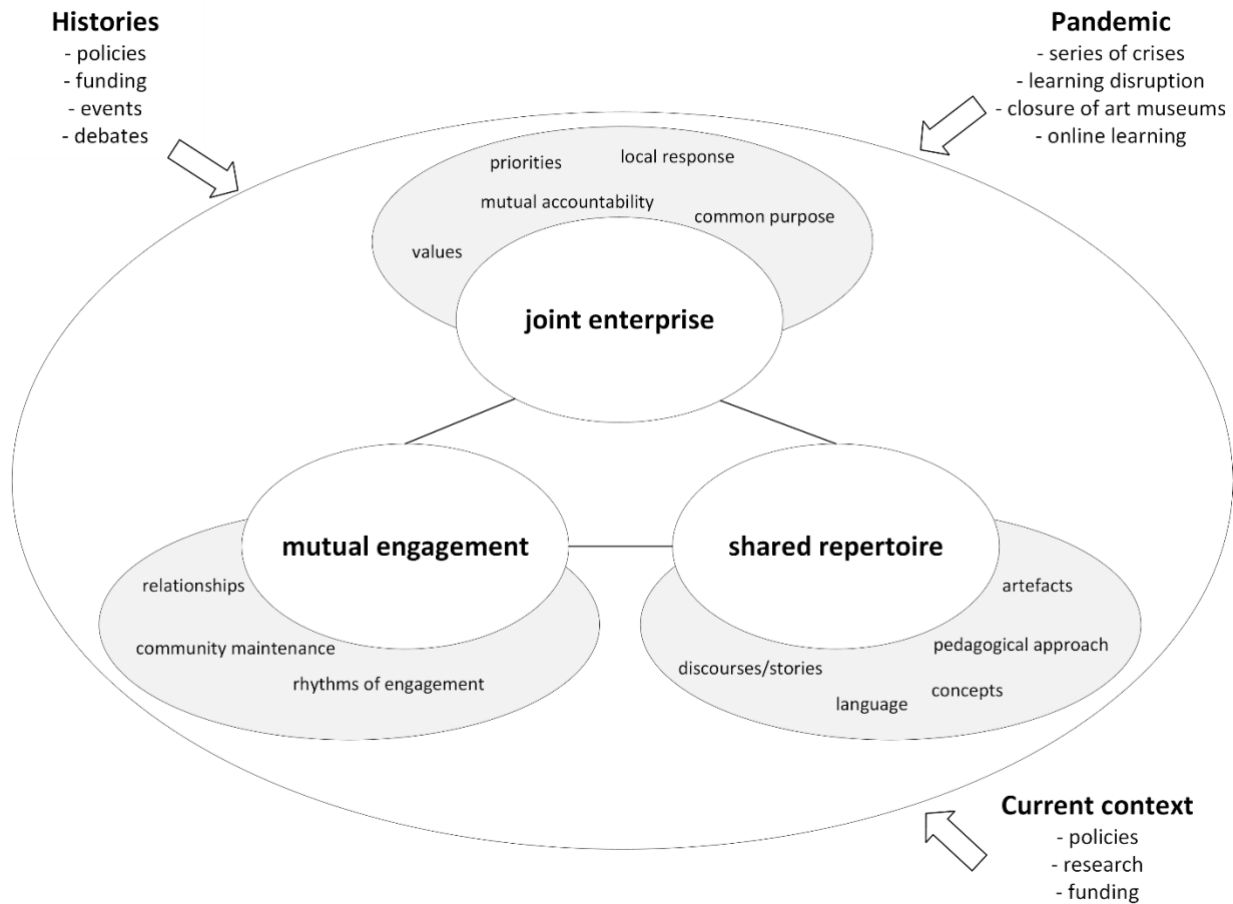
⁶ In later versions, these map on to the community, the domain and the practice (Wenger & Wenger-Trayner, 2015)

community members negotiate meaning; this does not mean that members all hold homogenous meanings; meanings are continually negotiated. Membership is limited to those who can engage in this perpetual negotiation, i.e., humans. From this negotiation, the CoP becomes oriented around a joint enterprise, a motivation or purpose. For the gallery education team, this is supporting children and young people to engage with art through their teachers and schools. This enterprise may respond to institutional limitations but is not a direct expression of the institution. Having a communal response means that the CoP has mutual accountability. A shared repertoire holds a collective way of doing things. It includes, 'routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, gestures, symbols, genres, actions, or concepts that the community has produced or adopted in the course of its existence,' (Wenger, 1998, p. 83). It is within social interactions that the shared repertoire develops; CoPs emphasise the social nature of learning (Wenger, 1998).

For Wenger (1998), participation and reification are two critical concepts. Participation is a form of negotiation of meaning in the world, which is in duality with reification. Staying close to the dictionary definition, reifications are the, 'abstractions, tools, symbols, stories, terms, and concepts,' (Wenger, 1998, p. 59) that we project onto the world. Participation within CoPs uses reifications, shortcuts or tools to facilitate practice—the two work interdependently.

This thesis presents how a CoP, the gallery education team, changes in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. It will examine how the structures of a CoP support and impede change, as well as how the CoP was maintained through this change. The pandemic was seen as an opportunity for change and for people to address underlying structural racism and discriminatory practice in response to the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, in addition to the necessary change to respond to a tumultuous context (Amis & Janz, 2020). Although Tusting (2005) has critiqued CoPs for being falsely stable, Wenger emphasises their fluidity and ever-changing nature as they are learning communities. Practice is never fixed; it is continually developing in relation to its members (Wenger, 1998) and the wider context. Therefore, CoPs are a useful analytical tool to examine the gallery education team's change in practice in response to the pandemic (figure 3-1).

Figure 3-1 - diagram of a CoP showing influence of histories, pandemic and policies adapted from Wenger (1998, p. 63)



The majority of research that has explored CoPs and how they respond to a crisis has been about how the structures of CoPs supported practitioners through a disruption (Bolisani et al., 2021; Ghamrawi, 2022). Ann Amaratunga (2014) explores how a virtual CoP supports a community to become more resilient in dealing with disasters, whilst Curran et al. (2009) detail how low participation impeded a virtual CoP for healthcare workers in an emergency setting. CoPs' ability to connect practitioners going through similar experiences supports their use in this context. CoPs also can be ways for groups to develop new practice collaboratively, such as adapting teaching to the online environment (Bolisani et al., 2021). They offer features such as collaboration that make them good models for responding to crises.

Furthermore, the concept of CoPs is helpful as it allows us to understand what gallery educators do as informed by a history and context that shares elements of art education in schools but is also distinct. The origins of the two groups, gallery education and art education in schools, can be traced to similar histories. However, art education in schools

and the arts sector have been separately administrated throughout their history, mainly coming under different government departments' remit (Doeser, 2015), developing separate financial structures. They also have different joint enterprises, the values underpinning the practices, and ways of doing things (shared repertoire), notably, their pedagogical approaches. They have developed specific discourse and language, as the next section explores.

B. Histories of art education

This section offers a chronological overview of the histories of gallery and art education in schools.

Pre-second world war: a shared beginning

The beginning of art education for a broad sector of society could be dated to the introduction of public art and design education in England in 1837, which followed a Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures in 1835/36 (Romans, 2005a, 2005b). The first public art and design school was opened in London; by 1852, there were several nationwide. The committee emphasised the importance of seeing 'high art' in person, for example, in art museums. The committee wanted to broaden access to the arts for the wider population, not just people who could afford to pay for training. The motivation behind this decision has been described as economic, to increase the numbers of national textile designers as a response to a crisis in the textile industry and increased importation from France (Hallam, Das Gupta, & Lee, 2008). The catalyst for the decision has also been interpreted aesthetically, to create a 'national taste' (Romans, 2005b). The 19th-century conception of 'taste' is both aesthetic and moral. Consumers would become more discerning; however, underlying this was an assumption that this 'national taste' would improve the moral standards of the working class. The art museums founded later in the 1800s⁷ were done so with this paternalistic view of the potential of art in mind.

As developments in Victorian society, art museums (and the foundations of art education) also have strong links to histories of colonialism and slavery. Art museums' connections to colonialism in their funding and the provenance of some artwork has implications for the ramifications of the BLM movement. These racist histories are sometimes visible in the

⁷ For example, Tate (1889) and Leeds Art Gallery (1888).

buildings and collections. Tate is a good example of how these histories are intertwined; Tate was founded in 1889 by Henry Tate (1819-1899), who was not an enslaver himself, but whose fortune had been earned through the sugar industry, which was dependent on slavery (Tate, 2019).

Although the committee in 1835/6 envisioned that art education would be available more widely, throughout the late 1800s and the early 1900s, access to art education was still limited. When education for all became available through the Elementary Education Act in 1870, most children would have experienced an overwhelming focus on the three Rs, reading, writing and arithmetic. Examinations in these subjects took precedence over learning in other subjects (Fleming, 2010, p. 16). Having its history in the development of the applied arts, art teaching in schools focused on technical drawing and, unlike in the academies, was more often taught by art teachers than artists (Efland, 1983). It also focused on appreciating art, as defined by taste at the time. Fleming (2010) highlights the gendered nature of access to arts education in this period; painting, needlework and music were traditionally considered hobbies for women, meaning that girls were likely to have increased access to them. Alongside a focus on the three Rs, other ideas about education were present, particularly in the writing of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who promoted the importance of games and puzzles for children. These ideas had limited influence in public education (Fleming, 2010).

Outside of this minimal access to art in formal education, art museums failed to attract the working-class audiences they had sought to benefit in the late 1800s, becoming increasingly middle-class spaces (Selwood, 2018). Tate hired educators in 1914; however, organised educational opportunities at art museums were generally inconsistent and tended to be restricted to tours (Pringle, 2018).

Nonetheless, in the first half of the 20th century, progressive ideas of education were gaining popularity. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Hadow report addressed the importance of aesthetic subjects in schools. In the 1940s and 1950s, 'child art' became recognised as valuable in its own right (Fleming, 2010); a more child-centred and expressive approach to art education began to take precedence. Herbert Read's influential *Education through Art*, first published in 1943, reasoned that art should be the foundation of education and

education should intend to bring into being expressive artists (Read, 1943). These progressive ideas took time to filter into educational policy.

Post second world war – 1979: progressive vs traditional

The post-war period saw growing formalisation of the arts sector with the introduction of the Arts Council in 1946, a body to coordinate the arts and support artists and arts organisations. This was two years after the 1944 Education Act, which legislated free education up to fifteen. The Arts Council was primarily concerned with ‘high art’ forms, and, although there was discussion about engaging children and young people, this was done mainly on an ad-hoc basis for the next twenty years (Doeser, 2015). Jennie Lee’s 1965 White Paper, the first of only two UK government White Papers on the arts, sets out an ambition to widen access to the arts (Lee, 1965). Lee highlights arts education as a means to ensure that children grow up appreciating the arts; this was taking place only in some schools, notably primary schools. The paper describes the benefits of working with museums, theatres and arts centres for schools. Although strengthening connections between schools and arts organisations was recommended, few concrete actions took place to facilitate this – such as making funding available or creating professional roles to oversee or do this work (Doeser, 2015).

Concerns over literacy and numeracy standards in schools accompanied the burgeoning attention given to arts education. On the one hand, the Plowden Report (1967) on primary education was positive about the arts and their wider benefits for society (Fleming, 2010), advocating a child-centred approach (Wallace, 2009). This was accompanied by a growing awareness of the need to include working-class cultures as well as ‘high arts’ (Jones, 2009). Although the Plowden Report was influential in schools, teachers were free to teach as they would like at a local level, and the reality was diverse. On the other hand, from 1969 into the early 1970s, a series of publications known as the Black Papers (see the introductory articles in two issues of the *Critical Survey* journal, Cox & Dyson, 1969a, 1969b), written by politicians, academics and writers from the right wing, argued that educational standards (particularly in literacy and numeracy) had declined due to a liberal approach to teaching (reified by the Plowden Report). Additionally, there was apprehension about the influence of left-wing teachers on their students (Wallace, 2009). These differing views of education, a progressive approach, exemplified in the Plowden Report, and a more traditional approach,

held by the Black Papers, were associated with different ends of the political spectrum, the left and right wing, respectively. In 1976, the Prime Minister at the time, James Callaghan, called for a public debate on education, known as the Great Debate, particularly around standards in education.

Concurrently, the development of art education in the cultural sector was more coherent with a progressive approach, and a recognisable gallery education emerged in the 1970s. Spaces like the Whitechapel Gallery in London and the Arnolfini in Bristol developed programmes based on ideas of, 'dialogic, open and pluralist set of tendencies that renegotiate issues of representation, institutional critique and inter-disciplinarity,' (Allen, 2008/12). Many early gallery educators, often women and practising artists, brought radical ideas and practice from the Women's Liberation Movement to gallery education (Allen, 2008). Rather than developments in education policy, gallery educators responded to developments in philosophy and new art histories which questioned traditional canons of art (Allen, 2008). Gallery education was also influenced by the Community Arts Movement (1960s and 1970s). The Community Arts Movement challenged the idea of 'high art' and led various public programmes in different art forms across Britain (Matarasso, 2018).

1979 – 1997: fundamental changes

Developments under the premiership of Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990) left legacies in both sectors visible today. The role of art in the curriculum was largely not considered in the Great Debate in education (which eventually led to the implementation of a national curriculum in 1988). In the dominant and 'traditional' view of education to develop the economy, art fell outside formal education. The Gulbenkian Foundation's report, written by Sir Ken Robinson, *The Arts in Schools: principles, practice and provision*, first published in 1982, makes a case for the arts to be included in this debate (Robinson, 1982/1993).

Robinson argues that rather than solely viewing education as a way to improve employment, education should acknowledge children's present needs and prepare children to respond to the changing world. Although not supported by Robinson, the 1980s saw a return to a technical approach to art teaching from the more child-centred and expressive approach of the 1960s and 1970s.

The national curriculum for art and design was not actually published until 1992; this was later than the core subjects, English and maths. The curriculum was revised and reduced in 1995 (Gregory, March, & Tutchell, 2020). As well as introducing a national curriculum, the Education Reform Act in 1988 was accompanied by several structural changes that impacted what was taught in schools and how it was taught. The school system in England was 'marketised'. Schools reported their results in various assessments; in 1991, the government introduced Standard Assessment Tests, and parents were encouraged to select the best-performing school for their children. In primary, these assessments were in maths and English, meaning that school teaching became increasingly focused on these subjects. In 1992, Ofsted, the national inspection body in England, was founded, replacing local inspection bodies and Her Majesty's Inspectors (Elliot, 2012). Financial control of schools moved from the Local Educational Authority to individual schools (Doeser, 2015).

During the 1980s, alongside the development of a national curriculum, the educational role of the arts sector began to receive increased funding and strategic attention. Following consultation in 1983, the Arts Council published a policy statement on their role within education, pushing for more communication between education and the arts. A separate Arts Council budget was allocated to education in 1983-4, which had doubled by 1985 (Doeser, 2015). The financial resource continued to increase, and the Arts Council introduced funding conditions relating to education. By 1984 education was one of the Arts Council's priorities. A decade later, the founding of the National Lottery significantly improved the availability of funding for programmes and grants often came with the requirement to engage young people (Doeser, 2015).

For some, the inclusion of education within the Arts Council's remit was negative, compromising its focus on pure art forms. On the other hand, others sought to widen further what was considered 'art'. Khan (1980) drew attention to 'ethnic arts' and their potential, highlighting that the value attached to them was minimal. 'Ethnic arts' often were not considered for public funding; what was, therefore, eligible for public funding did not reflect the population. Khan also pushed to widen and diversify the school curriculum. In gallery education, the relationship to community arts, which embraced 'everyday' forms of art also challenged views of what could be considered art (Pringle, 2006).

1998 – 2010: New Labour

The New Labour government brought additional funding to the arts sector and arts in schools whilst continuing a focus on literacy and numeracy. In the late 1990s, the arts sector took what has been described as ‘an educational turn’ (Rogoff, 2008). This ‘educational turn’ was characterised by reprioritising activities within arts organisations and increased value attached to education (Ames, 1992/2004; Black, 2012; Worts, 2003). The social role of the art museum became more prevalent, whereas the earlier focus had been on collecting and preserving objects (Pringle, 2018). There have been criticisms of this ‘educational turn’. Helguera (2023) has argued that curators often employed education theory without the practice meaning that exhibitions and seminars that took place were inauthentic. Although educational models were employed, curators and artists were less interested in what people engaging with the experiences were learning than their use as an artwork.

From a political standpoint, museums and galleries were seen as having an essential educational purpose. Alan Howarth, the Minister for the Arts between 1998 and 2001, argued that museums and galleries are crucial in supporting the national curriculum in schools (Howarth, 1999). However, a survey of museums and galleries in the late 1990s found that 50% still made no provision for school groups (Anderson, 1999). The government became concerned about measuring and increasing the number of children and young people interacting with museums and galleries; targets for this had been introduced in 1997 (Anderson, 1999).

In education, an updated curriculum was implemented in 1999, in which core subjects dominated further. The curriculum reduced non-core subjects’ content to allow more time for literacy and numeracy (Gregory et al., 2020). In this context, the National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education (NACCE) report insisted on the importance of creativity across the curriculum, in subjects such as art and design, but also in science and other non-arts subjects (NACCE, 1999). Rather than something that individuals are gifted with, creativity was understood as a skill that can be taught and essential for the economy’s future in times of change. It is not in competition with literacy and numeracy but complementary to it.

Partly in response to the NACCE report, Creative Partnerships (CP), a large-scale programme predominantly funded by the DCMS, was implemented in 2002. Schools, often with pupils with high levels of disadvantage, were partnered with artists and/or arts organisations. One in four schools in England participated. The programme, 'reflects a shift from arts engagement towards encouraging creativity,' (Doeser, 2015); therefore, the programme was not specific to the arts subjects, but the arts were prominent. The programme saw the projects as a form of CPD for teachers (Galton, 2010; Hall & Thomson, 2017). Notable benefits of the programme were identified; it improved young people's ability to work in teams and increased their agency, as well as augmenting schools' use of pupil voice (Thomson, Coles, Hallewell, & Keane, 2014). There was also substantial interest in the impact of CP on wider academic outcomes and in areas like attendance. Although individual teachers identified changes in these areas, there is only modest evidence that attendance improved in schools (which became more significant the longer schools participated) and that the programme benefitted children's speaking and listening skills (L. Cooper, Benton, & Sharp, 2011; Kendall, Morrison, Sharp, & Yeshanew, 2008).

In the New Labour period, an instrumental view and understanding of the arts was widespread; the arts became a tool to improve the economy and society instead of being valued for their intrinsic benefits. Research in CP looked for evidence of enhanced attainment in core subjects (e.g., L. Cooper et al., 2011). Beyond this, the arts were seen as tools to address societal problems, such as youth disengagement or crime (Belfiore, 2012). Arts programmes were often justified by the financial contribution of the creative industries to the economy and the number of people working in the sector. This shift in thinking increased attention to gallery education and its potential (Engage, 2006).

2010 – today: a squeeze on arts

The austerity measures and priorities introduced by the Coalition Government were unfavourable to art education in schools and the cultural sector (J. Adams, 2013; Arts Council England, 2015). Further details of this squeeze on arts in schools are given in chapter 1. In schools, the arts were already under pressure; however, during an era of austerity, where many local authorities lost funding for arts advisors and similar roles, they were further pressed (Matthews, 2018). The government withdrew funding for Creative Partnerships in 2010. Political focus shifted to a new, knowledge-based curriculum,

introduced in 2014. Policy changes in secondary schools have undermined the perceived value of arts subjects. The introduction of the EBacc in 2010 (for which pupils are encouraged to take geography or history, and a language in addition to English language and literature, maths and science at GCSE), Progress 8 and Attainment 8 (introduced in 2016) discourage schools from promoting arts subjects and pupils from taking them. The latter two appear to have impacted exam entries (Johnes, 2017). Additionally, the subjects were further devalued by the Russell Group identifying ‘facilitating subjects’ at A Level, which did not include arts subjects, for entrance to universities – this advice was later withdrawn in 2019 (Tambling & Bacon, 2023). Recently, this has been countered by Ofsted’s focus on art and design as a subject; even Ofsted highlights that many schools have deprioritised the subject – although it does not cite the political movements that have led to this happening (Ofsted, 2023).

In the cultural sector, children and young people have continued to be an important audience. The majority of museums and galleries (96%) provide some provision for school groups (Arts Council England, 2016). Some museums and galleries have sought to respond to the change in curriculum in schools. However, the sector has been impacted by austerity, as detailed in chapter 1. This has limited the stability of educational work in the cultural sector and its ability to work toward long-term aims (Jancovich & Stevenson, 2021).

The histories of art education which I have explored in this section contribute to the shared history of the gallery education CoP, as well as of primary art education. Furthermore, the histories and political priorities have created separate pedagogical approaches within the CoPs of gallery education and art education in schools, detailed in the following section.

C. Different practices: the pedagogical approaches in art education

In England, pedagogy is often understood only to be concerned with teaching practice or is used as a synonym for teaching (Loughran, 2013). However, the continental tradition and use of the term pedagogy, ‘brings together within the one concept the act of teaching and the body of knowledge, argument and evidence in which it is embedded and by which particular classroom practices are justified,’ (Alexander, 2004, p. 10). Pedagogy concerns relationships and communication with learners (Leach & Moon, 2008). It is about how learners are understood to be responded to by teachers; it goes, ‘beyond the specific skills of the teacher to embrace the wider purposes and beliefs that surround and impact upon all

pedagogic settings,' (Leach & Moon, 2008, p. 15). It encompasses the contexts where learning happens in all their variety (Thomson et al., 2012). This thesis employs this broad definition of 'pedagogy'.

Pedagogies of gallery education

Educational programmes by galleries are often decided at an organisational level, although, of course, led by Arts Council England and government priorities, as well as available funding. Quick desk research will show various programmes for schools, e.g., focusing on climate change or citizenship as well as the subject of art and design. The variety of programmes makes gallery education hard to define (McKenzie, 2001). However, in 2006, Engage detailed the Contemporary Gallery Education model,

The model is characterised by experimental, open-ended, collaborative teaching and learning, and draws on a specific understanding of creative practice that can be identified as 'conceptual'. The following definition of conceptual art is useful, since it could also describe the CGE [contemporary gallery education] approach:

"Conceptual art is concerned with intellectual speculation and with the everyday. Conceptual art asks questions, not only of the art object; 'Why is this art? Who is the artist? What is the context?' – but also of the person who looks at it or reads about it: 'Who are you? What do you represent?' It draws viewers' attention to themselves." (Pringle, 2006, pp. 7, citation from Godfrey, 2011)

Although this might not describe the breadth of educational practice that takes place in galleries, I understand it to offer a definition of 'gallery education' as a practice that corresponds to the gallery education team at Tate's understanding of the discipline. This quotation highlights vital features that some gallery education programmes share, such as an engagement with conceptual art, a focus on critical thinking skills and an encounter with the participant.

Additionally, sessions are typically led by practising artists rather than art historians (Pringle, 2018), grounding gallery education in contemporary art. The artists bring their art practice to the learning experience, supporting learners to engage in a process of enquiry and reflection with artworks (Pringle, 2009). Therefore, artists encourage learners to develop active questioning and enquiry skills (Pringle, 2009). Facilitating dialogue is an important

pedagogical tool. Sessions may focus more on the experience and process of engaging with artwork to develop thinking and make meaning than the outcome (Pringle, 2011).

Programmes often take a socio-constructivist approach, which acknowledges and builds on what learners bring to the gallery, rather than a didactic approach, which transmits information to them (Falk & Dierking, 2012; Pringle, 2018). This approach may change dynamics in school groups; the adult becomes equal to the young people, which can be enjoyable for the young people (Burgess & Addison, 2007).

In gallery education, the traditional conception of knowledge and who has it is disrupted; there is less focus on the art historical facts, and 'not knowing' becomes a position from which to act and experiment (Cocker, 2013). 'Not knowing' contrasts with the privileging of knowledge in school systems (Fisher, 2013). All become learners within this space. The artist leading the session is a learner alongside the children (Pringle, 2011); everyone may discover new things about themselves in relation to art (Pringle, 2012). The experiences are theoretically predicated on equity between gallery educators, teachers and learners. However, gallery educators are also responsible for creating the context of the sessions, introducing a power imbalance. With this, they have to take care to create a safe space where participants feel able to learn and not know (Pringle & DeWitt, 2014).

Often, gallery education seeks to be experiential and something different from the school environment. Gallery educators may see what is distinct about being in the gallery as of value to schools (Cutler, 2010). The gallery space is free from constraints that may exist in the classroom (Wild, 2011); this freedom is often what students enjoy about engaging in these programmes (Burgess & Addison, 2007).

Whilst gallery education may frequently be associated with art and design in the curriculum, it is broader than the subject, creating connections across different disciplines (J. Graham, Pethick, Williams, & Steedman, 2012). It also employs contemporary art's use of a range of materials, where anything can become art (N. Walton, n.d.), which is more extended than the subject suggested by the national curriculum.

Art and design in schools

How art is taught in schools appears, on a surface level, to be significantly different to gallery education. The 2014 and current curriculum for art and design is short (DfE, 2013). Children are expected to be able to make artworks, to, ‘become proficient in drawing, painting, sculpture and other art, craft and design techniques,’ and learn about great artists, craftspeople and designers. Although ‘other art, craft and design techniques’ are mentioned in the curriculum, the emphasis on drawing, painting and sculpture (the only art forms named) suggests a privileged status for these art forms, whilst simultaneously, the art world has moved away from more traditional ways of making art. The brevity of the curriculum has been criticised for not providing enough support for teachers and failing to create a coherent dialogue on the subject (N. Walton, n.d.). It is open to interpretation, which can be seen as both a positive, in that the subject is not entirely determined by the curriculum, and a negative, as, particularly at primary, many teachers have not had significant training in the subject (Thomson & Vainker, 2022), find it challenging to teach and therefore would benefit from more guidance. Ofsted’s recent art and design subject review can be understood as elaborating on the curriculum (Ofsted, 2023). Even before the subject review, Ofsted was increasingly shaping what is missing from the curriculum and seems to have driven a particular focus on outcomes and technical progression (Briggs, 2021).

There are suggestions that art in school has primarily remained in the ‘modern’ period; references to artists like Vincent Van Gogh (1853-1890) seem to dominate (who perhaps answer the call to study ‘great artists’) (Downing, 2005). Contemporary art, which employs an extensive range of materials and has different pedagogical foundations (see above), has struggled to gain ground in classrooms. Teachers sometimes lack information about artists, IT and other resources (J. Adams et al., 2008). Although the recent Ofsted review encourages a broader interpretation of ‘great artists’ to include contemporary artists and non-western art forms, contemporary art fits uncomfortably within a target-driven climate, where progression and evidencing are critical (Briggs, 2022).

The following section details how these two pedagogies come together in collaborative work between arts organisations and schools. It starts by examining the reasons partnerships may take place, before looking at how partnerships are conceptualised in this

thesis as ‘boundary encounters’ (Wenger, 1998). I explore the literature on what happens during collaborative work between the two groups as this research adds to this learning.

D. Working together: between gallery education and schools

Arts organisations and schools working together has become ubiquitous, meaning that the reasons organisations enter partnership work can be overlooked. As identified in section B, there has been a growing understanding in the arts sector that engaging with this audience is something that the arts sector does, an almost inherent purpose. The reality of partnerships is that people may hold various reasons for participating (Mathewson Mitchell, 2018). Engaging with school audiences is often a funding requirement, but gaining funding is rarely the primary reason for entering into a partnership (Ellison, 2015). Motives often relate to connecting to an audience who might not be regular visitors and believing in their right to engage with the arts. This connects to gallery education’s view of all people as artists. For schools, the arts sector enables access to specialist skills lacking in the workforce (Kukkonen, 2020), or experiences related to content they are studying (Arts Council England, 2016). Arts partnerships may even attract a particular type of parent or carer to the school (Ruck, 2020).

Notably, engagement with arts organisations may help schools demonstrate the development of ‘cultural capital’ (O’Hanlon, Cochrane, & Evans, 2020), encouraged by Ofsted’s recent inclusion of the term in the inspection framework (Ofsted, 2019). Ofsted’s interpretation encourages a deficit model of cultural capital, where young people who may not have access to specific cultural experiences in their home environment, e.g., be from underprivileged backgrounds, are ‘given’ cultural capital through experiences in school and with arts organisations (Cultural Learning Alliance, 2019; Thomson & Hall, 2022). Cultural experiences are often from the dominant cultural repertoire, although historically gallery education has tried to challenge this. The relationship between these experiences and young people’s cultural capital is more complex than policy dictates. A continuing undervaluing of non-dominant cultural capitals may mean that young people fail to see their own cultures represented and valued in cultural organisations and schools, and experiences may be more beneficial for young people of middle-class background, highlighting that education reproduces cultural capital (Coulangeon & Fougère, 2022).

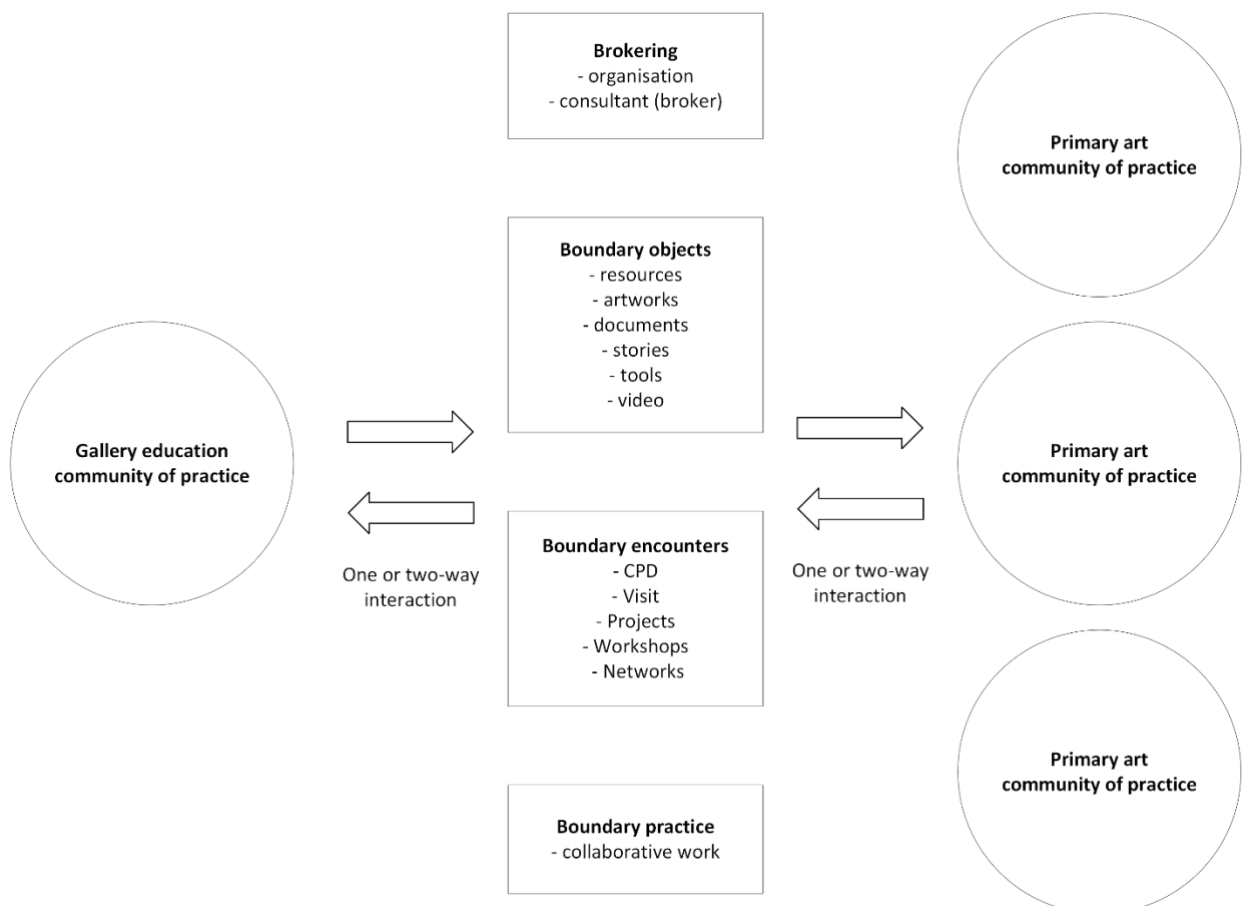
The encounter between two (or more) distinct groups has been conceptualised in various ways. For example, collaborations between schools and the arts sector often take the form of partnerships (Ellison, 2015). There is a lack of shared understanding of what a partnership means; it is not a single way of working with external organisations but an ‘umbrella term’ (Ellison, 2015, p. 14). Mathewson Mitchell moves beyond the idea of a partnership to an ‘encounter’, which ‘allows a re-consideration of creative partnerships as community connectivity in relation to both predictable and unpredictable experiences and outcomes,’ (Mathewson Mitchell, 2018, p. 116). Somekh (1994) uses the metaphor of inhabiting each other’s castles to describe collaborative work between a university and schools. ‘Inhabiting each other’s castles’ emphasises the practitioner moving between different practices and understanding the perspective of their colleagues. ‘Bridging’ is an alternative way of understanding these relationships (Mohamad Nasri, Nasri, & Abd Talib, 2022), suggesting that the two ways of doing things are different enough to necessitate something happening in between the two groups for communication and collaboration to be possible. Bridging is a term used in the cultural and education sectors; the Arts Council England funded several ‘bridge’ organisations to support work between the sectors. ‘Bridging’ is a term employed by the gallery education team, as will be explored in chapter 8. However, the framing of CoP offers a different approach to understanding what happens when schools and galleries work together.

In communities of practice, the term ‘boundary encounters’ describes when two different CoPs (or groups) come together (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2014). All CoPs have boundaries; an outsider may experience these boundaries when they are with a CoP and feel outside of it, e.g., they cannot follow a conversation (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2014). The CoP negotiates boundaries; they are not fixed or defined by an institution. Wenger differentiates boundaries from the periphery of a group; at the peripheries, a group is looser, and some form of engagement is allowed, such as welcoming newcomers into practice, whereas a boundary marks an insider from an outsider. Meetings between distinct CoPs at boundaries can be productive, ‘Combining multiple voices can produce a two-way critical stance through a mutual process of critique and engagement in reflection,’ (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2014, p. 19).

Boundary encounters between schools and the arts sector take different forms. They include a range of relationships that may or may not be reciprocal. Figure 3-2 shows the different elements of boundary encounters typical in these relationships, and I detail the variety of relationships it can encompass in the following paragraphs. This is an analytical framework I return to in the thesis to understand the encounters between the gallery educators and primary school teachers (chapters 9 and 10).

Boundary encounters may be purely transactional (N. Brown, 2017; Liu, 2007); the provider (museum) provides a service for the receiver (school). The service could be in the form of a resource (boundary object) for a school. A term used initially by Star (Star & Griesemer, 1989), boundary objects coordinate actions across different practices, 'They have different meanings in different social worlds but their structure is common enough to more than one world to make them recognizable, a means of translation,' (p.393). Boundary objects are often used in boundary encounters to connect and coordinate different groups around a topic (B. Wenger-Trayner, Wenger-Trayner, Cameron, Eryigit-Madzwamuse, & Hart, 2019).

Figure 3-2 - diagram showing elements of boundary encounters between gallery education CoP and primary art CoP



As well as facilitating collaboration, boundary objects can develop practice; for example, a resource may seek to 'transfer' a new approach to art teaching to teachers as the gallery education team did in producing a digital resource (Hear My Story, chapter 9). Boundary objects are often reifications of practice. Reification on its own can involve misunderstanding without someone there to support interpretation; for instance, a resource produced within the art museum may mean very little to a teacher outside of it. Similarly, on its own, participation with a member of a CoP may fail to give a complete picture of a CoP. One person may fail to represent the whole CoP. Therefore, models involving participation and reification are preferable (Wenger, 1998).

The relationship between schools and an arts organisation can be dialectical (N. Brown, 2017), where partners work together to develop a resource or interaction. This could be described as co-production or co-creation. Within the cultural sector, this model is promoted as an ideal way to work, often with the caveat that the resources required are extensive (e.g., Kaszynska, Anzel, & Rolls, 2023). For Wenger, too, this is ideal. Boundary encounters can be more successful with a two-way encounter where both parties learn about each other (Wenger, 1998). This is a model that the gallery educators sometimes aimed for when working with schools (chapter 10).

An additional model may involve a third 'bridging' partner (Liu, 2007), such as a broker (Kubiak, Fenton-O'Creevy, et al., 2014). Within the English context, numerous organisations or individuals could take this role, for example, the bridge organisations (in London, A New Direction) or, as happened during this ethnographic study, a teaching school alliance. Brokers occupy a liminal space between CoPs (Kubiak, Fenton-O'Creevy, et al., 2014); to operate in different groups, they may need to emphasise different aspects of language or practice, they may have to modify how they behave (Kubiak, Cameron, et al., 2014). Brokers must ensure enough legitimacy in a CoP to have meaningful encounters without becoming a full member. Kubiak, Fenton-O'Creevy, et al. (2014) describe brokers as multilingual; they can 'speak' the languages of different CoPs. For example, teachers recognise the language the London 'bridge organisation', A New Direction, uses. During the study, the gallery education team worked with a consultant who acted as a broker between the gallery education team and primary schools. For individuals, brokering requires significant

emotional work and is a complex, 'translation, coordination, and alignment between perspectives,' (Wenger, 1998, p. 109).

The type of boundary encounter, e.g., one or two-way participation, use of boundary objects, may lend itself to different power relations (Durose, Beebeejaun, Rees, Richardson, & Richardson, 2011). For an organisation such as an art museum, working with people outside it is bound up in power relations and dynamics (H. Graham, 2011). Interestingly, the concept of CoP has been critiqued for not paying sufficient attention to power and its role in social relations (D. Barton & Tusting, 2005); Wenger focuses on the social structures, acknowledging that he does not examine how CoPs, and therefore boundary encounters, interact with broader political structures or power (Wenger, 1998). Although CoPs does not offer the tools to understand the broader power structures that may shape these encounters, it does offer a framework for understanding aspects of the events. For example, the agency allowed by the type of boundary encounter, are both groups involved in two-way participation? Are groups allowed to contribute boundary objects? This research has not examined the broader institutional structures that dictate how this work happens. However, it examines power relations enabled by the boundary encounters, which may offer insight into the broader structures.

The potential models of boundary encounters offer an analytical tool to understand encounters between the gallery educators and primary school teachers that took place as part of this research. The next section draws from the literature on partnerships between arts organisations/artists and schools to explore some of the challenges and benefits of this work.

Boundary encounters as places of misunderstanding and learning
Working together is challenging (Mathewson Mitchell, 2018; Somekh, 1994). Encounters at boundaries can reinforce behaviours and outsider status, 'Boundaries are places of potential misunderstanding and confusion arising from different regimes of competence, commitments, values, repertoires, and perspectives,' (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2014, p. 17). Teachers and gallery educators (or artists working in gallery education) have different responsibilities and requirements, Thomson et al. (2012) describe this, 'teachers, because of their position within the institutional context of school, work in a complex frame

of national policy, public expectations and local institutional interpretations of policy and educational purposes. They have ongoing responsibilities for ensuring that children meet mandated curriculum outcomes,' (p.47) – these are not necessarily shared by the art partner. Therefore, what an artist engaging temporarily can do is different from teachers. Teachers recognise the institutional constraints they work within, and therefore, the freedom that external facilitators can operate with may cause jealousy (Harding, 2005a). This dynamic may create an unhelpful binary between the 'boring stuff' that teachers do and the 'fun stuff' artists are able to do (Christophersen, 2013). However, it is worth noting that not all work between schools and artists creates this binary. The artist's role can be multi-faceted. Pringle (2002) notes the various roles the artists may occupy when working with schools; artists can be collaborators, role models, social activists and researcher/enquirers (p.9).

Schools habitually work with a known outcome in mind and to set plans, whereas for an artist or art partner, the outcomes may develop through doing and the process (Craft et al., 2012). Because of this, arts pedagogies often encounter resistance in schools where dominant pedagogical models are different (Hall et al., 2007), as the summary in section C demonstrates. These differences may cause misunderstandings and can make incorporating new pedagogies into practice challenging (Hall et al., 2007; Noble, 2021a; Riding et al., 2019).

Moreover, teachers may hold assumptions about artists or gallery educators. Teachers may assume that the facilitators know little about classroom pedagogies and teaching in schools (Herne, 2006). The assumptions mean teachers may distrust the approaches presented and their relevance to the classroom. Specifically, in gallery education, teachers are encouraged to abandon their role of expert and the importance of 'subject knowledge' and become learners alongside children (Pringle, 2008) – within primary education, good subject knowledge is important and a sign of a competent teacher (DfE, 2021c). Therefore, working in collaboration with gallery educators requires teachers to step out of their comfort zones and go against some conceptions of the teacher's role.

Additionally, teachers' roles in boundary encounters can be unclear. Perhaps because of suspicion of the formal education system in the arts sector, it is not uncommon for arts

organisations to focus solely on the children and not fully acknowledge the teacher's role or learning (Werber, Rowe, Kaganoff, & Robyn, 2004). A sizeable Norwegian project, The Cultural Rucksack, did not fully consider the role of teachers in the learning experience. Artists performed shows and events at schools; teachers became, 'helpers, guards or mediators,' taking on roles of assistants, behaviour management or mediating between the artists and students, rather than a fully integrated part of the project (Christophersen, 2013).

The arts sector is often left leaning and 'radical' in its political views (Kind et al., 2007; Pringle, 2008). Arts facilitators may deem teachers complicit in implementing the 'dominant culture', which they resist (Kind et al., 2007). This may lead to arts facilitators not respecting teachers as professionals and not valuing what they bring to the cultural experience. Arts organisations can make incorrect assumptions about teachers' prior experience and may assume that teachers lack knowledge of contemporary art (Griffiths & Woolf, 2009; Herne, 2006).

The literature suggests several ways these challenges can be overcome, many of which are features of productive boundary encounters. For Wenger (1998), it is a two-way engagement that facilitates successful boundary encounters. In two-way engagement, both parties can learn from each other and develop their practice in response. Working with teachers on the planning of an experience can make the partnership mutually relevant (Imms et al., 2011); dialogue between the arts facilitator and the teacher is needed (Galton, 2010; Kenny & Morrissey, 2020; Riding et al., 2019; L. Smith & Walker, 2003). Two-way participation enables the partners to learn more about each other and their contexts, address differences in ways of doing things, e.g., why the artist takes an approach, and explore their different understandings of the purpose of art (K. Thomas, 2015). In order to learn, teachers need to understand and discuss the reasoning behind approaches taken by artists (Galton, 2010; Hall et al., 2007).

In addition, for these interactions to be successful, acknowledging that both parties are professionals with different skills is important; it can create a mutual learning experience and engender reciprocal learning (Kenny & Morrissey, 2020). This may have the potential to

create a binary between the two practices. However, artists and teachers can take elements of each other's role, disrupting any binaries.

A longer-term relationship between arts facilitators and teachers is essential to support a reciprocal encounter (Hall & Thomson, 2021; Herne, 2006). In fact, in certain circumstances, one-off sessions led by a specialist may be harmful, reinforcing the perceived specialist skills and knowledge required to teach in this way and not allowing time to fully explore what it may look like for someone without this expertise to lead the experience (Snook & Buck, 2014). The benefits of more extended engagement are also evidenced in the broader literature on teacher professional development (Cordingley et al., 2015; Desimone, 2009). However, longer-term experiences can be challenging to support due to a lack of resources, funding and teacher time (Werber et al., 2004).

For Wenger (1998), the purpose of two CoPs coming together is to learn from each other. Learning new skills or about the artworld often motivates teachers to engage with cultural organisations (Hunter, Baker, & Nailon, 2014; Kukkonen, 2020).

Nonetheless, as Akkerman and Bakker (2011) have suggested, the original CoP literature does not explain how this occurs. From their literature review, Akkerman and Bakker (2011) demonstrate four mechanisations of learning during boundary encounters, *identification*, *coordination*, *reflection* and *transformation*:

- *Identification* involves questioning the identities of different CoPs and re-understanding the practice and how it relates to other CoPs ('othering');
- *Coordination* describes collaborating across different boundaries. Typically, 'the work' of working together is not visible; however, this does not mean there is consensus between the different groups. Boundary objects facilitate collaboration;
- *Reflection* is understanding the differences between CoPs and, therefore, learning more about them. This involves 'perspective making' and 'perspective taking'. While engaging with another group, you see yourself and your own practice through another person's eyes;
- Boundary encounters often seek *transformation* to resolve a conflict or problem by generating a change in approach. The *transformation* is directed towards the

problem. In between practice could emerge; this could be a new practice. Although many boundary encounters aim for *transformation*, boundary encounters rarely achieve it.

I have used Akkerman and Bakker's four types of learning from boundary encounters to analyse the interactions between gallery educators and teachers in tandem with the type of boundary encounters (chapter 10).

For teachers, engaging in partnerships with arts organisations has many benefits. It can support teachers to learn more about the arts and arts worlds; this may involve *reflection* (B. Andrews, 2011; Robins, 2005). It can improve technical skills in teaching (Davies, 2012; Gregory & March, 2020; Hunter et al., 2014; Kind et al., 2007). These increased skills and knowledge can improve teachers' confidence in teaching the arts leading to a potential *transformation* (Gregory & March, 2020). The opportunities are also a chance for teachers to expand their networks in the arts sector (Burgess & Addison, 2007; Hunter et al., 2014). Additionally, reflexivity can blur boundaries between teachers and artists; teachers can become 'artists-first', creating a 'disturbance' in their identities (Kenny & Morrissey, 2020).

Kenning (2013) suggests that the art world can learn from schools; however, there has been less focus on the impact of these partnerships on the arts organisations themselves than on the impact on teachers and young people (outside of evaluation). Kenning's framing of the prompt, 'what schools can offer art,' acknowledges that this proposition is surprising. As time in school for arts has become more pressurised, making the experience relevant to teachers and schools has meant that organisations have had to learn and adapt, for example, to the curriculum introduced in 2014 (DfE, 2013). However, Chemi (2019) found that artists working in partnerships with schools did not identify the impact of the work on their own artist practice, which is shared by other literature (Kind et al., 2007). As this research closely engaged with gallery educators, it seeks to expand this literature to explore further the type of learning that occurs from their engagement with teachers and schools.

This research will explore boundary encounters between the gallery educators and primary teachers as potential areas of learning for both groups. The final section of this chapter details the professional development context in schools as, to understand teachers'

responses to these encounters better, it is necessary to recognise how teachers learn, and how teachers are expected to learn in the current English context.

E: The professional development context in schools

Many arts organisations seek to provide teachers with formal or informal CPD sessions, contributing to the professional development opportunities available to teachers. This is the case for the gallery education team (further detailed in chapter 10). Often formal CPD is led by an artist or arts facilitator rather than a trained teacher. CPD might be a way for arts organisations to reach more children through their teachers than might be accommodated in other areas of programmes, e.g., facilitated workshops (Robins & Wollard, 2005). Projects or other activities also are frequently understood to support teachers' learning (e.g., Davies, 2012; Galton, 2010; Gregory & March, 2020; Hunter et al., 2014). These experiences relate to and interact with the political understanding of professionalism and professional development for teachers.

How it is accepted as best to educate or train a professional is strongly shaped by how that professionalism is understood. Sachs (2016) differentiates between *managerial* professionalism and *democratic* professionalism. The first is defined by strict hierarchies, standardisation of practice and target-setting in performance reviews. It broadly aligns with what Evetts (2009) has described as *organizational* professionalism. The second, *democratic* professionalism, depends on a lengthy training period, collegiality between practitioners and trust in practitioners. *Democratic* professionalism aligns with Evetts' *occupational* professionalism. These are models; therefore, most practice falls in between. However, teachers in England are subject to standards and performance targets, meaning that professionalism in English schools predominantly aligns with *managerial/organizational*.

Ideas of professionalism, through policy, impact the types of professional training offered to teachers. The Department for Education (2016) endorses a model of CPD that proposes a direct link between the experience, a teacher's improved practice and improved pupil outcomes, often easily measurable test scores. Teachers are expected to uncritically incorporate the new approach, as in managerial professionalism (Sachs, 2016). Although professional development providers are encouraged to challenge teachers' beliefs about learning, the DfE does not address a teacher's more comprehensive personal learning.

Professional development is principally understood as a way of improving pupil outcomes (Kennedy, 2014; OECD, 2005). In England, improving pupil outcomes relates to persistent 'gaps' in outcomes for different pupils, most frequently, but not exclusively, linked to socioeconomic status (Crenna-Jennings, 2018). The DfE's model may be helpful for some types of professional development. However, evidence suggests it does not refer to the wider complexities of teacher professional learning with broader intended outcomes (e.g., Bell & Gilbert, 1996; Korthagen, 2017; Postholm, 2012).

Other professional development models argue that for teachers to learn, they need to consider the social, personal and professional levels, as Bell and Gilbert (1996) detail. For the social level, the teacher needs to understand their teacher identity and the social interactions that develop it. The personal level, 'involves each individual teacher constructing, evaluating and accepting or rejecting for himself or herself [or themselves] the new socially constructed knowledge about what it means to be a teacher,' (p.15), i.e., critically engaging as in democratic professionalism (Sachs, 2016). The professional level, in part, relates to what the DfE describes, learning new activities (DfE, 2016), but also involves understanding the approach underlying the activities. Further evidence supports understanding the rationale behind different approaches (Allison, 2013; Cordingley et al., 2015; M. James & McCormick, 2009).

As the focus on the personal and social levels (in addition to the professional) increases, teacher agency and autonomy become more prevalent. Bell and Gilbert's model introduces teacher agency to categorise the experience on offer. Kennedy (2014) uses a spectrum of CPD experiences, from transmissive (which describes the DfE approach) to transformative. Along the stages of the spectrum, the space for teacher agency and autonomy increases.

For Kennedy (2014), successful CPD requires some teacher autonomy. The DfE model of teacher learning seeks to transfer knowledge of approaches to teachers (transmissive) without teachers' critical input; however, a transformative professional development experience introduces teacher agency and autonomy found in democratic professionalism (Sachs, 2016). Kennedy's example in this category is 'collaborative professional inquiry models', of which action research is an example. However, the intention remains essential; in other words, not all collaborative professional inquiry is transformative. Transformative

teacher professional development may seek more extensive outcomes than just improved pupil outcomes; it may seek to support learners to develop critical thinking skills and to act equitably (Mockler, 2005; J. Thomas, 2022). Pupils may be supported to make their own decisions, meaning it is difficult to predict the outcomes. Taking this wider approach may mean that rather than being able to know the intended outcomes, they may be individualised. Boundary encounters, particularly those intended as CPD for teachers, come into contact with expectations of CPD and the dominant view of professionalism.

When arts organisations, including the gallery education team at Tate, provide CPD, they encounter the dominant professional development models in schools (DfE, 2016). However, what they offer often seeks to enable learning beyond improved outcomes for pupils that can be measured in test scores, as the pedagogical approach of gallery education outlined earlier in this chapter suggests. Professional development led by artist practice may challenge the dominant CPD model. The following chapter details the Tate approach further, demonstrating that what the gallery education team offers differs from the dominant professional development model in schools.

CODA

This chapter has introduced the analytical framework used in this thesis, communities of practice (Wenger, 1998). Communities of practice are groups of people with a shared interest and a practice with histories, like the gallery education team at Tate. The chapter situated the research in the histories of art education, positing that although the origins of gallery education and art education in schools can be located in similar concerns, their joint enterprise and practice have developed differently, particularly from the inception of a recognisable 'gallery education' in the 1970s. These differences mean that they have distinct practices, particularly pedagogical approaches. Gallery education emphasises the thinking process associated with contemporary art, whilst school art education is more concerned with traditional art practice, such as technical skills. Although boundary encounters between schools and the cultural sector are established, as well as learning, they can result in confusion. The final section detailed the professional development context in schools, highlighting the dominant model of professional development in schools as a limited CPD model, which differs from what a gallery education programme may offer.

Chapter 4 - The cultural sector and Tate context

The previous chapter established that the cultural sector forms an important support for teachers as it offers beneficial opportunities for children (Anders, Shure, Wyse, Barnard, et al., 2021; Arts Council England, 2016; SQW, 2018). Compared to schools, cultural organisations often operate more freely, i.e., they do not need to respond to the curriculum. Therefore, cultural organisations' learning offers for schools are diverse. The pandemic signified that what cultural organisations offered to schools radically transformed as they had to re-think their programmes because social distancing was enforced, and the needs of schools changed.

Tate occupies a prominent position within the cultural sector's landscape of practice. All communities of practice (CoPs) exist within landscapes of practice (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2014). A landscape of practice encompasses the body of knowledge of a profession or a sector, including numerous CoPs with boundaries and complex relationships. Based at Tate, the gallery education team have a distinct approach in the landscape of practice.

The first (A) of two sections of this chapter describes the landscape of practice of the cultural sector during the pandemic. It highlights that the sector was working in highly uncertain circumstances. The second section (B) centres on Tate within this landscape of practice. It introduces Tate. I then outline the gallery education team's documented aims and pedagogical approach. Finally, I give an overview of the gallery education team's programme during the pandemic.

A. The cultural sector: the landscape of practice

Gallery education sits within the broader landscape of practice of art education (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2014). To give a sense of this landscape of practice, a table including a description of some art learning programmes for primary schools or teachers is included in appendix 6.

The landscape of practice includes a range of approaches with different methods. Teachers often look for opportunities directly connecting to their curriculum, and organisations are encouraged to respond to this (Arts Council England, 2016; Black, 2012). However, in reality, there are a breadth of practices. These include:

- no references to the curriculum;
- an arts integration approach – where arts are used to teach another curriculum subject, e.g., literacy;
- directly supporting teachers with art and design as a subject in the classroom.

There are also differences in how organisations assume art will be taught; some offer ideas for teachers to develop, whilst others provide step-by-step activities that will lead to children producing similar artworks – these may situate the teacher within different professionalisms, e.g., democratic, which expects the teacher to critically engage, or managerial, where the teacher is simply given something to deliver (Sachs, 2016).

For the learning programmes in the cultural sector, the pandemic came as a shock. Many organisations had to entirely re-think what they were offering as social distancing was introduced and the needs of schools changed. The next section details the types of resources offered to schools and teachers during the pandemic to situate the offer of the gallery education team.

The ‘pandemic offer’ of cultural organisations
 The pandemic disrupted the learning programmes of arts and cultural organisations. Some continued, moving online, whilst some organisations changed their activities, and some were required to stop altogether (Walmsley et al., 2022). In this section, I give an overview of the different types of resources cultural organisations produced, with some notable examples (table 4-1). These have been chosen either from resources teachers mentioned using or resources I heard about through social media or media.

Table 4-1 - showing types of resources produced by arts organisations during the pandemic

Resource	Description and examples
Digital packs	Some digital packs were produced by well-known artists, e.g., Firstsite’s <i>Art is Where the Home Is</i> . ⁸ Firstsite’s pack provides prompts and ideas for arts activities. Other digital packs responded to exhibitions or artworks, e.g., South London

⁸ <https://firstsite.uk/art-is-where-the-home-is-programme/>

	Gallery, ⁹ and #FRIDAY FACT by Goldsmiths CCA ¹⁰ . Independent consultants also produced activities, e.g., Darrell Wakelam. ¹¹
Online workshops	Several organisations led live workshops online, including the National Gallery (C. Smith, 2021). These were a mixture of free and charged.
Videos	There are lots of freely available art video tutorials for children, e.g., on Youtube. Tate Kids ¹² is a large provider of videos for children and young people. Several organisations produced videos for the pandemic period, such as London South Art Hub. ¹³
Prompts / challenges	Certain arts organisations launched social media ‘challenges’ during the pandemic, e.g., the #GettyMuseumChallenge ¹⁴ which asked people to recreate artworks. Individual artists also shared prompts on social media.
Online CPD	Some organisations offered online CPD for teachers, for instance, Cambridge Museums. ¹⁵
Online teacher networks	Freelands Foundation’s ARTISTEACHER programme ¹⁶ continued to offer an artist teacher network.
Digital tours	Several organisations provided digital tours of cultural spaces, e.g., Google Arts & Culture. ¹⁷
Art materials	Some organisations offered arts materials packs at foodbanks to be given to families (e.g., A New Direction, 2020).

My attendance at sector events, particularly a Secondary Learning Network meeting of London cultural organisations (online in September 2020), indicated that this was an uncertain period for cultural organisations. Some cultural organisations were considering

⁹ <https://www.southlondongallery.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/SLG-Perception-Teaching-Resource.pdf>

¹⁰ <https://goldsmithscca.art/engagement/fridayfact/>

¹¹ <https://www.darrellwakelam.com/downloads>

¹² <https://www.tate.org.uk/kids>

¹³ <https://www.londonsoutharthub.org/>

¹⁴ <https://www.getty.edu/news/getty-artworks-recreated-with-household-items-by-creative-geniuses-the-world-over/>

¹⁵ <https://inspire2020.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/events/>

¹⁶ <https://freelandsfoundation.co.uk/education/artistteacher>

¹⁷ <https://artsandculture.google.com/>

how they could restart their in-person offer, while others were thinking about digital opportunities foreseeing that this would be their prime way of connecting with schools for some time. These decisions were managed on an organisational level, and learning teams responded to massive uncertainty.

The gallery education team at Tate acted in this unstable environment. The following section gives information about the cultural organisation where the gallery education team worked, Tate Galleries.

B. The organisational landscape of practice: Tate Galleries

Within the cultural sector's landscape of practice, Tate occupies a particular, prominent position. Tate is a large art museum with four sites across England. Tate Britain, then called the National Gallery of British Art, was opened in 1897 in a purpose-built gallery on a Millbank site in London. It was known as Tate Gallery after its founder, Henry Tate. The organisation has expanded to include Tate Liverpool (1988), Tate St Ives (1993)¹⁸ and, in 2000, its most visited site, Tate Modern (in London). The art museums are popular, receiving millions of visits a year (DCMS, 2023). The large audience and network of art museums makes Tate a significant presence in the art world in the UK and internationally.

As well as holding a collection of historic and modern British art, and international contemporary art, Tate is better known for its modern and contemporary art exhibitions; for example, it organises and frequently hosts the Turner Prize.

Tate is one of the DCMS-sponsored museums and galleries, meaning that a percentage of Tate's income comes directly from DCMS. Tate also generates revenue through its commercial branch, Tate Enterprises, and charges for exhibitions. Philanthropists and members are also a significant income source.

The organisation works to five-year plans, with one being introduced before the pandemic in early 2020:

- Engage a broader audience in the UK and across the world
- Influence thinking about the nature of art and its value to the world

¹⁸ Tate had been managing Barbara Hepworth Museum and Sculpture Garden since 1980.

- Sustain our creativity by supporting our staff and increasing our self-generated revenue
- Champion the right to the richness of art for everyone (Tate, n.d.-b)

Although Tate's aims do not mention children and young people, they fall into the strategy of broadening the organisation's audience and championing everyone's right to art. Tate has been vocal in supporting art education in schools, particularly in publicity for the large-scale Steve McQueen Year 3 project (M. Brown, 2019).

Like the rest of the cultural sector, the closure and reduction in income caused by the pandemic significantly impacted Tate. The timeline of closures can be seen in figure 1-1. At Tate, there were compulsory redundancies in the corporate arm, Tate Eats, and voluntary redundancies in the gallery. Voluntary redundancies started in autumn 2020, and restructuring following them continued well into 2021, resulting in a substantially reduced workforce. Additionally, the organisation took advantage of the furlough scheme and tried to decrease activity during the pandemic. Emerging from the pandemic, it has a much-reduced staff and, therefore, a smaller programme.

The Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement also shook Tate as an organisation. Initially, in response to the murder of George Floyd, like many other cultural organisations, Tate released a statement in solidarity condemning racism.¹⁹ Some received this as hypocritical, given the organisation's lack of action over past allegations of racism and lack of diversity in senior staff (e.g., J. Campbell, 2020; The White Pube, 2020). Allegations of racism continued throughout the pandemic (e.g., we-industria, 2022). To address these issues, the organisation established a still ongoing anti-racist taskforce composed of staff members.²⁰

The next section details the department in which the gallery education team were working, then outlines the priorities of the gallery education team.

¹⁹ <https://www.instagram.com/p/CA5FQErFRqy/>

²⁰ <https://www.tate.org.uk/about-us/our-commitment-race-equality>

The Learning and Research Department

During my study, the Learning and Research Department²¹ was a large department at Tate composed of several different teams (this includes the gallery education team responsible for working with schools and teachers). The Learning and Research Department offered programmes for all ages, from toddlers to adults. Events include workshops, talks, longer-term projects, and resources (Tate, n.d.-a). Previous Director of Learning, Anna Cutler (2010), has written about the importance of the difference of the gallery setting for the department's work; it is not subject to the same restrictions other learning settings may be. At the start of my research, the department consisted of several smaller teams which specialised in working with different audiences, such as a team that worked with early years and families and one that worked with adults. During the period of my research, the teams operated relatively independently.

The gallery education team

Within the Learning and Research Department, the gallery education team in this study, responsible for the schools and teachers audience, work(ed) across both London sites, Tate Modern and Tate Britain. At the time of the study, the team comprised:

- Four curators²²
- Six assistant curators
- Four schools bookings assistants

The following chapter details how they form a CoP (Wenger, 1998); this section focuses on the formal publications and priorities created by the gallery education team. These do not dictate the work of the CoP but are part of the world that influence and inform it (Wenger, 1998).

The gallery education team consists of gallery educators. To be a gallery educator no professional qualifications are officially required, although gallery educators tend to be highly qualified, and there are a growing number of MA courses. It is not uncommon for practitioners to have qualifications in Fine Art or History of Art and/or be practising artists

²¹ The Learning Department and Research and Interpretation Department now form separate divisions (December 2022). The gallery educators are in the Learning Department.

²² To ensure that the team are not identifiable, roles have been slightly fictionalised.

themselves (many of the gallery educators in the study were practising artists in addition to their roles). There tends to be a lack of diversity in the cultural workforce, which seems to be the case in gallery education (Brook et al., 2018). This has implications for the type of experiences on offer. Gallery educators may have 'blind spots' to their own cultivated status and orchestrate learning experiences that do not welcome those unfamiliar with the institution (Sayers, 2014).

At the start of the pandemic, the gallery education team's principal aim was (2019-2024 strategy):

- To enable young people and teachers to learn about themselves and others through being with art

The programme goals in the five-year strategy were:

- ALL young people see themselves reflected in ALL that they encounter at Tate (art, staff, audience)
- ALL schools become arts rich schools
- That ALL programme is fully inclusive programme (Tate Schools and Teachers Team, 2019)

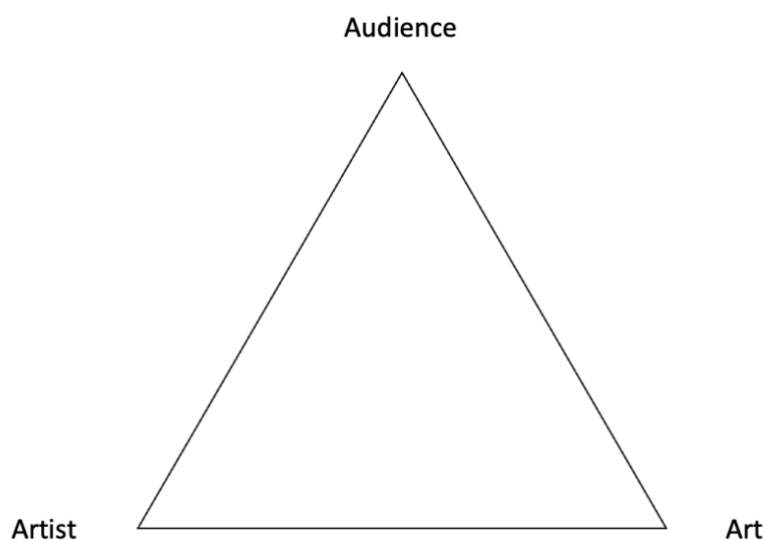
The first goal, seeing themselves reflected in all they encounter, was an area that received a significant amount of attention during the time of the study, spurred on by the BLM movement. However, this work had begun before the pandemic, with the team examining the artists they were working with, who was attending the events and the artworks that were referenced.

The gallery education team has a documented pedagogical approach or curatorial principles, part of a shared repertoire or way of doing things (Wenger, 1998). The gallery education team designed the pedagogical approach to allow learners to learn about themselves and others in conversation with art (Turvey & Walton, 2017). Their approach is coherent with Contemporary Gallery Education (Pringle, 2006). The team detail this approach in several documents.

Turvey and Walton (2017) position the gallery education programme as based on a triangle of relationships between art, the audience (learners – this could be young people or

teachers/support staff) and (an) artist(s) (figure 4-1). This artist is not usually the author of the art but the artist who leads or facilitates the session. The audience is the starting point for an engagement with art which the artist's practice supports. In this triangle, the artist is also a learner who learns through dialogue and testing.

Figure 4-1 - diagram of the art, audience, artist triangle



The gallery education team often work with artists who facilitate CPD, lead a workshop or create a resource. Contemporary art practice is essential to the team, which, of course, varies with the artist (Turvey & Walton, 2017, p. 22). Whereas prior to the pandemic, artists often collaborated on whole projects, during the pandemic, artists were involved in more one-off positions or as critical friends.

The sessions, for example, workshops, do not have precise plans but develop through ongoing feedback and interaction with the audience. It is, therefore, not possible to offer teachers a series of outcomes that will result from the session,

In all forms of communication about the programme, we clearly indicate that the teacher cannot know what will take place other than that it is a session led by an artist in a gallery. This is because our curatorial invite to artists supports them to develop their ideas for sessions through an engagement with the Tate collection in relation to the interests and concerns of their own practice and in conversation with our audience. (Turvey & Walton, 2017, p. 19)

Learning can be unexpected. The outcomes are not likely to be about learning to draw in a particular way or learning new information about a painting. The team's learning expectation is coherent with Atkinson's use of Alain Badiou's theory of 'the event', 'real learning is... a movement into new ontological possibilities,' (D. Atkinson, 2011, p. 3). One cannot plan for this new state.

The gallery education team also value 'not knowing', a key concept in gallery education, as a position to act from, explore, test ideas and discover. 'Not knowing' may be uncomfortable and disruptive for learners or teachers accustomed to having or being able to find the answers (Ivashkevich, 2012).

One of the most striking things about the teams' pedagogical approach is its lack of reference to the curriculum. This is a deliberate decision taken by the team. However, the reasons behind it are not communicated publicly to the audience. The team do not directly engage with the curriculum for several reasons, they believe:

- The pedagogical approaches they offer are applicable beyond the subject of art and design; therefore, limiting the programme to the art and design curriculum restricts their potential;
- Art and design is a low-status subject in schools and would not necessarily help the gallery education team argue for their programme's relevance;
- What people take from the experience may be difficult to predict, therefore, it is hard to predict learning outcomes within the curriculum.

During my research, the team reflected on the relationship between gallery education and school practice considerably (discussed in chapter 8). The following section details the work of the gallery education team before and during the pandemic.

Different areas of work pre-pandemic

The gallery education team offered three main strands of work open to a range of schools and teachers before the pandemic:

- professional development for teachers;
- artist-led workshops for schools;

- self-led visits to the art museums (supported by resources created by the team mainly through collaboration with artists).

In addition, they developed various, normally smaller-scale, projects with schools. They also participated in research projects, for example, TALE (Thomson & Hall, 2018). I have included further information about the gallery education team's programme pre-pandemic in appendix 7.

At the time of the pandemic, the team were also working on the Steve McQueen Year 3 programme. Steve McQueen's Year 3 refers to both an artwork by Steve McQueen and a learning programme. 75% of schools in London took part, and schools had their class photos displayed in Tate Britain from 19 November 2019 until 31 January 2021 (although the gallery was shut for a large chunk of this – figure 1-1). There were also billboards around London before the pandemic. Schools were invited to visit the exhibition, and the gallery education team produced a resource for the visit. Over 50% of the schools involved had not previously visited Tate, and teachers who signed up were likely to be generalist primary teachers (most of Tate's teacher connections in primary tended to be art leads). As can be imagined, this project involved a tremendous amount of work on behalf of the gallery education team. As I have indicated in chapter 1, the legacy of the project (and of TALE) was important for the team to bring forward into their ongoing work and, therefore, influenced the projects that form part of this study.

It is important to highlight that the gallery education team were not the only team to work with schools at Tate's London sites. Tate Exchange (closed 2021) also worked with schools. The organisation was also aware that the digital offer for children, Tate Kids, was accessed by teachers. Another team in the Digital Department managed Tate Kids.

The programme during and post-pandemic

The pandemic significantly impacted the gallery education team's programme (see the timeline, figure 1-1). During the pandemic, the work of the gallery education team shifted, and they developed different projects in reaction to the limited means of connecting to the audience and the changing social circumstances of schools. Tate, as an organisation, had a relatively large digital presence. However, as the whole organisation moved online, this capacity was stretched. This meant that the gallery education team did not have access to

these platforms (e.g., the website) and essentially had to work with email or Zoom (the digital tools available to them).

Additionally, following the BLM movement, staff, artists working on the programme and project partners raised issues concerning the programme, including the diversity of the teachers attending and how safe global majority artists feel in Tate spaces. In response, the team decided to pause many programmes, including CPD, for an open audience.

Table 4-2 summarises the programme developments that took place during the pandemic. It does not intend to be exhaustive but indicates the team’s main activity during the research.

Table 4-2 - showing the activity of the gallery education team during the pandemic

Programme	Dates	Information
E-bulletins	From spring 2020 onwards	The gallery education team had used email prior to the pandemic to advertise events. During the pandemic e-bulletins became a space to share activities and references to artists.
Tate Kids’ videos	From summer 2020 – spring 2021	The team worked closely with Tate Kids to produce a series of videos of artists leading making sessions. These were available live, but also then available on the website. Although not specific to schools, work took place to see how teachers wanted to engage.
Teacher Forums	June & July 2020	The gallery education team invited teachers who had engaged with the programme to participate in three online forums about their experiences teaching during the pandemic. Following this, the team realised that they had created a largely white group which contributed to the decision to pause several strands of programme and develop the Audience Action Plan.
Hear My Story (HMS)	Summer 2020 – summer 2021	HMS was a Year 3 legacy project working with the schools. There were two strands: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An audio recording of children reflecting on their experiences of the first lockdown, which formed part of a display in Tate Britain (May 2021). Two schools

		<p>participated (another school had to pull out due to the pandemic's impact).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A series of four digital resources that were emailed to teachers. These provided artist references and activities to support children to make art and reflect on their own stories and cultural backgrounds.
Arts Reach project (ARP)	From summer 2020 onwards	<p>ARP aimed to explore the research question, 'How can cultural organisations and schools work together to foster arts rich learning and teaching environments in Primary Schools?' with primary school teachers.</p> <p>Development year (2020-21): a steering group (SG) was formed consisting of a teaching school alliance, two teachers, an academic critical friend and Tate staff. SG meetings happened throughout the year. Through a series of events to which two teacher networks were invited, the project recruited three schools, these and the two schools represented by the SG teachers formed the five schools for Year 1.</p> <p>Year 1 (2021-22): Five schools with five lead teachers participated in three CPDs and 'Reflection Sessions', school visits to Tate galleries and interviews.</p> <p>Year 2 (2022-23): Five schools with five lead teachers participated in three CPDs and 'Reflection Sessions', school visits to Tate galleries, a Senior Leaders Roundtable, one-off teacher workshops and interviews.</p>
Audience Action Plan	From summer 2020 onwards	<p>Following the Black Lives Matter movement and Teacher Forum, the team aimed to develop a more diverse teacher audience. This included evaluation of prior recruitment practices, research about current teacher demographics and working with a Professor of Education who specialised in the area. This research continued into the establishment of an Associate Teacher Group which consists of teachers from global majority backgrounds.</p>

CPD	From summer 2023	The CPD restarted as a closed offer firstly which was attached to ARP. It was opened up from summer 2023.
Self-led visits	From summer 2021	Self-led visits reopened in June 2021 with restricted numbers. These restrictions have gradually reduced.
Artist-led workshops	From autumn 2022	The artist led workshops in the galleries restarted in September 2022.

As an ethnographic study, I attended meetings relating to most of the pandemic programme. However, I have chosen to predominantly focus on two strands, the HMS digital resource (chapter 9) and the ARP (chapter 10). These are both ‘offers’ to primary school teachers, as opposed to the development of team working practices. The ARP featured in the original research design (chapter 1).

CODA

This chapter offered a brief overview of the learning programmes available to schools in the cultural sector, the landscape of practice (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2014) of the gallery education team. It then explored how the pandemic required these organisations to alter what they were offering. The second section introduced Tate and its organisational priorities. Within the organisation and broader sector, the gallery education team had a definable identity detailed in publications and team aims. The chapter finished with an overview of the gallery education team’s pandemic programme.

Chapter 5 - The gallery education team as a community of practice
The gallery education team responsible for the schools and teachers programme at Tate formed a community of practice (CoP) which strongly valued contemporary art practice and artist-led pedagogical approaches. A CoP holds shared histories and practices, a common discourse and language; they are orientated around a joint enterprise, beliefs and aspirations that motivate group members. For the gallery educators, the main motivation was to enable children and young people to find themselves with art. The CoP's connection to the art world made it different to what happens in schools; the gallery education team valued this difference.

The pandemic was a shock and disruption to the gallery education community of practice (GECOP), which meant that the gallery education team had to change to respond to a novel context.

CoPs are learning communities, constantly developing. Learning occurs amongst social relationships; therefore, members shape the group. CoPs always hold differences of opinion and practice; they are never stable and are constantly changing through learning. According to Herne (2006, p. 4), these interactions make them sites of, 'continuity and discontinuity; contestation and co-operation; antagonism and attraction,'. Through this tempestuous process, knowledge production and reproduction occurs, meanings are negotiated, and practice develops.

In this chapter, I explore the elements of a CoP, as detailed by Wenger (1998), and how they manifested in the gallery education team, forming the GECOP. Citing from interview transcripts and field notes, I present the attributes of the GECOP to establish the team's motivations, ways of connecting and doing things. I will then expand my analysis of this in future chapters.

This chapter's first section (A) details how the gallery education team consists of two sub-groups, a core who were full members or old-timers, and a periphery, those newer to the practice. The sub-groups led to slightly different understandings of the shared repertoire and joint enterprise and experiences of mutual engagement, which the following section details. The second section (B) is structured around the three elements of a CoP, joint

enterprise (1), a shared repertoire (2) and mutual engagement (3). In interviews, the gallery educators often crossed two time periods. They described 'normal practice' and a temporary way of doing things associated with the pandemic; the chapter holds both these things. The first of these sub-sections (1) offers the GECOP's joint enterprise, their continuing motivation, as well as specific changes to this relating to the pandemic. The next sub-section explores the shared repertoire (2), which also crosses the two time periods. The third sub-section (3) details how the GECOP engaged during the pandemic (mutual engagement). In this sub-section, I have chosen to focus exclusively on the pandemic as the team already had noted that how this would happen in the future was changed, and remote working would continue in some form; in other words, there was no 'normal practice'.

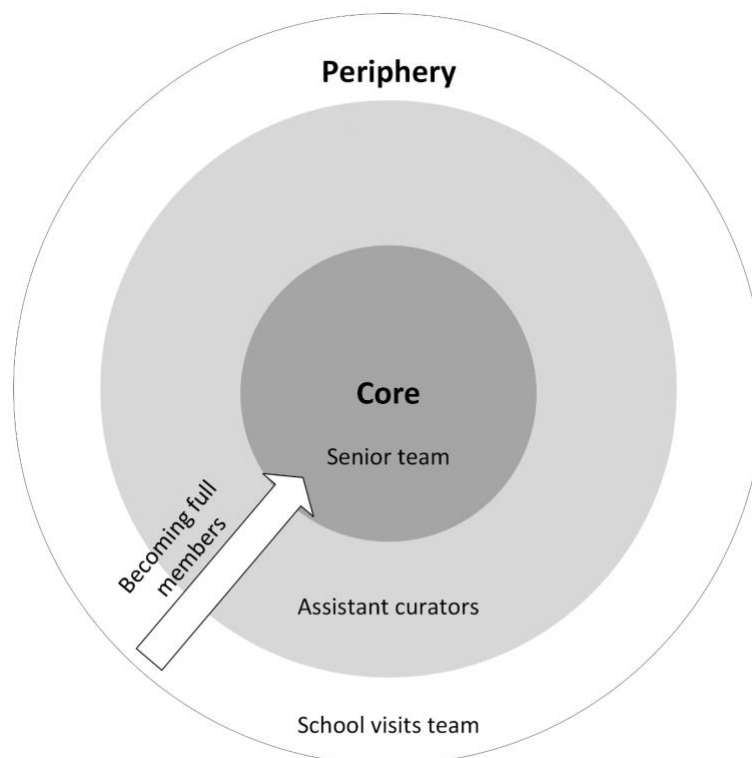
A. The community of practice's membership and members
In smaller teams of gallery educators, CoPs can span across organisations (Herne, 2006). However, in this case, the organisationally imposed gallery education team is shared with a CoP. Entering into the pandemic, the gallery education team was divided between team members who worked on the programme, for example, the Arts Reach Project (ARP), or resources, which I will call 'the programme team', and those who were responsible for administering schools' visits to the gallery, 'the visits team'. The first team accounted for two-thirds of the team members; most were part-time. Within the Learning teams at Tate, the title 'curator' was used rather than 'officer' or 'educator'. They 'curated' content, for example, in resources, experiences, artist-led workshops or professional development, for teachers or schools. Being part of the GECOP meant occupying a particular identity different from others in the art museum or being a teacher (Wenger, 1998).

On the other hand, most of the visits team were full-time. The visits team were the lowest paid entry-level jobs as schools bookings assistants. They were managed by the programme team. Before the pandemic, whilst the programme team spent most of the time in the offices, sometimes attending events, the visits teams' roles revolved around audiences. They answered phones and emails from teachers; in the gallery, they greeted school groups. It is almost unnecessary to highlight that the pandemic entirely changed this role. Whereas the programme team could continue by changing how the programme or resource happened, i.e., by using Zoom for a CPD session rather than in person, the whole purpose of the visits team no longer existed. Many visits staff were therefore furloughed for long

periods. When they were working, the senior team had to find new roles for these team members. This was emotionally challenging for all the team. Clearly, the team members who occupied roles which were now redundant worried about their futures and how these roles could change. Managing a team in this uncertainty was demanding for the other team members.

Members can have different relationships with a CoP and have distinct identities within it. Figure 5-1 depicts the position of team members. The core of the GECOP is at the centre of the circle, and the peripheral members are on the edge. Here, I use 'core' to describe the 'old-timers', the established team members, in this case, mainly the programme team, who were more aligned with publications produced by the team, referenced in chapter 4. Within this core, four members (curators), 'the senior team', occupied senior roles in the organisation. I differentiate the core from members who sit on the periphery, who are more junior and often newcomers, and include the visits team. I recognise this binary as an oversimplification of members' relationship to the CoP. However, it is a helpful shorthand to explore two identifiable groups in the team.

Figure 5-1 - diagram of the relationship between core and peripheral members of the GECOP



Through engagement with a CoP, potential members can move from the periphery to the core to become core or full members (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Thus, team members, particularly the assistant curators, can straddle the two positions or be in the process of becoming full members (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Assistant curators whose roles were more concerned with interacting with teachers regularly expressed views that aligned more with the periphery. In contrast, the assistant curators working on resources aligned more with the core.

The division between core and periphery creates sub-groups; CoPs often have sub-groups. Sub-groups can impede the progress of a CoP as their own goals become more important than the broader groups' goals, but they can also be a way for peripheral members to become socialised in the team (Borzillo, Aznar, & Schmitt, 2011). Whilst the two sub-groups in the gallery education team had worked more independently before the pandemic, the change in the workload meant that they were required to work together more closely during it, reinforcing that the team were part of a singular rather than two separate CoPs.

In CoPs, membership is managed through regimes of competence (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2014). Competence is a skill or knowledge required to become a core member. These are defined within CoPs rather than set by external standards or appraisal systems. Competence develops through experience; members bring experiences into the group that can shape what is recognised as competence. Therefore, members and competence can change and grow with the CoP. Team members move to the core by becoming competent, consequently gaining access to the repertoire of the CoP.

Based on my research, for the GECOP, competence focused on artist practice and ways of knowing. These competences developed in conversation with artists and their work. Although a working knowledge of schools was necessary for some of the roles, the GECOP was less interested in engaging with educational policy and having knowledge of it was not necessary to be a core team member. Due to the nature of their roles, the members at the team's periphery, particularly the visits team, spent less time with artists and had more contact with teachers, meaning they were less exposed to the competences of the GECOP and more closely connected with teachers.

The following section (B) outlines the three elements of the GECOP, the joint enterprise (1), shared repertoire (2) and mutual engagement (3). It notes how some of these were differently felt or experienced by the two sub-groups in the GECOP, the core and the periphery.

B. Elements of the community of practice

A CoP comprises a joint enterprise, beliefs and a unifying purpose of the practice, a shared repertoire of the stories, approaches, discourses and language that make the practice and mutual engagement, ways the CoP can interact together. In table 5-1, I have detailed the elements of the GECOP and how they manifested in the core and the periphery.

A detailed discussion of key elements follows. It starts with the joint enterprise (1) and includes five elements of the joint enterprise, the final one relating to changes relating to the pandemic. The following section (2) explores five elements of the shared repertoire. The third of these sub-sections (3) examines two elements of mutual engagement during the pandemic.

Table 5-1 - showing the two sub-groups' (core/periphery) orientations to different issues within the GECOP

Element of CoP	Sub-elements	Core	Periphery
1. Joint enterprise	<i>A. Enabling young people to be with art</i>	Allowing young people to find themselves in art Position paper holding this and supporting conversations Holding the experience of the child Artist practice and ways of thinking and doing highly valued	Allowing young people to find themselves with art Starting from young people Enabling young people to go to the gallery and see artwork Ensuring the gallery is for young people and children
	<i>B. The potential of art for children and young people</i>	Art can make you see something differently, give you permission to 'not know' Questioning the canon and norms Supports young people's wellbeing About how you learn, rather than skills, techniques or content	Can be therapeutic, a release Highlighting the purpose and importance of art, particularly conceptual art that they might not get exposed to Offering freedom to respond openly, rather than just mimicry
	<i>C. Equity in the art museum</i>	Recognise potential harm previously in the programme Continuing work to address it Do not engage with term 'cultural capital' as had been co-opted	Recognise potential harm in the programme and have tried to draw attention to it previously Welcome work to address it
	<i>D. Role of teachers and</i>	Dialogue and collaboration with teachers is important	Unsure whether the common purpose originates

	<i>schools in shaping the common purpose</i>	However, hold a purpose which does not necessarily directly respond to what teachers want Relationship between gallery education practice and curriculum challenging, but confident in why practice does not engage with the curriculum	from teachers or from the team, suggestion pandemic has changed this to 'from teachers' Identify needs of teachers and support what they need, meeting them in the middle Gallery education offers open-ended learning, as there is more to learning than tick-boxes found in schools
	<i>E. How has the common purpose been experienced during the pandemic</i>	Questioning whether the purpose should change to something more direct, but ultimately decided this is not possible Purpose was challenged as events got cancelled, made you realise things are not as important as you thought	Postponing created a dissociation from purpose, made it feel pointless Moments with audience connected them back to purpose
2. Shared repertoire	<i>A. Language</i>	A particular vocabulary from contemporary art - weightiness, testing, affording, becoming a learner, unknowing, notion, encounter, dialogue, queering, decolonising, multiple narratives, 'situated in the artwork', 'materiality', affordances, criticality, holding the space Use of abstract concepts	Translate terms used by the core to teachers Have had to use new language online to get attention of teachers
	<i>B. Discourses / stories</i>	Strong connection to contemporary artists, artists bring looking, questioning – implicit knowledge Reference books and talks and blog posts about education Conversations with consultants, articles	Reference conversations with teachers and one consultant
	<i>C. Ways of doing things</i>	Responsible for development of programme Drawing on artist practice - much of the work was described as testing out, exploring, learning Work was rarely planned exactly, but developed iteratively	More administrative based practice Broker between teachers and core Focus on managing the audience and their expectations
	<i>D. Connecting to teachers</i>	Established practice of holding discussions with teachers and integrated formal ways of doing so into the practice	Conversations with teachers happened frequently in their roles, prior to the pandemic During the pandemic, these happened less frequently
	<i>E. Changes for the digital</i>	Do not know how the practice translates digitally, in a process of exploring what that is Absorbing strategies from other teams, e.g., digital	Use of Twitter – a shift, direct communication, hard to work with nuance Have to consider how to attract attention in a busy market

3. Mutual engagement	<i>A. Rhythms of engagement during the pandemic</i>	Very busy Constantly responding to different situations, rather than being able to take time to reflect and respond Question of what engagement with audience looks like, should they have stopped and listened or produced and listened Continued to engage with audience	A lot of work, then nothing Workload generally quiet and some furloughed Taken a while to get back engaged in the team Feels like returning to normal, but not quite Less work with audience than before and miss it
	<i>B. How engagement happened and what it involved</i>	Through meetings, some just core team, some whole team Introduction of whole team reflection sessions led by an artist Different conversations happening around anti-racism Did a lot of team management and supporting engagement, demoralising for rest of the team that their whole role has gone Reducing activity challenging for people's roles	Attending some meetings, team reflections Some staff previously rotated presence in meetings, would not be able to follow, now more involved Engagement better when there can be input Some staff found it difficult to be engaged as no firm plan to gallery reopening Pandemic allowed important conversations to happen

1. A joint enterprise for young people

This sub-section includes five lettered parts. The first four detail the joint enterprise of the GECOP, underlining the beliefs that motivated the group. The final point outlines how the pandemic challenged the purpose of the GECOP.

A. A common purpose: 'enabling children and young people to find themselves and others in art'

The gallery education team had a strong common purpose that motivated the GECOP:

enabling children and young people to find themselves and others with art. For the core members, this was articulated as the team's stated aim, often verbatim. Other members of the team communicated the same idea in different words, 'It [the gallery] gives them [young people] more freedom to express and be themselves and learn about themselves and each other in a different environment,' (Interview with Maria, Assistant Curator, 07/06/21).

Importantly, this did not relate to art and design in the curriculum. This viewpoint focused on the individual. This can be contrasted to Greene (2008), who explores the collective experience of being in the world enabled through art education. Biesta (2017) also argues that art education can be a way of engaging with the wider world, a world-centred approach, not child-centred or curriculum-centred. Rather than the child being at the centre of the world, through the use of art materials, they are in dialogue with it.

At the core of the GECOP, the team strongly felt that ‘finding yourself and others’ through art could be achieved through a particular type of art practice. This understanding of art practice emphasised artists as practitioners who did things and thought in a particular way (Cocker, 2013). Artists (and, therefore, the core of the GECOP) embraced not knowing, unlearning, and questioning, ‘Not knowing is an active space within practice, wherein an artist hopes for an encounter with something new or unfamiliar, unrecognisable or unknown,’ (Cocker, 2013, p. 127). As the core team valued this approach, they frequently worked with contemporary artists as facilitators and critical friends on their programme, a feature of gallery education (Pringle & DeWitt, 2014). The core team supported artists to bring their practice to the programme. The artists usually had a material practice, e.g., photography or painting; however, the technical skills related to this were less of interest to the team than ways of thinking and knowing (which could also be through material practice).

However, at the periphery, concerns were often more practical, such as ensuring that children and young people *were able to* access art and see it in person. For this to happen, the art museums need to be welcoming to young people. This had not always been the case in the past, as a member of the visits team describes,

I remember there’s been a few times I was on workshop and some guy complained to one of the tour guides about the noise levels... me and the workshop artist, we said to the guy... “We have as much right as you do to be here and the space is as it should be”... we were just trying to make it clear that we’re trying to change the idea of what viewing art is. (Interview with Jackie, Schools Booking Assistant, 27/05/21)

Advocating for school groups, who may behave differently than other audiences, in this case, making noise, was a common purpose of the visits team. The team spent time supporting the museum’s staff (and other visitors) to understand this. In this way, the practice occupied a disruptive presence in the art museum as they challenged behaviour norms, a position that learning teams frequently find themselves in (Mörsch, 2011).

B. The potential of art for young people

In addition to believing that art was a way for young people to get to know themselves, the team believed the nondirective learning offered by the programme was able to:

- give children and young people opportunities to see something differently or from a new point of view;
- permit young people to 'not know';
- have benefits that are wider than skills or knowledge of the subject art and design in the curriculum, and be about the way that young people learn;
- offer space for young people to develop their creativity;
- be beneficial for children and young people's wellbeing.

Apart from a focus on creativity and wellbeing, which connect to the sector's concerns (Arts Council England, 2021b), the team's emphasis on the potential of art slightly differs from evidence on the benefits of art education (Anders, Shure, Wyse, Bohling, et al., 2021; Thomson & Maloy, 2022). The team highlighted outcomes that are hard to quantify, such as seeing something differently, which aligns with evidence that many of the benefits of art education are difficult to measure (Thomson & Maloy, 2022). The gallery educators' beliefs are based on personal observations and contributed to their perceived value of the GECOP.

The pedagogy that enabled this to take place was critical; frequently, this was expressed in relation to or as a counterpoint to perceptions of school education, for example,

I think that's one of the really beautiful things about Tate's offer is that it's adaptable, it's nondirective, it tries to be responsive to both the artists' interests and... what the young people bring on the day. And that is inherently going to be a bit challenging to these, this very numerical checkmark-based mode of learning [in schools]. (Interview with Mel, Assistant Curator, 13/05/21)

Mel describes that the benefits of the practice are enabled because it is nondirective and different to schools. I discuss the distinction between the gallery education practice and what happens in schools in the following sub-section.

C. The role of teachers and schools in shaping the common purpose

One of the most significant differences in understanding the *joint enterprise* of the GECOP for the periphery and the core was how it related to the role of teachers and schools. The CoP agreed that teachers were crucial to the group and had beneficial expertise. Notably, this differs from other cultural organisations or projects that may not fully consider

teachers' roles (Christophersen, 2013; Werber et al., 2004). Core team members were sure that their practice should not be about directly engaging with what was happening in schools (also noted in chapter 4),

I think my colleague and I feel confident that there isn't, it won't be that we default to the curriculum, you know, attainment target 1, 2, 3. We feel that there's a place for what we're attempting to do, and it might be more that we continue to think about how we do that. (Interview with Jodie, Curator, 04/06/21)

Of course, engagement with what happens in schools need not include attainment targets.

For members in the periphery, who occupied roles which focused on connecting with teachers, they felt the programme should respond to the needs of the teachers directly,

Teachers expect a clear connection with the curriculum that is set, with the key stages, that we have something lined up with like, oh they're teaching weather and we have a resource for that. Or we have a painting that we can guide them to. Whereas the curators [the programme team] have not thought about, they don't know the curriculum at all. (Interview with Jackie, Schools Booking Assistant, 27/05/21)

The lack of engagement with the curriculum, which teachers wanted, was perceived to be (partly) due to a lack of knowledge about it. The peripheral position is more aligned with the literature (such as Arts Council England, 2016; Black, 2012). The lack of consensus on how the programme should respond to schools was paramount in the GECOP and forms the content of chapter 8.

Within these two positions, one which believed the programme should offer something different from schools and another which felt the programme should respond more directly to teachers' requests, teachers' needs informed practice. One team member talked about holding a conversation with a teacher,

I think that they [Special Education Needs and/or Disability (SEND) teacher] were finding that a lot of the resources that were out there online just weren't accessible for their students' needs... *I'm holding in my head these conversations* [emphasis

added] I've had with a couple of SEND teachers about the accessibility of things at the moment and really thinking more work needs to be done to explore that.

(Interview with Evelyn, Assistant Curator, 07/06/21)

Responding to the needs of a particular teacher shaped Evelyn's approach.

Across the team, despite holding teachers in high regard, the team used language that denigrated what happens in schools: schools are 'structured and stringent,' (Interview with Frankie, Schools Booking Assistant, 28/05/21), they have 'constraints' (Interview with Lottie, Assistant Curator, 13/05/21). School learning was described as a 'check-mark based mode of learning' (Interview with Mel, Assistant Curator, 13/05/21), and 'ticking those boxes,' (Interview with Lottie, Assistant Curator, 13/05/21). Additionally, Lottie described school as didactic, '... being told all the time how we're going to do this... it feels very directed at them [young people],'. This contrasts with the language used to describe the gallery spaces, which suggests freedom and a lack of restrictions; the gallery gives young people, 'release,' (Interview with Frankie, Schools Booking Assistant, 28/05/21) and, 'more freedom to express and be themselves,' (Interview with Maria, Assistant Curator, 07/06/21). The distinction used in language to describe the two different spaces reflects broader perceptions of school learning as restrictive and the gallery space as potential freedom from this (Wild, 2011). It reinforced a binary between school learning and what an arts organisation might do (Christophersen, 2013).

However, in this stereotyping of schools and the gallery space, the team overlooked their own experiences of being with school groups in the galleries. In fact, rather than being free spaces, the art museums have rules that require the visitor to change and modify their behaviour, such as not touching, being quiet and not running. The gallery educators described continually having to advocate for schools' different ways of being in the galleries as groups were sometimes told off for disrupting other visitors, as Jackie's example earlier in this chapter demonstrates. The gallery educators advocated for school groups' different ways of being in the galleries to the 'traditional Tate audience', suggesting that young people may have experienced Tate as quite repressive. This concurs with other research (Sim, 2019) that finds galleries can be hostile spaces for young people.

D. Equity of experience in the art museum

Despite seeing the gallery as free and unrestrictive, the team concurrently knew that the art museum could provoke feelings of irrelevance or inadequacy in the audience. It could even harm young people (Brook et al., 2020). The social movement Black Lives Matter (BLM), experienced during the pandemic, had led to a more reflective practice on issues of race and colonialism and their impact on the audience. The GECOP had addressed levels of care that had been missing, particularly relating to global majority artists leading workshops in the gallery. In one interview, a member of the visits team, Frankie, said,

When... the teacher comes to Tate with that air, that you have to be quiet here because you need to be respectful here because this is above you, I think that is problematic and quite sad, but I think when you see students that end up coming to Tate because... this is something that could be that for them and fun for them and potentially inspiring for them, but offers them release. I think that's a very productive way for art to work... and you see that more at Tate Modern. (Interview with Frankie, Schools Booking Assistant, 28/05/21)

For schools, going to a gallery might be seen as something that 'adds cultural capital' for pupils (O'Hanlon et al., 2020). However, Frankie does not believe that what the gallery offers is inherently good. Frankie holds that although it is deemed 'high culture', it could be problematic. The connection to 'high culture' is not where the art museums are of benefit. For this team member and the rest of the CoP, the benefits of the art museum are not its proximity to 'high culture' but a freedom and 'release' that can be fun and inspiring. This demonstrates an understanding that how cultural capital has been conceived by Ofsted only values certain cultures and potentially risks devaluing pupils' own cultural backgrounds (Thomson & Hall, 2022).

However, the team were less aware of the negative perceptions of contemporary art and how they may alienate the audience (M. Smith, 2016). The suggestion that Tate Modern may offer 'release' suggests that some of the feelings of irrelevancy generated by contemporary art may be slightly overlooked. The gallery education team also focused less on how disabled people felt in the gallery space and how class may impede young people from feeling welcome. Perhaps because of the impact of the BLM movement, the relatively

small numbers of the gallery education team from global majority backgrounds and the lack of global majority teachers engaged with the programme, issues of racism, which linked to the Tate's colonial histories, were given prevalence.

The final point of the joint enterprise examines how the pandemic shifted and challenged what was important and motivated the GECOP.

E. The joint enterprise and the pandemic

On entering the pandemic, the team felt confident in the importance of what they were doing. However, across the CoP, the pandemic had brought into question the joint enterprise; as events got postponed and cancelled, the practice seemed unable to respond to people's acute needs. The GECOP was no longer sure if the practice was sufficient or even significant anymore,

I think I have also struggled with that personally... through the year of feeling particularly with a global pandemic like... should we be doing something much more direct and, you know, was [it] a bit too woolly in a way what we were doing, just on a much broader level... we had conversations about should the Turbine Hall become a testing centre, or that kind of thing. (Interview with Rachel, Curator, 23/05/21)

However, the curator continued that the organisation was not agile enough to respond in this way (of course, there are other reasons this did not happen).

Although postponing rather than cancelling events was designed to be supportive (by ensuring work and emotional investment did not go to waste), it was demanding to manage for the team,

I think the postponement of things is kind of hopeful, but it's almost like how many times can something be postponed until it just is let go of. And with [Steve McQueen's] Year 3, it was extended a bit, then it extended a bit again and now it is completely over. It was just a bit like waiting for that time... (Interview with Lottie, Assistant Curator, 13/05/21)

Lottie gives an example of the emotional challenge caused by the pandemic to cultural workers (Walmsley et al., 2022). On the other hand, some team members had reconciled

themselves to this change, embracing the unknown, 'I feel I'm getting better at that, the uncertainty of September isn't a wobble; I think it has some potential,' (Interview with Cara, Curator, 23/05/21).

What brought the common purpose back into focus were events and/or connections with the audience, teachers and young people, highlighting how important these are for gallery educators,

I think going into the school really made me feel, like, well, it reminded me of how much I missed that face-to-face interaction with schools and *that's the whole reason why I wanted to get into this role is seeing the impact and the outcome* [emphasis added] of the project that we've been working on. (Interview with Jackie, Schools Booking Assistant, 27/05/21)

Although the pandemic caused some of the gallery education team to question the purpose of their programme, the gallery education team continued to see value in working through the uncertainty of the pandemic.

The next sub-section explores the shared repertoire of the gallery education team, the language, stories, actions and ways of doing things that were shared and in flux across the team.

2. Shared repertoire in gallery education

In this sub-section, I detail the ways of doing things and discourse of the GECOP. I start with the language and discourse. I then detail how the team worked (practice). The final two points demonstrate how the approach necessarily changed during the pandemic; connecting to teachers and the move to digital were central to the practice.

A. Conceptually based language and reifications

One of the most striking things about the GECOP was the abstract and art-related language used, terms that outside of the team would not make sense. The team often used terms like 'holding the space,' 'affordance,' 'weightiness,' and 'criticality'. Reifications often referred to work streams, e.g., 'bridging' or 'testing, testing, testing'. The visits team sometimes found these difficult to translate to the teacher audience and saw it as relating to the shared discourse of the team,

Everyone's from maybe a similar background or an arts education background where the language we use, the idea of 'bridging', all of that, that's so conceptually based... but the reality is that you then have to have people in the middle to translate what that is to the public... So, we have to understand what everyone is talking about to then basically put it out as though it's approachable. (Interview with Frankie, Schools Booking Assistant, 28/05/21)

Although the visits team were in the position of go-betweens, they too sometimes did not fully understand the verbal reifications used as shorthand or ways of working, as my notes from a meeting demonstrate,

I found the discussion around 'pre, during and post'²³ interesting as no-one had a clear definition of what they meant. As it was discussed it became clear that 'pre' and 'during' potentially overlapped. Was 'during' just during the session? Or was it from when the teacher saw the advert [for an event] or was reached out to? (Field notes from Audience Action Plan meeting, 17/08/21)

The group in the meeting were working with the term and, by the next meeting, had established a definition that they shared with the rest of the CoP.

The following point details the discourse and stories present in the GECOP.

B. Cultural discourse and stories

A CoP refers to a range of stories and cultural references, forming its discourse. The more prominent stories and discourse that frequented conversations in the gallery education team related to artworks and artists (particularly contemporary ones). The team were knowledgeable about art and art practices.

References were often theoretical, and a considerable amount of them came from outside of the field of contemporary art and gallery education, corresponding to what is established about gallery education as a practice that spans disciplines (J. Graham et al., 2012). For

²³ A reification used by the team to describe support teachers receives before, during and after engaging with the gallery education programme.

example, the essay *Art, Audience, Artist: exploring the practice of learning with art* (Turvey & Walton, 2017) contains references to anthropology.

The team used references or stories to justify approaches, or an action taken. For instance, an article by Simon (2020) was referred to several times when discussing the decision to wait before producing resources during the pandemic. Academic papers formed familiar reference points. In discussions about cultural capital, the team frequently mentioned an article by Yosso (2005) which highlights the variety of capitals that young people of colour may have.

In the periphery, stories more frequently came from personal experience. The stories tended to refer to incidents that had taken place, such as an occurrence where a teacher had pointed out they would prefer a curriculum-linked resource, or an example where one of the Programme Team had taken a decision that seemed incomprehensible to them. These acted as the foundations for their own opinions about practice development.

Throughout the CoP, the identities of the gallery education team as people passionate about social justice (as were the rest of the department, Pringle & DeWitt, 2014) meant that they identified with social movements which examined practice and highlighted incongruence and inconsistencies. These fed into their actions. In a Hear My Story (HMS) project meeting, the gallery educators present discussed the statement of the artist collective Black Obsidian Sound System in response to their nomination for the Turner Prize.²⁴ The collective, although thanking Tate for the nomination, raised concerns about Tate's treatment of Black women artists, calling Tate's treatment of them 'exploitative practices'. The team present in the meeting reflected on this and decided not to include a tight deadline for an artist they were working with as a result.

The following point focuses on the practical activities of the GECOP.

C. Doing things like an artist or a brokering practice?

The CoP had quite different jobs; the visits team were more focused on administrative tasks, whilst the programme team were able to explore ideas more creatively and design

²⁴ https://docs.google.com/document/d/1I8Cl9Iiyt6hgaumbXP8xdlJoiI0nFjriwzF_vnUK_bU/edit

programme, particularly in the senior team. Much of the visits team's work was concerned with 'brokering' between the core team and teachers; they found this challenging,

For us, it's about being in the middle of these two people, two groups, and, yeah, transcribing and communicating the responses and evaluating what teachers want, what they [teachers] say... writing up their opinions from the workshop, doing a lot of that kind of communication as... middlemen. (Interview with Frankie, Schools Booking Assistant, 28/05/21)

Their role was mainly administrative and vital for teachers engaging with the art museum.

The programme team often worked collaboratively to develop programme and resources in a way strongly connected to how artists think and do (Cocker, 2013). Team members described this collaborative development of programme or resources as 'testing' (actions were completed, reflected on and discussed to inform future action). Projects were rarely planned out and fixed. This iterative method incorporated feedback, e.g., from teachers or critical friends. Time tended to be a barrier to this practice, and I frequently observed rushing as events or deadlines drew nearer. My observations indicated that this was different to how schools worked (expanded on in chapter 10).

The following two points include reflections on how practice happened during the pandemic or changed because of the pandemic. It starts with how the teacher audience formed part of the practice.

D. Connecting to and reflecting on the teacher audience during the pandemic

The CoP had become accustomed to reaching out to and connecting with teachers as part of their practice. These conversations and interactions were integral to the team. However, these connections became more difficult during the pandemic as interactions shifted online. Some team members felt that communicating digitally meant it was easier to get feedback as they were offering programme in the same way they were asking for feedback. However, more extended conversations with teachers that might happen informally when they attend an event were less likely to happen.

Several formal forms of engagement with teachers took place during the research period. These included two surveys (one was with Tate Kids) and two rounds of interviews (one with

Tate Kids and the other as part of this research with teachers who used the HMS resources). These only provided partial insights into how teachers were engaging with the programme.

Although reaching out to teachers was part of the practice, how learning from this was incorporated was not established during the period. For example, the survey with Tate Kids found that teachers would prefer to have learning outcomes for materials – however, this was not incorporated into the ongoing practice. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, how this feedback was perceived to be relevant to the GECOP varied in the core and periphery (expanded on in chapter 8).

During the pandemic, a pivotal moment of connection with teachers turned into an essential realisation for the gallery education team. In summer 2020, the team held teacher's forums, three Zoom sessions where teachers with experience of the programme were invited to talk about their teaching experiences during the pandemic. In the context of BLM, as the majority of the teachers who attended this session were white, this raised concerns about who the teachers were who were engaging with the programme and why so few of them came from global majority backgrounds. These realisations meant that the team paused the majority of the programme.

One member of the team highlighted that they did not think that Tate was a safe space for teachers or students from global majority backgrounds to be in,

You have racist murals [a reference to the Rex Whistler mural] or you have anything in the institution which can be triggering or isn't welcoming to students or teachers... how much safety or security or protection do you offer people when you actually bring them in, how much safeguarding are we actually doing for people if we're not prepared to address those issues, or we haven't paused and restarted? (Interview with Frankie, Schools Booking Assistant, 28/05/21)

Developing the teacher audience and safe space was a continuing area of work throughout the research period in the Audience Action Plan.

E. Practice changes during the pandemic for the digital: 'why would they follow us?'

The pandemic enforced social distancing and, therefore, the use of digital to communicate with the audience. This necessitated some change in ways of doing things. For those team

members working with the digital, the practice needed to look different. This meant shifting focus and using different language. During the pandemic period, the team's position in the landscape of practice shifted (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2014). Whereas before, because of the galleries and the reputation associated with them, teachers were interested, acting in the oversaturated digital market was different,

If it's something like Twitter, why would they follow us, or why would they actually click on the content?... with something like Year 3, that's the biggest schools project that ever happened at Tate, but I think the fact that it was Steve McQueen, the fact that it wasn't just Tate [it was a partnership project], the fact that all the primary schools were invited, that made it so attractive for schools to do. But if it's just a small activity... why would they do that over all of these other things that they could do? (Interview with Lottie, Assistant Curator, 13/05/21)

Like other organisations, the gallery education team struggled to engage with teachers in a busy market (Kidd et al., 2021; Walmsley et al., 2022).

The difficulty of engaging teachers meant that how the GECOP communicated with the audience needed to change,

That kind of waiting and seeing what happens, I just don't think works because everything is so instant, everything's so quick, you have to grab their attention in the first three seconds otherwise it's gone. (Interview with Lottie, Assistant Curator, 13/05/21)

However, at the core of the team, these changes were less certain and still in development,

I feel with the digital, there's a really interesting question for us, so I think, like you [interviewer] were saying, there is definitely practice within digital learning I think... this immediacy, this ease of use, user-led practice that we've got, we've definitely learnt a lot from and have more to learn, but I think the question of how our practice translates, could translate digitally, is still unknown or unexplored for us. (Interview with Cara, Curator, 23/05/21)

These two approaches, one that responds to the conditions of where they are working and learns from digital practice to do so and the second that sees the period as testing and developing, demonstrate different ways of doing things in the team. It also shows areas where team members can influence practice through doing. For example, the team member responsible for Twitter had to use it to communicate with the audience and try different things; they then brought this experience back into the team. The team’s work with digital tools is further explored in chapter 9.

The final element of a CoP is mutual engagement. This is how the CoP is maintained and comes together to negotiate meaning.

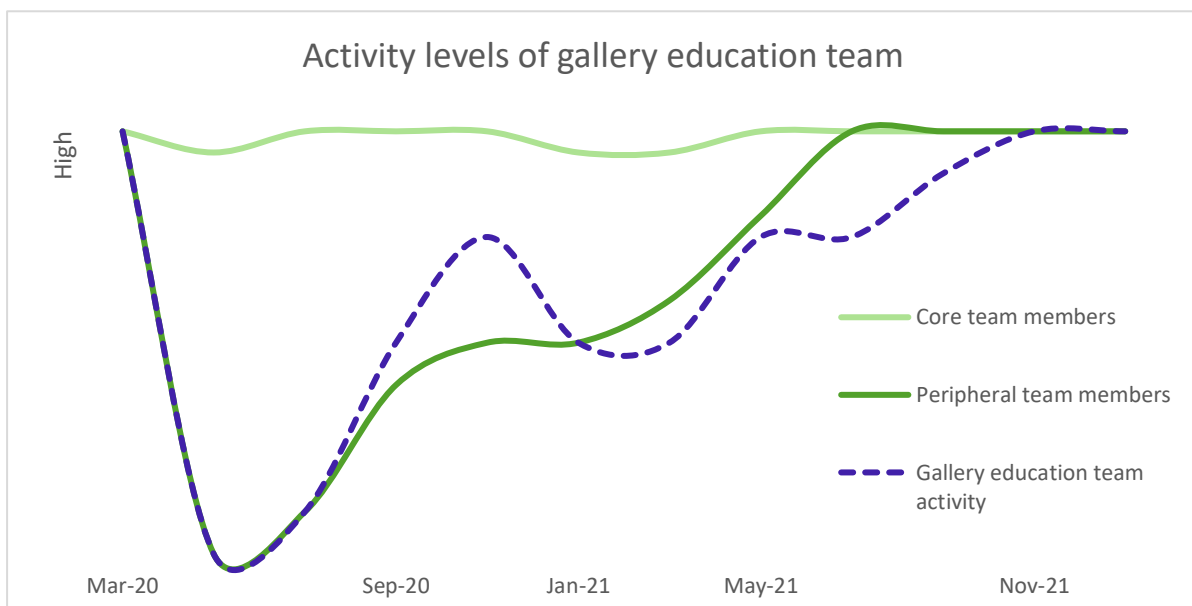
3. Mutual engagement in a pandemic

This sub-section describes how the GECOP connected with each other. The first point illustrates the rhythms of engagement in the core and periphery of the GECOP during the pandemic. The final point outlines what engagement looked like in the GECOP.

A. Rhythms of mutual engagement: ‘on our knees’ or doing nothing

The team had distinct experiences with the pace of mutual engagement throughout the pandemic. Figure 5-2 is an illustrative diagram of these activity levels I generated from the descriptions of activity levels and participant observations. For most of the team, the closing down of the gallery and the programme generated a lot of work. Partners and artists needed to be informed, and the programme’s closure needed to be communicated to

Figure 5-2 - line graph showing activity of gallery education team



schools. Once that rush of work was completed, the core team members could continue to operate at some level, albeit in unfamiliar ways. However, at the periphery, levels of engagement changed considerably. For these team members, having little to do was uncomfortable, 'I could either do nothing, but that doesn't feel good, or I could do something then it gets cancelled, and that doesn't feel good,' (Interview with Lottie, Assistant Curator, 13/05/21). Their levels of engagement grew throughout the pandemic, and, particularly for the visits team, this became very different from what it had been before the pandemic.

Interestingly, although before the pandemic, the on-the-ground roles (the visits team and assistant curators) had more engagement with schools and teachers, during the pandemic, the core team experienced this. At the periphery, team members missed this contact as Evelyn describes, 'That has felt like that has been a big shift in my role [having less contact with the audience], and I haven't enjoyed not having those moments regularly,' (Interview with Evelyn, Assistant Curator, 07/06/21). On the other hand, the core team felt that dialogue had continued, 'We've had less contact with people in terms of volume, but we've been in dialogue with people who are our audience, the teachers anyway,' (Interview with Helen, Curator, 27/05/21).

At the core, the levels of engagement had been constantly high, almost unmanageably so, as Jodie describes,

The four of us, in terms of strategic lead [senior team], have been on our knees really. There's been so little time to really work in the way that we would want to, to reflect, to follow up on things, the work has just been firefighting. (Interview with Jodie, Curator, 04/06/21)

The emotional and wellbeing impact on the team was significant and was similar to the rest of the sector; managing uncertainty was draining and exhausting (Walmsley et al., 2022).

The levels of engagement of the GECOP had implications for the activity of the programme team. Although there were some tentative elements of programme in the summer 2020 (e-bulletins and collaborative videos with Tate Kids), this period was largely spent managing the team, exploring possible projects and reflecting on how best to act. The Teacher Forums

in summer 2020 informed this. It was not until autumn 2020 that HMS started, and it was in spring term 2021 that the first trial CPD for ARP took place. This approach, reflecting for a period before acting, was not unanimously agreed on within the team,

I don't know, I think, my worry's, that going too far the other way and not putting out enough, I feel like we've got a bit risk averse in that sense of doing programmes. And I don't know, part of me feels... a real drive to get back to just doing some things and then learning from those again as opposed to... I don't know. (Interview with Cara, Curator, 25/05/21)

As well as having implications for how the gallery educators felt about their work, the pace and relationship between reflection and action had repercussions for how teachers could engage with the programme, which I further explore in chapter 7.

The next point describes what engagement within the GECOP looked like.

B. How engagement happened and what it involved

The pandemic considerably changed what engagement looked like for the team. Engaging online was distinctive. For some doing the job from home was something they had done pre-pandemic, whilst, for others, it felt like a different job. Frankie, a peripheral team member, described, 'The working from home thing has never really settled for me,' (Interview with Frankie, Schools Booking Assistant, 28/05/21). For the core team, the work of engagement became focused on supporting the rest of the team to engage. Hosting meetings involved new skills. It became the work.

In order to combat some feelings of detachment in the GECOP, the team introduced an artist-led reflection session for the whole team, as the spaces to have informal conversations were very much reduced.

Interestingly, there were some positives in the visit team's experience of engagement during the pandemic. The visits team found that further into the pandemic, they had the time to attend more meetings. This meant that whilst before the pandemic, they would rotate their presence and not be able to keep up, now they could follow and even contribute,

Since we've been working from home, it's meant that in most meetings, we are all available to be there, so I think that's been the biggest benefit in a way of the whole situation is that we just feel a lot, I anyway feel a lot more involved within the team itself. (Interview with Jessie, Schools Booking Assistant, 27/05/21)

However, there were concerns about what the schools booking assistant role would look like when returning to a more normal role, 'Now we're returning back more to our original specification of the role... it's a little bit of whiplash in a way,' (Interview with Jessie, Schools Booking Assistant, 27/05/21).

In order to give examples of different types of participation and engagement that I observed during my ethnography, I have used my field notes to construct two short vignettes. I chose the two meetings as they indicate radically different modes of engagement and, therefore, participation that happened in the team. In fact, these are extremes. As could be expected, most meetings were somewhere in between (although vignette 2 was typical of HMS project meetings).

Vignette 1 – Team meeting

Vignette 1 is from a whole team meeting that took place online in June 2021. I have edited and reduced my field notes,

I arrive at the team meeting. Helen, Cara and Rachel are waiting on Maria as she has the presentation to share. Maria arrives a few minutes late, so there is some waiting around. In this time, no-one says what the presentation is about or what the form of the meeting is going to be.

Maria arrives, and the presentation starts. Rachel says they think it is important that we gather together for an update that acknowledges where we have been and talks to the shape of things to come. Frankie [a member of the visits team] has not attended as they are finding conversations around role changes really difficult to be a part of.

In the context of voluntary redundancies, I feel pretty nervous not knowing what is coming. I wonder if the content of this meeting had been communicated to the rest of the team before via email and I had not been cc'd in, or were other people feeling

as lost as I do? Frankie not attending suggests that there was some warning about the content.

The presentation of the PPT (PowerPoint) starts, taking over the whole screen, and it is impossible to see the reactions of the rest of the team. I just listen to disembodied voices of the three senior team members over the presentation...

The presentation goes through the context, programme ethos, aims and goals, a description of what is happening now, what will happen, how it will be done and how this work relates to the wider department aims.... the ethos and objectives are familiar. There is one mention of the curriculum; this is about going beyond it as opposed to responding to it.

It ends rather abruptly as it has gone over time. Rather than have time to reflect and discuss then, they say the next meeting will be an opportunity to discuss in smaller groups, or people could feed back by email.

(Field notes from gallery education team meeting, 14/06/21)

The next team meeting was two weeks later, this was where the team could discuss the presentation. The discussion was mainly done in breakout rooms, which then came together. It was done by job level, and I was with the visits team. The visits team needed clarification about how the PowerPoint (PPT) was relevant to them. There were terms they did not understand, but they thought some of these might apply to them if they better understood them. When the whole group came together, the visits team did not contribute to sharing what they had discussed. They did not ask for an explanation of the terms they did not understand. This left the senior team none the wiser. The assistant curators led the discussion. They had questions about the practical elements, for example, whose job it would be to do specific tasks. In this discussion, there was no sense that what was in the PPT would be changing.

In my observations of other gallery education team meetings, I noticed the difference it made when senior staff members were present; responses and contributions were much more structured and limited from the rest of the team. N. James and Busher (2013) found

that online spaces were non-hierarchical. However, I observed a hierarchical way of interacting. In interviews, team members told me they had been able to have conversations openly in ways they had not before; nonetheless, I saw little of that happening. This is not to say that it did not happen, just that it was not happening in spaces I could access.

Vignette 2 – Hear My Story project meeting

Vignette 2 is from a HMS project meeting, which took place in April 2021. It was attended by three team members (Rachel, Lottie and Bella) and myself. The extract I have included refers to the creation of an interpretation panel (figure 5-3 is a photo of the finished panel) for the gallery that would go alongside audios from the HMS Ambassador project (where

Figure 5-3 - photo of display wall text at Tate Britain, London, May 2021

HEAR MY STORY: SHARING WHO WE ARE

Whilst school groups are still unable to visit the gallery, we asked them to share their stories of the past year.

Since March 2020, school children have been absent from Tate Britain due to the Coronavirus pandemic. We have been working with London Primary schools throughout this time, providing activities and creative prompts to do at school and home. We miss their voices, experiences and energy in the gallery. This display celebrates their contribution by sharing their stories.

We asked two local schools, [redacted] and [redacted], a series of questions about their year. They responded by making art, taking notes and talking with their classmates. These became prompts to shape the stories playing here.

The children reflect on their personal experiences against a backdrop of huge societal change. They discuss everything from the Black Lives Matter movement, loss and friendship, to the more routine details of daily life. We invite you to take these stories with you as you continue to explore the gallery.

With special thanks to sound artist [redacted] for recording the stories, students and staff at [redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted] for the photographs.

Scan the QR code below using your phone's camera to listen to the young people's voices on your personal device as you encounter artworks through the gallery.

children in two primary schools had been recorded reflecting on their experiences of the first lockdown). A further description of the programme is in table 4-2. There were also photos of paintings the children had made as part of the display. Below is an extract from my field notes:

Rachel and Lottie had met with Tanya (from Interpretation [another team in the Learning and Research Department]) about the text [the interpretation panel]. Tanya had made some useful points about stepping back from the project to imagine what it would be like reading about it if you had not been involved. The advice from Tanya was to keep it in the same format as other texts in Tate Britain to make it easier for Design.

We go through the interpretation text that is to be sent to Tanya, then Design. This is done on a shared screen, and all present are able to contribute to the discussion and collaboratively work on the text. Going through the text takes about 25 minutes of the meeting [which was one hour in total].

The text is reduced to one paragraph about the absence of children, one about the schools and what they talked about and then another about the process the children went through. Some of the main ideas behind the project, such as the quotes related to stories, are taken out. There is a discussion about whether it was clear enough that the artworks were not finished pieces but were part of the process the children took.

(Field notes from HMS project team meeting, 30/04/2021)

In the audio project, the team also were keen to highlight the importance of the children's experiences of the pandemic and that their presence in the gallery was missed. The audio display allowed the children to have input into the gallery spaces, and the gallery education team wanted to encourage other visitors to engage with these stories. The level of agency allowed to the children made it quite a different project to the larger Year 3 project.

Both vignettes involved engagement with a reification. In vignette 1, this was a PPT that senior team members had created. They created the PPT to articulate the practice and the

way forward for the team at a time when many team members felt apprehensive and unsure about the direction, particularly concerning the role of teachers and the curriculum. In vignette 2, the reification had a wider audience as it would be displayed in the galleries. Participation and negotiation were welcomed in vignette 2; in vignette 1, they were not. Even in a follow-up meeting, engagement in vignette 1 was restricted to roles higher up the team. Issues raised primarily related to the practical, not the ethos presented. Given the collaborative process of creating the reification in vignette 2, it is surprising that participation with the PPT was so limited in vignette 1, particularly given the internal audience for the PPT rather than a public one. However, through the PPT, the senior team sought to define and reassert the practice, something only they were able to do.

CODA

A community of practice is not a coherent singular approach but constantly changing and learning. This chapter demonstrated that the gallery education community of practice had a shared language and way of doing things that was closely linked to contemporary art. However, although unified around a joint enterprise to enable young people to have undirected experiences with art, team members at the core and on the periphery interpreted the subtleties of this differently. The pandemic shook the community, changing how they could engage and practice. Team members at the core experienced high levels of engagement and participation. On the other hand, those at the periphery had less to do and were more restricted in how they could engage.

Chapter 6 - Primary art practice: parallel communities of practice

Art is an established area of teaching and learning in primary schools. Although it has come under increasing pressure (B. Cooper, 2018), advocacy for these opportunities remains strong (e.g., Cultural Learning Alliance, 2018). In England, some primary schools may have an active art community of practice (CoP) within the school with shared histories, coherent practice and a joint enterprise; however, primary teachers interested in art may find themselves isolated as their colleagues and wider school may not share their enthusiasm. Other staff members may have interests in other subjects, or the 'core' subjects may dominate. Teachers interested in art may connect with other art-interested teachers through formal or informal networks to form CoPs. This dispersion creates parallel primary art communities of practice (PACoP) (Herne, 2006). They may have a joint enterprise and a shared repertoire, but opportunities for mutual engagement can be limited.

In this chapter, I establish the teacher participants as members of parallel PACoPs. The values and ways of doing things of the PACoPs are different to those of the gallery education community of practice (GECop), shown in the previous chapter. This chapter presents data from the series of interviews carried out as part of this research with teachers who mainly had a connection to the Tate programme, for example, were part of the Arts Reach Project (ARP) or used the Hear My Story (HMS) resource. A summary of the teachers who participated in interviews and their relationship to Tate projects is in table 6-1. Two teachers also formed part of the ARP steering group and, therefore, had a closer relationship to the gallery education team and myself. However, although their experiences are key in chapter 10, they are not drawn on in the following two chapters.

Table 6-1 - showing teacher participants' qualifications and involvement with Tate

Interview type	Pseudonym	Roles	Art / Art Education undergraduate or postgraduate qualification	Involvement in Tate project(s)
1-to-1	Scott	Art Specialist		None
1-to-1	Marie	Generalist Teacher		None
1-to-1	Brooke	Art Lead	BEd specialisation in Art and Design	Hear My Story (HMS)
1-to-1	Matt	Generalist Teacher		Common Projects, Visits to Tate

1-to-1	Kelly	Art Lead and Senior Leader (SLT)	BA & MA Fine Art	Common Projects
1-to-1	Joanne	Art and Culture Lead	BEd specialisation in Art and Design	None
Focus group (same school)	Julia	Art Lead and SLT	BA QTS Art and Textiles	HMS
	Sam	Generalist Teacher		HMS
	Farah	EYFS Teacher	BA Costume Design	HMS
	Zara	EYFS Teacher		HMS
	Orlagh	Nursery Teacher		HMS
1-to-1	Afsa	Generalist Teacher		HMS, Visits to Tate
1-to-1	Hattie	Generalist Teacher		HMS
1-to-1	Violette	Art Lead	Started BA Fine Art	HMS
Pair (same school)	June	Generalist Teacher		ARP, HMS
	Elliot	Senior Leader		ARP, HMS
1-to-1	Rebecca	Art Specialist	MA Art Education	ARP
1-to-1	Phoebe	Art Lead	MA Art Education	ARP
Pair (different schools)	Emily	Art Lead		ARP (steering group member)
	Hannah	Art Lead		ARP (steering group member)

The first of two sections in this chapter (A) starts by exploring membership of the PACoP. This, of course, varied in the different schools, so I offer potential models. I then introduce the teachers who formed part of this research, their roles and relationships to art. These teachers occupy central roles in the PACoP, different to that of colleagues. In the final subsection, I argue that the primary teachers experienced multi-membership of CoPs and were continually managing their competence within them; primary teachers constantly negotiate different practices and priorities. The final section (B) uses the CoP framework to demonstrate that the primary teachers' art practice differs from that of the gallery education team. All teachers described having a joint enterprise (1), the beliefs and common purpose that drive the practice. Primary teachers' priorities in art education were influenced by beliefs in the importance of children accessing art and experiences with the cultural sector as moments of difference. However, other features of the PACoPs faced barriers. In mutual engagement (2), how the group connects around the subject, the teachers expressed limited opportunities. In the final element of the PACoP, the shared

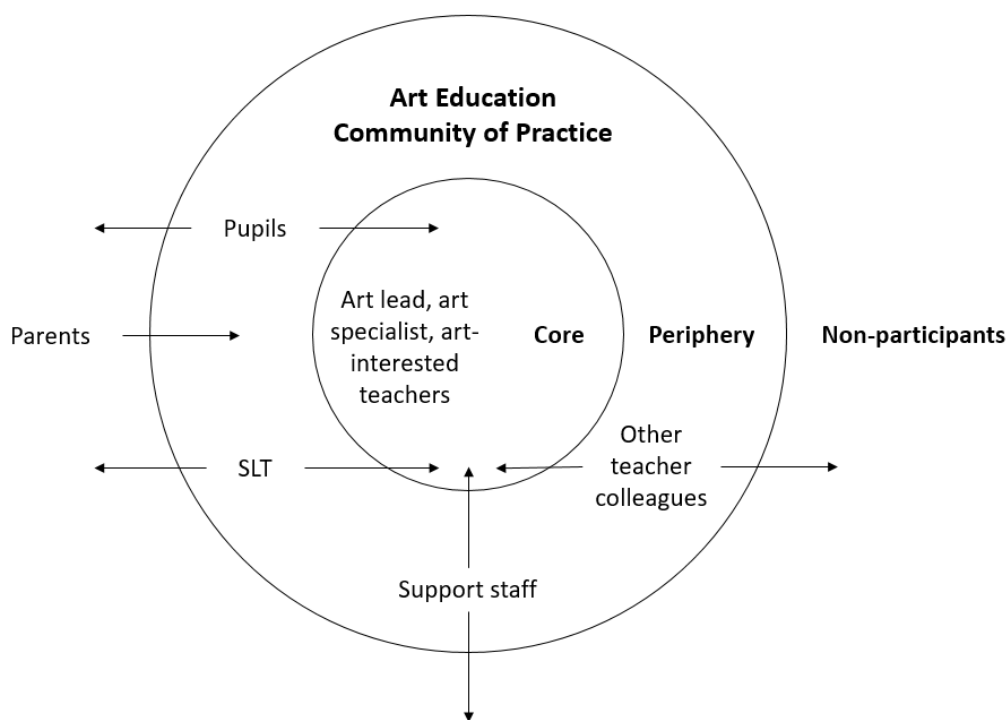
repertoire (3), I find that teachers used language and a pedagogical approach connected to the wider school CoP.

A. Membership of the primary art community of practice

In each school, different members of the schools' communities had distinct positions in the PACoP. Figure 6-1 depicts these possibilities. All the teachers I interviewed occupied central positions in the PACoPs, teachers with a personal and/or professional interest in art and the art world. In some schools, all staff are active members, whereas some staff may be on the periphery or even actively avoid participation, being non-participants (Wenger, 1998). The same is possible for pupils, who may be active community members, peripheral or non-participants. Typically, parents were not described as active participants in the PACoP; however, their role changed during the pandemic as they were required to engage more during the periods of home learning (ONS, 2021).

The following section gives further information on the teacher participants in the research, including their professional roles and what they entailed. It starts by detailing their professional qualifications.

Figure 6-1 - diagram showing potential positions of school community in relation to the PACoP



Professional roles and qualifications of the teachers

All the teacher participants interviewed in this research experienced some level of identification with the art world. Table 6-1 lists the job titles and qualifications of the teachers who participated in the research. Less than half of the teachers had an undergraduate or postgraduate qualification in this area. Notably, only five teachers had a qualification that specifically related to art education (as opposed to studying Fine Art). However, evidence would suggest that the sample was more qualified than the general primary teacher population (The All-Party Parliamentary Group for Art, 2023).

In addition to qualifications, these teachers expressed their identification by personal and professional participation and engagement with cultural organisations, attending exhibitions or engaging with contemporary artists on social media; for one teacher, Kelly, this extended to a current artistic practice. Teachers chose to participate in these activities, meaning that it was a significant part of their identity even if they did not feel like they were experts; as Afsa explains, ‘I like to visit galleries; I find it interesting but nothing beyond that. I haven’t studied art. I don’t feel that I know that much really, I just like it, and I’m just interested in it,’ (Interview with Afsa, Generalist Teacher, 27/09/21).

The teachers in the study had different professional roles in relation to art and design, either art lead, art specialist or generalist teacher (with no official responsibility for the subject). Table 6-2 details these roles.

Table 6-2 - showing teacher participants’ roles

Role	What the role included
Art Lead	Some teachers sought out role, whilst some were temporarily allocated it (this could be for as little as a year) Responsible for art and design curriculum in school (or across MAT) Responsible for resources and art partnerships Some teachers provided whole school CPD Normally had a personal CPD budget
Art Specialist	Both teachers allocated it whilst a teacher in the school, following an interest shown Responsible for art and design across the school Cover planning, preparation and assessment time for colleagues – colleagues do not teach art and design but may use art to teach other subjects
Generalist teacher	Although no formal role, some teachers took responsibility for art and design planning as it was a subject that interested them

The next section outlines how these teachers' central positions in the PACoP related to other colleagues who may be peripheral or non-participants.

Brokering the school practice: 'I imagine if you're not that keen on art...'
Most of the teachers in this study recognised their own position in the PACoP as unusual and acted as brokers to colleagues who were less active members. They imagined how colleagues with less experience and interest in teaching art would feel,

I tend to think, "Oh does that [a CPD] sound fun?" It's not that I necessarily need to be upskilled myself, but because I enjoy art, I want to go and do it, whereas if someone's like, "Oh, I'm not very good at art," I don't know if they'd be up for spending money on going and doing it. (Interview with Kelly, Senior Art Lead, 17/09/21)

Not being 'good at art' was described as something many other teachers felt, as Afsa confirms, 'And I imagine that if you're not that keen on art and not very confident about teaching art, as lots of people aren't,' (Interview with Afsa, Generalist Teacher, 27/09/21). Other teachers found it hard to teach art and often lacked confidence, indicating that teacher skills in the subject remain a hindrance (c.f., B. Cooper, 2018; Robinson, 1982/1993).

Participant teachers acted as brokers between me and the general school CoP regardless of whether this was a part of their professional role. This took place relatively consistently in the interviews with teachers. In the ARP steering group, this could be expected as teachers were positioned as representatives of schools to help develop the project. However, this behaviour was not limited to these teachers. This brokering to colleagues who were less confident in art and design addressed my lack of access to teachers without a particular interest in art. It also suggests a correct assumption on behalf of the teachers that I did not have access to this information.

The next sub-section locates the PACoP within the complexities of the primary school.

Multi-membership and competence in primary communities of practice
Schools have multiple CoPs. The broader school may be considered a CoP, and other subjects may have their own CoPs. Some schools were connected to other schools through

multi-academy trusts (MATs) or other formal or informal networks, augmenting the landscapes of practice (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2014). For teachers in these primary schools, and primary schools more generally, their interest and role in art education sat within a landscape of practice of the wider school.

Primary teachers are expected to manage multi-membership and their competence in multiple CoPs. Generalist teachers typically teach 11+ subjects. In my research, professionally, the teacher participants' interest in art was normally only part of their identity, although a significant one. So, whilst I was predominantly interested in their relationship to the subject, for the teachers in this study, their role in art was part of a more complex experience of multi-membership that they actively managed.

CoPs have regimes of competence which recognise membership (Wenger, 1998). The CoP establishes regimes of competence. They are knowledge or skills necessary to be considered a core member. For the primary teachers, although policy might suggest that they are active members of different CoPs, in reality, their competences (and membership) in subjects vary. For example, in this project, participant teacher descriptions of colleagues suggest peripheral membership, or even non-participation, of the PACoP. One way to develop competence in a CoP could be CPD.

For one teacher, Violette, studying art-related subjects had brought her confidence and competence in her membership in the PACoP. She had completed an Art Foundation and then started an undergraduate Fine Art course (she changed degrees partway through). Given this experience, she was more interested in finding professional development opportunities relating to science, technology, engineering and mathematics education (STEM),

I would like to get more involved with STEM... I would want to go more down that route because I feel like my background is quite arty, so I feel like I've had a lot, obviously the foundation course and first couple of years of uni. (Interview with Violette, art lead, 04/10/21)

Although the CPD from the art courses was not teaching-specific, it still felt like enough (perhaps in relation to other colleagues) to not need further training. For primary teachers,

being experts in every subject is difficult. They, therefore, have areas where they are more specialist. Developing these different areas is a constant work in progress. However, although there is an expectation that teachers will receive ongoing professional development in their careers (DfE, 2016), Violette's attitude suggests that she does not feel this is necessary, given her existing experience in art.

However, for other teachers, professional experiences or attendance at cultural events did not necessarily contribute to competence in the PACoP. A teacher I interviewed with a fine art practice, Kelly, had completed a BA and MA in art-related subjects and still felt the need to seek other training because her course had not focused on painting or other technical skills,

I've only really developed the painting skills for my own [teaching] practice through doing some city lit courses and stuff since I did a Fine Art degree... because even my Fine Art degree wasn't skills-based, they were trying to get us to do conceptual based things rather than practical... So, I have tried to upskill myself in certain ways in order to then teach other teachers at school. (Interview with Kelly, Senior Art Lead, 17/09/21)

Kelly's experience highlights the gap between her art practice and teaching art in primary schools. Whilst contemporary art embraces a variety of different materials and conceptual practice, the curriculum suggests a focus on technical skills in drawing, painting and sculpture (DfE, 2013). Kelly's competence accrued in the art CoP did not immediately translate into the PACoP. It was not necessarily enough to be an active visitor to galleries and museums or even be a practising artist to feel confident teaching and leading art in the primary school. A different set of skills and knowledge is involved in teaching (Herne, 2006). Shulman (1986) distinguishes between three categories of content knowledge for teachers: subject matter content knowledge (knowing about the subject), pedagogical content knowledge (how to represent, organise and convey the knowledge to enable learners to access the material) and curricular knowledge (knowledge of the curriculum and instructional materials) (pp.9-10). Through her professional experiences with Fine Art, Kelly developed subject matter knowledge. She needed to seek other opportunities to develop pedagogical content and curricular knowledge.

Notably, only five of the teachers I interviewed (including Kelly) attended professional development opportunities run by cultural organisations, and, of these five, only one was a regular attender. There was a mixture of reasons for not attending, the most popular two being:

- not knowing about the offers, which is in line with other findings (Art Fund, 2022);
- lack of opportunities that were specific to their settings or needs (e.g., a SEND setting or improving a particular skill).

The relatively low level of attendance at these opportunities might suggest that this was because, like Violette, the teachers felt confident in their competence. Nonetheless, my data demonstrated unmet needs alongside a desire to engage in these opportunities. Teachers felt that within the regime of competence, they required more support and wanted CPD that addressed particular needs, such as how to teach drawing or get in touch with your own creativity; needs that have been evidenced elsewhere (Bridge England Network, 2020). Teachers also felt that CPD opportunities would be of use to colleagues.

The teachers' experiences bring into question what professional development or qualifications assist in the primary classroom, making the need for specific ones, of which there are few,²⁵ such as a BEd primary with a specialisation in art, more critical. This is of particular importance as professional development opportunities have become more internalised within schools and MATs (Cordingley et al., 2018). If art leads are expected to facilitate CPD for their colleagues, they require support to do so.

Additionally, my data suggests that cultural organisations may need to re-examine their primary professional development offers. Currently, there seems to be a mismatch between the teachers' needs and what is available. Chapter 10 is about the gallery education programme's CPD, where I return to the challenge of professional development for primary teachers.

²⁵ Primary with art specialism does not appear as an option on the government's teaching training course search tool. <https://www.find-postgraduate-teacher-training.service.gov.uk/>

This chapter’s final section (B) establishes the three elements of the parallel PACoPs. These are joint enterprise (1), the beliefs in the benefits of art education that drove the CoP, mutual engagement (2), how the CoP was developed and sustained, and the shared repertoire (3), the language and ways of doing things in the PACoPs. I find that although elements of the PACoPs were strong, the CoP was challenged in some areas.

B. Primary art education: elements of a community of practice

Although some of the participant teachers’ descriptions of the landscape of practice of the schools suggested the broader schools were not necessarily active PACoPs, participants concurrently described schools that celebrated the arts and that the arts were a vital part of the schools’ identities. This was across all teachers and did not vary with whether they were engaged with a Tate project or not.

1. Joint enterprise: ‘this is who we are’

Supporting the arts formed part of the joint enterprise, beliefs and motivation for the PACoPs represented in the study. The schools’ websites showed that the arts were often prominent; there were examples of school trips to cultural organisations and art projects. Many of the schools were signed up to or had an Artsmark.

Staff believed it was right that children should have a diverse curriculum that includes arts and that this was beneficial to children, as Matt recounts, ‘Because you ask any teacher in the three schools [a MAT] that I worked in, “Are the arts important?” They would all agree with you and say “Yes”’, (Interview with Matt, Generalist Teacher, 16/09/21). For some schools, the arts having a prevalent role was an essential component of the school’s identity; as Joanne describes, ‘It’s like, actually, this is who we are [a school who embrace the arts],’ (Interview with Joanne, Senior Art Lead, 21/09/21).

Justifications given for the prominence of arts in the schools were numerous. The reasons for art being beneficial for children are shown in table 6-3 using categories from Thomson and Maloy’s (2022) Rapid Evidence Review of the benefits of art, craft and design (ACD) education. The broad range of reasons coincide with research and discourse in the subject.

Table 6-3 - showing teacher participants’ beliefs about the benefits of art using Thomson and Maloy’s (2022) categories

Category of benefit from Thomson and Maloy (2022)	Examples by teacher participants
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ACD subject learning	Having access to a subject that was freer than other areas of the curriculum Improving motor skills Problem-solving Improving 'soft skills', e.g., resilience, confidence and courage Developing creativity
Being and becoming	Being culturally relevant and showing them the value of their own culture Giving children an opportunity to express themselves
Civics and citizenship	Becoming participants in the cultural world
Pathways	Giving children the skills for future employment
Wellbeing	Being beneficial for the wellbeing of children particularly in relation to the pandemic
Transfer of ACD (the authors find that this is not supported by the literature, although prevalent in the rhetoric)	Developing oracy Giving children who may find it difficult to communicate in other ways a way of communicating A way of embedding learning from other subjects

Many teachers spoke of the broader benefits that art and design could bring, for example, in the form of 'soft skills', 'resilience and confidence and courage to try new things and leadership and oracy and creativity,' (Interview with Joanne, Senior Art Lead, 21/09/21). The skills described are not intrinsic to art but were very important for children's futures.

Another teacher, Rebecca, shares a similar viewpoint,

So, I think that that's one of my key goals as well to make them realise, and also to try to stress to everyone at school, that actually, it's about, they need this, art is a great subject for problem-solving. And not to engage in it is wrong, because the children of today are going to need to be problem solvers and they're going to need to be resilient and they're going to need to be able to adapt to different varying situations. (Interview with Rebecca, Art Specialist, 22/10/21)

These benefits were understood to go beyond art and design as a subject area and benefit the wider academic progression of children and their future careers.

One teacher, Joanne, emphasised the importance of arts to ‘embed learning’ in other subjects; an example of using the arts to consolidate learning, a type of arts integration (Burnaford, Brown, Doherty, & McLaughlin, 2007) where art is used to teach another subject. This made learning in subjects such as English more accessible for some young people who may struggle with more traditional ways of learning.

In some schools, the shared arts enterprise related more to performing arts than visual arts. In Phoebe’s school, the perception that drama can develop literacy led to it being more present in the curriculum. Phoebe’s school had a consultant who came in to support staff to incorporate drama techniques and had participated in a project run by a theatre to support this. The theatre’s approach to working with schools differs from the gallery education team’s approach.

This joint enterprise in art education was in conversation with priorities from outside of the PACoP. Although CoPs are independent of organisational structures, they often interact with them (Wenger, 1998). Phoebe described that her own views about how art should be taught were different to what was suggested by the school’s wider approach, which is in line with current Ofsted priorities.

And I think our [the school’s] big thing will be about sequencing, trying to sequence and build on lessons a little bit more, like getting the skills in with some knowledge but also having room for exploration. But then maybe having some outcome in mind, but for me personally, I think that the exploration is the most important part, and so I hope that we can develop it, not towards final products, but more towards exploring the skills in an interesting way. (Interview with Phoebe, Art Lead, 06/10/21)

The attitude towards the role of school priorities in shaping practice varied in different schools. For teachers, their own beliefs interact with other priorities. Teachers translate policies and/or priorities, they do not directly implement them (Ball, 1993).

The next section details the role of cultural organisations in the joint enterprise of the PACoP.

Engaging with cultural organisations: 'slightly out of the ordinary'

For all the teachers, engaging with cultural organisations was part of the joint enterprise, which had ongoing benefits for children, the school and the wider community. Teachers hoped that this exposure in school would lead to children returning independently as adults. One of the teachers used the example of her own son, who had attended the school,

My son loves galleries... he came to this school years ago, many years ago, he's 29... we went to the Hayward's gallery, I think, and they were part of a project where we were making things with recycled things and the school... exhibited there... that's began his love of it, so he always goes to galleries now, because he feels it's for him. It inspired him. (Zara, EYFS Teacher, focus group, 23/09/21)

Zara's son's experiences at school are used as an explanation for his current behaviour.

Providing access to cultural organisations was particularly important for the teachers at a Special Educational Needs and/or Disability (SEND) school,

Those opportunities for our parents to go to things that a normal, typically developing child, your child would be invited to all of these things and actually, for a lot of our children and their parents, they never get to experience those things... So we try to create as many opportunities for our families and our children to do those normal things. (Interview with Elliot, Senior Leader, 20/10/21)

The SEND teachers strongly felt responsible for making these cultural experiences accessible for the children in their school.

The participating teachers frequently described art or other cultural experiences as moments of difference in the day-to-day life of the school. Teachers suggested cultural experiences could expose children to different careers, adults, experiences and/or materials. The difference from the quotidian was also vital for the participant teachers who may come across new ideas or artists, and new approaches to teaching art; artists may offer different skills to those available in teaching staff. Two teachers I spoke to had worked with a graffiti artist who offered different skills. Violette gives her experiences,

I mean none of the teachers in school would know how to graffiti anything. So... it just meant that it was something slightly out of the ordinary, and not on our curriculum that could be afforded to them through this project. (Interview with Violette, art lead, 04/10/21)

The gallery education team too recognised this difference as valuable and sought to maintain it, a recurring theme throughout the thesis.

However, experiences with cultural organisations were not inherently beneficial. Teachers considered the relevance of the experiences for young people. Some held reservations about visiting organisations with historic collections as they felt that they would not be relevant to their young people,

For self-guided, I probably wouldn't go there [art museums with historic collections] because I would think there would be less that would immediately grab the children that are the age I'm teaching. And I don't know if I would have the knowledge to make it relevant for them the way that things in the Tate Modern can be. (Interview with Afsa, Generalist Teacher, 27/09/21)

This perhaps indicates a generalist teacher's lack of confidence (B. Cooper, 2018) engaging with something she does not know about and, therefore, struggles to make relevant for the students. It also points to the perceived (ir)relevance of certain types of art to diverse cohorts of primary children (Gov.uk, 2023).

To adapt one project with a national organisation, Afsa's school had chosen to work with a local artist instead,

We did a big whole school art project, but we didn't do it based on the national art museum's resources this time round, we looked at a local artist [an up-and-coming global majority artist] and the school made contact with her. And we did some work based on her paintings, and she came into the school a couple of times for some visits. (Interview with Afsa, Generalist Teacher, 27/09/21)

The literature suggests a local artist offers benefits for the children. The children are able to see people like themselves being artists (Dash, 1999), which is not offered to the same

extent by the historical collections of art in the UK. Art, and contemporary art, can be inaccessible (M. Smith, 2016). Working with a local artist may reduce this alienation as the children may have things in common with them. For Afsa, the choice to work with a local artist was driven by the desire for the experience to be culturally relevant. For other teachers too in the study one of the benefits of these experiences was that they could be relevant to the children (table 6-3).

Reasons for engaging with cultural experiences were varied. Teachers sometimes undertook visits or cultural experiences to support art and design as a subject. However, visits just for the subject of art and design were less common (although several teachers mentioned that they were encouraging them). Visits or projects usually connected to other subjects – e.g., history. The lack of subject-specific trips may reflect art and design's relatively low status in primary schools (B. Cooper, 2018), and resources allocated according to status. The Art Now survey suggests teachers are experiencing a decrease in resources (The All-Party Parliamentary Group for Art, 2023).

The teachers interviewed had mixed opinions about whether a project with a cultural organisation or a visit needed to connect to the curriculum or was enough of an experience in and of itself,

It doesn't always [connect to what we are learning]. Sometimes we've had visitors you can always find a link somehow, but no, it doesn't always. It can be just a nice trip and a nice thing to do with the children in general. (Interview with Brooke, Art Lead, 07/09/21)

Brooke also described making the link if it is not immediately apparent. Joanna shared a similar viewpoint and argued that, 'You shouldn't have to put a curriculum label on it [an arts experience], because it's just a brilliant opportunity,' (Interview with Joanne, Senior Art Lead, 21/09/21).

On the other hand, several teachers described being unable to do something unless it explicitly connected to what the children were learning. A school trip or a project was consistently seen by teachers as easier to justify to senior leaders if there was a direct link to

the curriculum (as noted by Arts Council England, 2016), even for the teachers who were happy to engage with something ‘for art’s sake’.

The following section explores mutual engagement and how this took place for the primary teachers.

2. Mutual engagement: connecting around art

All the teachers interviewed described a shared enterprise; however, opportunities for mutual engagement for teachers within PACoPs were limited, decreasing the potential of the CoPs. Time to talk to other teachers about the schools’ approach to art was inadequate, as Phoebe notes, ‘It’s quite hard to get a place in a staff meeting [to talk about art],’ (Interview with Phoebe, Art Lead, 06/10/21).

One space discussion about art and art teaching might happen was in CPD sessions. Teachers described that in most of their schools, the school-wide CPD available in the subject was partial or, at times, non-existent, which is in line with other evidence (Cordingley et al., 2018). Hattie spoke about the lack of opportunity for staff CPD in the subject,

I don’t think I did any professional development around arts between my PGCE and between last year [when she was art lead]. You know, there was six years in between. (Interview with Hattie, Generalist Teacher, 29/09/21)

Hattie’s experience is relatively common. Many primary teachers do not have access to subject-specific CPD following their initial training (Cordingley et al., 2018; The All-Party Parliamentary Group for Art, 2023).

Kelly, a member of SLT, highlighted that she did not think that colleagues would attend external CPD in art and design and that it would be something that they would have to pay for themselves, as ‘it’s not something that we’d have money for at school to pay for teachers to do,’ (Interview with Kelly, Senior Art Lead, 17/09/21). Kelly’s report supports survey findings that teachers often attend art-related CPD in their own time and self-fund (The All-Party Parliamentary Group for Art, 2023). According to the teachers I interviewed, often the lack of funding available to attend CPD seems to have resulted in the non-participation of teachers without a personal commitment to art.

However, a lack of art-specific CPD was not the case for all schools. One school, where Joanne (who had not participated in any Tate programme) was a member of staff, had an active CPD programme, where mutual engagement between different members of staff was prominent,

What we have found over the years is our leadership get involved, and non-teaching staff get involved [in arts CPD], and basically, it is such a team-building experience. Maybe we're just weird, but it's hilarious, we laugh at and with each other, and it's just been a brilliant experience. But it definitely can be quite tricky. Again, I think it's the Senior Leadership, if you've got leadership that are prepared to be in that same room, on the floor, rolling around or doing whatever they're doing in the dance... it's so much easier if leadership are involved and leadership, they give it their seal of approval. (Interview with Joanne, Senior Art Lead, 21/09/21)

This mutual engagement from all staff was something described by Joanne as responsible for the success of the arts in their school. Not only did SLT attend themselves, but they also contributed the resources so that all staff (including support staff) could attend too. Joanne's description of active engagement describes the importance of staff at all levels being involved in the PACoP (as has been established as necessary in arts rich schools, Cairns et al., 2020).

Joanne's school was not the norm in the study schools or primary schools more generally, as surveys have shown that often only one or a handful of teachers in a primary school have opportunities to attend CPD within their paid-for time (NSEAD, 2016; The All-Party Parliamentary Group for Art, 2023). Given the inconsistency described in the PACoPs, it is unsurprising that arts-focused networks are relatively common. Several teachers I interviewed were part of a local network of arts primary school teachers. In Tate sessions, it was often clear that teachers appreciated connecting with teachers from other schools to share experiences.

Of course, mutual engagement in the CoPs also involved pupils. Teachers described art as a popular subject that pupils were keen to engage with. Afsa explains, 'Art is always something that is a lot of people's favourite subjects or one of their favourite subjects

because it's perceived as a lot freer than some of the other curriculum, especially further up the school,' (Interview with Afsa, Generalist Teacher, 27/09/21). The next chapter will expand on how mutual engagement with pupils occurred during the pandemic, as well as how what was offered through this engagement contrasted to learning in other subjects by being 'freer'.

The chapter's final section explores the shared repertoire of the PACoPs, alongside obstacles to their full realisation.

3. Shared repertoire: progression, skills and a lack of resource

The shared repertoire is a set of communal resources, tools or ways of doing things (Wenger, 1998) to carry out the joint enterprise. In this sub-section, I detail the discourse and language of the PACoPs before exploring how things were done. The final point of this sub-section examines the roles of cultural organisations in these ways of doing things.

Stories and discourse about the arts

The discourse of the CoPs often related to successful arts projects that had taken place in the school. Art represented moments of the community connecting or 'lightbulb moments' (Harding, 2005b). Phoebe described the whole community coming together to participate in an art activity, on returning to school after the second lockdown. It was an event that gained some momentum and got children talking. In the focus group I conducted, I was told of a teacher's son who had attended the primary school. Now as an adult, due to these experiences, is a frequent attendee of galleries and museums (cited earlier in this chapter). One teacher, Joanne, told me a story of pupils' academic achievement improving significantly due to their participation in arts projects; for several children, this manifested while performing on stage. The stories served to demonstrate the positive impact of arts projects.

Outcomes, process and progression: language and pedagogical practice in teaching art

Even though all the teachers I interviewed had an interest in art, language from contemporary art was missing in the teachers' descriptions of practice. Instead, teachers frequently referred to educational concepts commonly used in schools, including 'skills' and 'curriculum'. They did not use the abstract concepts or terms associated with contemporary art I observed in the gallery education team, such as 'not knowing' or 'holding the space'.

The subject of art and design was coerced to fit into the wider school use of language rather than maintaining a language of its own.

This was slightly different in the special school. Elliot describes the teachers were more focused on process than outcomes, 'We're very much about the process of art rather than the final product and all about the experience of art making and the sensory side of that,' (Interview with Elliot, Senior Leader, 20/10/21). Elliot's focus on process and the sensory experience highlights a different practice that takes place in SEND settings.

Alongside skills and curriculum, in the mainstream schools, teachers frequently mentioned progression. Ensuring that children made progression in the subject was a priority, as Hattie indicates, 'I looked at the key skills side of the curriculum and made sure that it was progressional through the year groups while I was in that post [art lead],' (Interview with Hattie, Generalist Teacher, 29/09/21). Hattie's focus on progression coincides with Ofsted's focus on progress (Briggs, 2021; Ofsted, 2019) but was not justified by this.

Teachers identified progression as necessary for two main reasons, teachers sought to:

- remedy experiences not connecting to anything else the children were studying;
- avoid repeating things throughout the years in school and build on what children had done.

For some, particularly one art specialist, Scott, the commitment to ensuring the curriculum was progressional had created a fixed scheme of work (SoW) where nothing could be missed or easily changed because that would have an impact further down the line. The teachers' focus on progression, reified in SoWs, are an example of the complex relationship between reifications from outside of the CoP (DfE, 2013; Ofsted, 2019) and the participants within (Ball, 1993). Teachers did not identify this focus on progression as responding to Ofsted or national curriculum priorities. However, it is unlikely coincidental that the approach was congruent with them.

Practical support, time and resources for art: 'to actually practically make it happen'

Some teachers noted even though art education was important to the schools, SLT might 'need a push' sometimes to fully get on board, something to motivate them, 'to really

enthusiastic about it and encourage others,' (Interview with Matt, Generalist Teacher, 16/09/21). For Matt, this push typically took the form of an external project.

Some teachers described not having the practical materials (such as paper) in place to implement the schools' vision. This seemed to go against the wider ethos of the school, as Afsa describes, 'I don't know, I think there's an eagerness from our SLT to say that we do a lot about art but then to actually practically make it happen, that's not quite there,' (Interview with Afsa, Generalist Teacher, 27/09/21). At Afsa's school, the joint enterprise is present. School staff believe art is important. However, practical support still needs to be put in place to implement this vision. It is unclear why this is. Is professing commitment to art a useful tool to attract parents (Ruck, 2020) but too much resource to sustain? Or is there a lack of understanding of the resource required for art provision? Or is there simply not the financial resource, as other schools are finding (Parker, 2022b; The All-Party Parliamentary Group for Art, 2023), to buy art materials?

A lack of practical support also related to time on the timetable. In one interview, although the school was supportive of art, Brooke still spoke of a 'battle' over curriculum time, 'You always have to battle and think how long are you putting aside to teach art,' (Interview with Brooke, Art Lead, 07/09/21). This 'battle' refers to the pressure from other subjects. Many of the participants indicated that time to teach the subject was a challenge, even in schools that prioritised the arts. This supports evidence that time given to art and design is at risk of decreasing (NSEAD, 2016). However, some schools do manage to have a good art offer. Cairns et al. (2020) find one primary school that shortened the school day to allow for planning time and another that extended the day to allow more time for arts subjects.

A lack of time was also a restricting factor outside of the curriculum. Teachers described choosing not to do a more exciting art activity because they did not have time to prepare, as Hattie describes,

And it's great if they [the children] have the opportunity to do Batik or screen printing or something... And if teachers aren't shown regularly how to use them [resources], they're just a bit off-put.... They literally don't have the time, and I've

definitely been in that boat before, you just do something that you know you can do straight away. (Interview with Hattie, Generalist Teacher, 29/09/21)

The lack of time related to both the perceived pressure from other subjects and the time to prepare for lessons and learn or relearn skills or techniques. Other evidence suggests that teachers' workload is increasing, making it hard to carve out time to develop new or maintain practical skills (The All-Party Parliamentary Group for Art, 2023).

The final sub-section of this chapter examines how cultural organisations formed part of the practice of the PACoP.

Practicalities of engaging with cultural organisations

Teachers described negotiating the practicalities of engaging with cultural organisations as essential, particularly as they looked to restart visits following the pandemic. Although often not the focus of the gallery educators, issues like where children could eat lunch, having materials prepared, and ease of being in the space were high on the lists of things teachers considered when deciding where to visit. Exactly where in the space they will be (for example, where are the places to stop), materials to bring and the number of adults were all important considerations (safeguarding requirements will also have a minimum number of adults required for the number of children). Geographical distance and how it was possible to travel there was also crucial.

Interestingly, I interviewed teachers whose schools were inundated with offers to work with cultural organisations; on the other hand, two schools represented received little to no offers to do so. Geography seemed to inform this. One of the schools was in an outer London borough. The art lead said they could not afford to take the train and rarely visited galleries. The other school was in an inner London borough but not especially near any cultural organisations. There has been a push in the sector to work hyper-locally (Scott & Brook, 2023), particularly in relation to the pandemic (McAlpine, 2020). It would be interesting to consider the impact the decision to work locally has on schools with limited cultural organisations in the vicinity. Cultural organisations and funding given to them are not evenly spread across London (London Councils, 2016), let alone the country (Arts Council England, 2021a).

CODA

This chapter has established that teacher participants in this study experienced identification with the art world, forming a significant part of their professional role, even if this was not formalised. In this role, teachers brokered the broader school practice, which they perceived as different to their own. They actively managed their competence in the primary art community of practice. I have shown that the parallel communities of practice had a joint enterprise where beliefs around the potential of art aligned with the broader literature and a shared repertoire, which was sometimes hampered by a lack of resources. The shared repertoire was strongly connected to reifications in the rest of the school, such as progression. Mutual engagement was generally limited. Cultural organisations formed an essential part of the primary art community of practice, both as resources for the curriculum and 'brilliant opportunities' for the school community.

Chapter 7 - The pandemic in schools: changes in the world of the primary art community of practice

The COVID-19 pandemic changed how schools operated almost overnight. As schools closed to all but vulnerable children and children of key workers, teachers had to consider how to teach children from a distance. When schools fully reopened, there was continuing uncertainty as bubbles of children and staff who could not mix were not able to attend school if one person tested positive for COVID-19. Routines and ways of doing things changed; staff and pupil absence was high (Danechi & Roberts, 2021; Weale, 2021). The pandemic was a learning disruption (Harmey & Moss, 2021). Children's learning in this changeable context was impacted (Blainey & Hannay, 2021). Moreover, the wellbeing of children was affected, as they experienced increased anxiety (Children's Commissioner, 2020). Many schools introduced a recovery curriculum (Carpenter & Carpenter, 2020) to support children after this period of disruption, help children process the disruptive period and become reaccustomed to the school environment.

This chapter argues that the pandemic, although a challenging period for teachers, increased the importance of the joint enterprise of art education, its motivation and purpose, its role in supporting the wellbeing needs of pupils. Art experiences were moments of difference, connection and enjoyment. The needs and experiences of the parallel primary art communities of practice (PACoP) changed throughout the period. Arts organisations had a key role to play. However, for many of the teacher participants, art was not part of the 'real learning' associated with the core subjects. Upon examination of the teachers' experiences, I demonstrate their beliefs, rhythms of working and ways of doing things did not entirely align with those of the gallery education team, indicating a disconnect between the two groups.

In this chapter, I use data from interviews with teachers. Table 6-1 offers information about the teachers who participated in interviews.

The chapter has three sections. It starts (A) by demonstrating that the PACoP's joint enterprise, to respond to children's social needs, increased in importance for the whole school community. Section B offers a timeline with four stages of engagement for the PACoP, arguing that time for art experiences decreased during the pandemic. In the final

section (C), I compare the teachers' experiences with those of the gallery education community of practice (GECOP), finding they were significantly different.

A. Art education for children's wellbeing during the pandemic: the joint enterprise
The pandemic significantly impacted the wellbeing and mental health of some children and young people (Cowie & Myers, 2021; Ford, John, & Gunnell, 2021; Viner et al., 2021). It created a period of insecurity where routines were changed and disrupted with little notice. Children faced concerns about the health of parents and carers, as well as family members. Many families faced financial difficulties (Moss et al., 2021). Children also had an altered learning experience; some had to adapt to remote learning. When children returned to school, they had to worry about whether the pandemic had affected their learning and some encountered pressure to 'catch-up'. Within this challenging period, art offered a way to process emotions, support wellbeing and connect people in isolation (Gotthardt et al., 2022).

For the teachers in my study, the context of the pandemic heightened the perceived importance of the joint enterprise of art education, the drive of the community of practice (CoP). A generalist teacher, Matt, describes an activity he led with his class, which he intended to support their wellbeing,

One of the things I did was use the colour in his [Mark Rothko (1903-1970)] paintings as a way of getting younger children... to articulate how colour can equate to an emotion or a feeling... so they would use lighter blue colours if they were feeling a bit down or darker blue if they're feeling a bit upset, and the red being anger and passion... So they were articulating their emotions, which were obviously going all over the place at that point... that was something that actually turned out to be quite important. (Interview with Matt, Generalist Teacher, 16/09/21)

Rather than art and design, Matt use of art has stronger links to personal, social, health and economic education (PSHE). Apart from referencing Rothko, who could be considered a 'great artist', the activity that Matt describes has few connections to the art and design national curriculum. Matt's use of art and artists relates to a belief art can enable children to process emotions.

During the pandemic, Matt did additional art sessions as he strongly believed in the importance of children having access to these opportunities. At other schools too, including Julia's school, it,

Was key that when we did our home learning, there was always something that was physical, creative on the home learning during lockdown, that it wasn't all just English and maths... In fact, maybe some of those were more important at certain times. (Julia, SLT, focus group, 23/09/21)

The pandemic disrupted the hierarchy between core and foundation subjects (Ofsted, 2018), increasing the need for and access to 'creative' subjects.

The joint enterprise that made art essential did not relate to its role as a subject in the curriculum. Although art was important in the schools these teachers taught in, only one teacher, an art specialist, mentioned art and design as a subject children had fallen behind in. For other teachers, it was art's other benefits that were important; Joanne described arts as a 'brain break' from other subjects,

We have a staff area on the website, and I just loaded that up with a bank of "Try this for drama. Try this, have it as an opening activity for whatever, have it as a brain break for pupils during their online work". (Interview with Joanne, Senior Art Lead, 21/09/21)

Rather than understanding arts as 'work', for Joanne, arts address a wellbeing need and are a way to support children to engage in other learning. 'Brain breaks' are a teaching strategy for children promoted by school-focused educational organisations.²⁶ 'Brain break' also suggests that the arts are something you do with your hands, not intellectual work. This is a common misconception about the arts and connects to them being considered non-academic (Lilliedahl, 2022). Joanne's use of the term separates the arts from other learning.

²⁶ For example, twinkl - <https://www.twinkl.co.uk/teaching-wiki/brain-break#cont-0>

Children also shared the changed joint enterprise. Kelly had asked children why art was important at this time (she did this for the gallery education team's Teacher Forum).²⁷ She shared the responses,

I thought this was a nice quote [from a child], "So art is relevant right now because we are going through a unique point in history..." ... Lots of different things and a lot about wellbeing, about making them feel calm and relaxed and processing their experience. (Interview with Kelly, Senior Art Lead, 17/09/21)

When asked why the children had been so focused on wellbeing, she thought it either came from teachers or the general alignment of arts with wellbeing during the pandemic (Gotthardt et al., 2022).

I have demonstrated that the PACoP's joint enterprise increased in importance during the period. The following section describes how the pandemic changed mutual engagement during the pandemic.

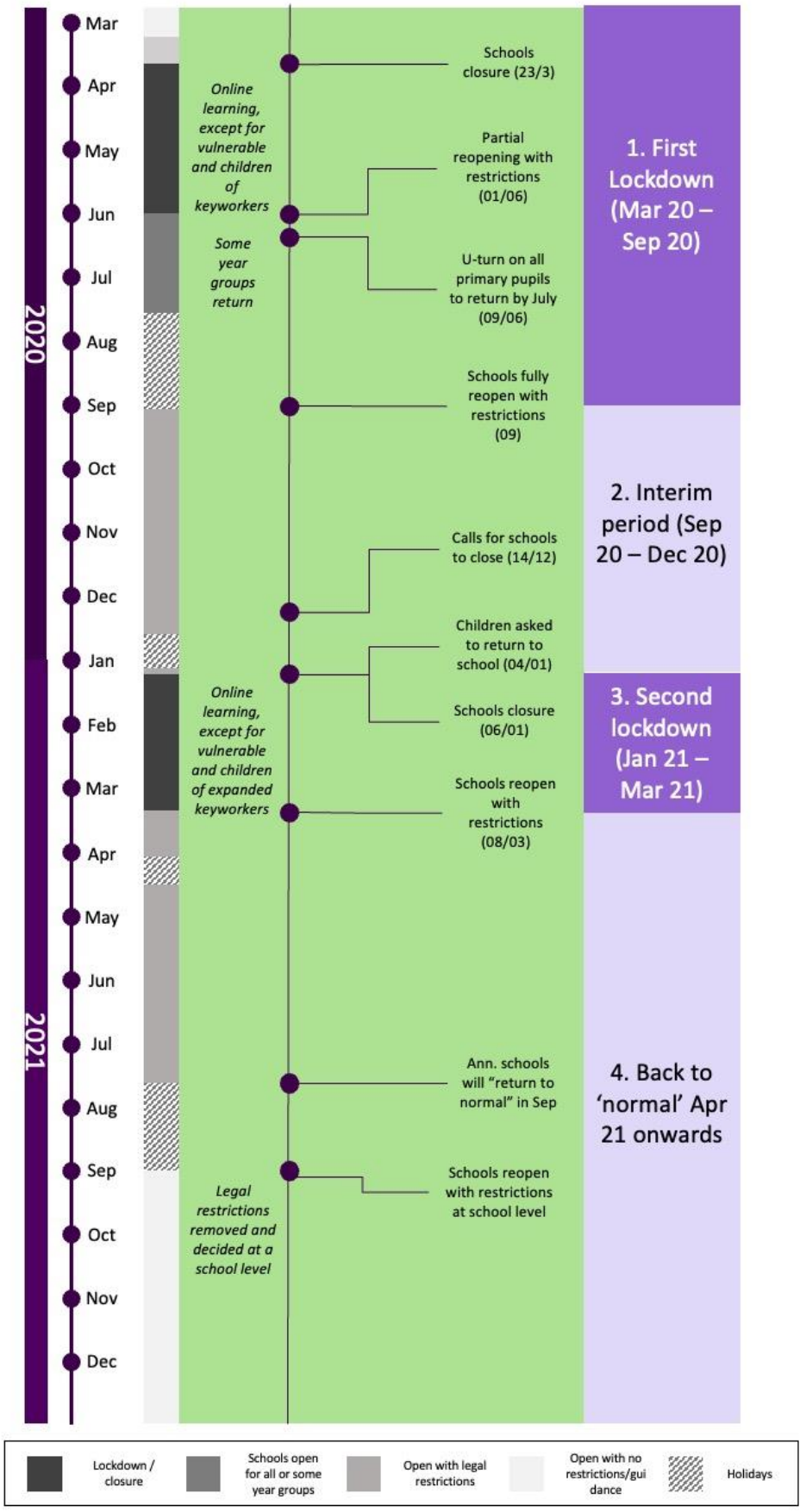
B. Changed ways of connecting during the pandemic

This section shows how teachers provided art teaching and learning for children during the pandemic. In other words, having established a strengthened joint enterprise, how mutual engagement of the emergent PACoPs took place in this uncertain period. Mutual engagement is how the CoP participates with each other (Wenger, 1998).

Evidence from the Office for National Statistics (2021) suggests that the move to remote learning particularly affected art and design as it required more parental support than other subjects. The teachers I interviewed explained that art was both challenging and fun to teach in the pandemic. The section chronologically details how engagement with children and young people occurred in the PACoP. Figure 7-1 is a timeline of the key events in schools alongside the four periods of engagement I identify in my analysis. I show that in the first lockdown (1), although challenged, the teachers I interviewed had more freedom to respond to their own beliefs about what it was important for the children to be doing. This

²⁷ Three Zoom sessions in summer 2020. Teachers were invited to share their lockdown teaching experiences.

Figure 7-1 - timeline of events in schools with my analytical categories



included engagement with cultural organisations. The second stage (2) was changeable with many restrictions but a continued focus on wellbeing. In the second lockdown in schools (3), teachers were encouraged to teach a full curriculum to students at home, meaning that the way teachers and children could engage with cultural organisations was more restricted. In the final 'back to normal' phase (4), teachers described pressures to 'catch-up', which took time away from the arts and engaging with cultural organisations.

1. The first lockdown (Mar 20 – Sep 20): 'free from the constraints'

The first lockdown occurred from March 2020 until the end of the academic year, although some year groups returned in June 2020 (figure 7-1).

All the teacher participants sought ways to connect with children if they were at home. Nonetheless, it was challenging as the children's lack of materials at home impeded engagement. Several teachers stressed that teaching art was difficult as students with low socioeconomic status had little to no resources,

Loads of them [children] didn't have pencils and paper, so that was a huge challenge. So finding ways around that was difficult, and it often meant all of our online provision, it was being accessed more successfully by more affluent children, which are a tiny minority in this school, so that was a problem not just for art but for all learning. (Interview with Hattie, Generalist Teacher, 29/09/21).

Hattie's comments correlate with evidence that the lockdowns had a more significant impact on disadvantaged children (Farquharson et al., 2022; Howard et al., 2021). They also align with evidence that children from disadvantaged backgrounds spent less time on learning than those with a higher socioeconomic status, possibly due to access to resources (Pensiero et al., 2021). Some schools spent significant resources addressing the impacts of socioeconomic deprivation during the pandemic, such as providing food (Moss et al., 2021). Access to digital devices was also an issue for the children. However, for the teachers in this study, teaching in this context was not an entirely negative experience.

For several teachers, teaching remotely with the children at home felt less restricted than their regular practice, as Matt describes, 'We were suddenly free from the constraints of having to fit so much into a normal school day,' (Interview with Matt, Generalist Teacher,

16/09/21). Matt felt free from the usual curriculum challenges and could do what he felt would really benefit children, 'I definitely felt a greater sense of creative freedom with what I could do, and I could play around and experiment,' (Interview with Matt, Generalist Teacher, 16/09/21).

The first lockdown saw not only a shift in what learning was provided and how it was provided but also in *how* children were expected to engage with it. Art lead Violette describes,

In the first lockdown, we just went off-curricular entirely, and we used to send out videos... so that parents and children in the lockdown, if they didn't want to do the maths lesson or whatever, could go into the art hub and find various different activities they could do about an artist. (Interview with Violette, Art Lead, 04/10/21)

Rather than structuring how engagement happened, as is the case in daily-school life, the first lockdown period introduced freedom in how children could engage – they could choose what felt of benefit to them. This was a much freer rhythm of engagement than typically found in the school day.

Cultural organisations in the first lockdown: 'everything started to pop up again'

During the first lockdown, engagement with children was often supported by cultural organisations. Art lead Phoebe gives the example of an online challenge created by an art museum that brought together the whole school community,

We did the Getty challenge,²⁸ you know, where you pose as the artwork?... The response we got was really huge... it just really picked up momentum and then I felt like that was really cool because then parents and children were having these conversations about these pieces of art... it was a bit of a buzz moment.... (Interview with Phoebe, Art Lead, 06/10/21)

Art activities allowed children and parents to connect and explore art together. Parental involvement can help children improve the quality of school work, particularly in the early years (Gonzalez-DeHass, 2016). Parents can find it difficult to know the purpose their

²⁸ <https://www.getty.edu/news/getty-artworks-recreated-with-household-items-by-creative-geniuses-the-world-over/>

support is meant to give (Grinshtain & Harpaz, 2021). Perhaps this challenge was successful as it focused on an activity that the parent-child could participate in together.

Interestingly, Phoebe's description of a 'buzz moment' is similar to Harding's (2005) use of 'magic moments' to describe what happens when children and artists work together. Phoebe's activity has done something in the school community that other learning has not; it has created intangible excitement and connection. The activity not only connected the school community but also to other people throughout the world who took part in the challenge. Teachers often seek ways to enable these 'buzz moments' (French, 2021). It is a concept that gallery educators would also recognise. Art does something special that is tricky to define.

The engagement and participation of cultural organisations during this period was significant for the school community, as Matt explains,

All of those things, and feeling part of that community, if not physically then online, that was really, really great, and you could see that change in the kids because they'd had a period of time at home, and we had that time where everyone was re-evaluating how to work... and then everything started to pop up again. The community woke up. And that change in terms of the kids that I was working with at school was really great because they knew about the Tate, they knew about the Unicorn [a children's theatre], and I was like, "Look, they're back,". So being part of that community again was really important. (Interview with Matt, Generalist Teacher, 16/09/21)

Matt's beliefs align with other teachers interviewed; they believed art education can support young people to become active participants in the cultural world. Art education is not only about skills and personal benefits, but also about being part of a community and a way of engaging with the world (Biesta, 2017). During the pandemic, a period of social isolation for many people, feeling connected takes on heightened importance. Bradbury, Warran, Wan Mak, and Fancourt (2021) find that arts experiences enabled a sense of connection for the wider population too.

Whilst the government was concerned with lost learning in core subjects (DfE, 2021a), the teachers in this study describe being concerned about the holistic experience of parents and children. This is in line with other studies that found that teachers were concerned with learning *and* wellbeing (Moss et al., 2021). Matt and Phoebe indicate a considerable role for cultural organisations in supporting school communities to connect with each other and feel part of the wider community, something not fully recognised by the gallery education team.

2. In between lockdowns (Sep 20 – Dec 20): ‘you can’t really do art half-hearted’
In interviews with teachers, I tended to focus on the lockdown periods and the fourth, ‘back to normal’ period. The period from Sep 20 – Dec 20, when children were back in schools temporarily, was less commented on by teachers, and I did not follow up with specific questions.

My personal reflections on the period record an uncertainty around whether schools should return to in-person teaching in September 2020. Teachers and parents (and most likely children) were concerned about the transmission of COVID-19. Gurdasani et al. (2022) stress that the UK made far fewer interventions to stop the transmission of COVID-19 in schools than other countries. For instance, mask-wearing was not even suggested for primary school children. However, on the other hand, the government recognised that lockdowns had been challenging for many families, they (mistakenly) believed that COVID-19 was not a serious illness for children and felt school can play a vital role in children’s wellbeing as well as their learning (Gurdasani et al., 2022).

On returning to schools following the first lockdown in the autumn term 2020, the teachers I interviewed continued to use the arts to improve students’ wellbeing, notably in the form of whole school projects. The evidence from young people during this period suggests that these interventions were necessary. Survey findings from the Children’s Commissioner suggest that young people felt particularly anxious about missing learning and getting Covid (Children's Commissioner, 2020). However, although the teachers I interviewed were able to do this, through a survey for the Hear My Story (HMS) project, the gallery education team found out that many teachers did not have the time to complete an arts project in this period, confirming that my convenience sample are from schools that spent more time on art than the wider primary school population.

Although the teachers and pupils were back in schools, they operated in restricted circumstances. For example, many of the teachers explained they were not able to have external facilitators come into schools. Legally, schools could go on trips; however, all the schools represented by the teachers I interviewed introduced guidance at school level to restrict them. Even if they felt able to go on school trips, not all cultural organisations allowed school visits (e.g., Tate).

Finally, art and design provoked unique challenges as children were restricted from sharing materials (DfE, 2021b). This did not mean that teachers stopped teaching art. They taught art but thought of creative ways that children could work individually or not share materials. Art specialist, Rebecca, had decided to not limit the materials children had access to,

I just think, well, actually they're in the room, you know, I'm either going to get it [COVID-19] or I'm not going to get it. So I'm just going to put materials out, because you can't really do art half-hearted, if they need the materials, they need the materials. (Rebecca, Art Specialist, 22/10/21)

Rebecca's description highlights the challenge that teachers faced, making decisions about their own safety and concurrently providing a good learning experience for children. Wider evidence suggests teachers found these decisions stressful (Kim et al., 2022).

3. The second lockdown (Jan – Mar 21): 'there wasn't time for people to do extra stuff'
The second school lockdown, taking place from January until March 2021, was experienced differently by the teachers from the first lockdown. It is briefly worth noting that the government's management of this part closure of schools was particularly chaotic; schools returned from holidays for one day (allowing for transmission) then were partially closed.

By the second lockdown, teachers in this study had started implementing systems to address children's lack of resources. However, these systems were slow to get going; Violette described them as having little impact on her teaching,

We were doing a unit about drawing, and they were meant to try to smudge and all these things, but they just had a blue Biro pen, so... we made this big spreadsheet where parents would order... but by the time we'd mobilised to do that, we ended up going back to school anyway. (Interview with Violette, art lead, 04/10/21)

Resources that considered this limited access to materials were popular with teachers in this study, e.g., Darrell Wakelam's webpage that used recyclable materials²⁹ and Tate's HMS, which proposed a discussion activity that could be done without additional materials.

Some schools had addressed the lack of access to digital devices that had impeded children accessing learning in the first lockdown. At art specialist Rebecca's school, by the second lockdown, the school had given the children iPads. This meant that Rebecca could adapt lessons so that children could do them with materials at home. Access to digital devices for online learning was an issue for many children. The government scheme to provide digital devices was delayed and slow (Staufenberg, 2021). Any learning experience that teachers created for children in this period had to take lack of connectivity and/or hardware into account.

In this period, many participants described a pressure to teach more content and increased stress. Matt explains,

So [in the first lockdown] we had time to think of things and to experiment and play around and then slowly but surely, the expectations rose again, especially when we went into the second lockdown, okay now we had the expectation lifted again.

(Interview with Matt, Generalist Teacher, 16/09/21)

Teachers imagined the increase in expectations was difficult for parents, particularly in comparison to the first lockdown, as children would be working on different subjects and would have to engage with challenging curriculum objectives (particularly in literacy and numeracy). Violette identified that the quality of work coming back from the children was 'a bit variable' (Interview with Violette, Art Lead, 04/10/21). Evidence suggests that parents did find this hard to manage with the other commitments they had (Rekha Liyanagunawardena & Williams, 2021), and Violette's experience of 'variable' quality of work was common across other schools too (Nelson, Lynch, et al., 2021).

In this lockdown, the rhythms of engagement for children became closer to those of the conventional school day. Kelly describes the difference from the first lockdown,

²⁹ <https://www.darrellwakelam.com/>

Then we were up and running and doing it properly, first lockdown it was just, “Do some work, do some education at home yourself,” kind of thing. Whereas the second time round... it was very much we’ve got a timetable for children, they attend this lesson... So, there wasn’t time for people to do extra stuff [arts activities] because they were doing a full, almost full curriculum at home. (Interview with Kelly, Senior Art Lead, 17/09/21)

Kelly’s experience aligns with other research findings that the interactive and live teaching elements increased in the second lockdown period (Nelson, Andrade, et al., 2021; Rekha Liyanagunawardena & Williams, 2021), imitating the school day. Her terming of arts activities as ‘extra stuff’ indicates she does not see them as integral to the curriculum, a viewpoint that returns throughout this chapter and will be further commented on in section C.

Although the second lockdown was a challenging experience for the children and parents at home, several teachers described the key worker children coming into school as having a relatively ‘nice time’, free from the pressures of everyday school life; as Hattie says,

The children who were in school... did tons of creative stuff because there was this small group, and the day was not so tight on time because we weren’t teaching these huge groups of children... But this unusual scenario of teaching groups of ten, we did do lots of making and lots of creating, which was really a nice bonus. I think lots of them had a really lovely time that’s very different to their normal school experience. Strange, and they had to adapt in lots of ways to lots of different things. And obviously, the obvious things weren’t good about that time. But coming into a small group where maybe you had a whole afternoon to do one piece of artwork was really lovely for them. That wouldn’t normally be possible. (Interview with Hattie, Generalist Teacher, 29/09/21)

Hattie’s comment suggests that she perceives the regular school day, with large numbers and a lack of time, impedes the creative experience. This intimates she does not see spaces for creativity in the normal school timetable, agreeing with evidence that creativity is being squeezed in the current school context (Tambling & Bacon, 2023). As a teacher, she does

not have the flexibility to decide that the class can spend an afternoon on a creative project. This aligns with other teachers' experiences (finding the first lockdown an opportunity to be creative in planning).

Cultural organisations in second lockdown: 'it wasn't something they had the resources for'
The role of cultural organisations in the second school lockdown in January 2021 had changed (figure 1-1), perhaps impacted by staffing not having yet returned to pre-pandemic levels in the sector (Walmsley et al., 2022). Some cultural organisations were unable to run school programmes and keep in contact with teachers.

Although two teachers had participated in partnership projects in this period (online), some of the camaraderie and excitement experienced with cultural organisations in the first lockdown was missing. Phoebe describes this in comparison to the first lockdown period,

But I felt like... we changed things from the first lockdown to the next one, and I felt like the second one we were, the first one it was a bit more like there were some different creative... because there were so many organisations putting out stuff. (Interview with Phoebe, Art Lead, 06/10/21)

Exploring was not something Phoebe could continue to do in the second school lockdown period, both due to school restrictions and resources available. Phoebe's experience suggests a limited area of action for teachers.

Another teacher, Kelly, described being slightly disappointed with what was offered by cultural organisations. She recounts looking for support from cultural organisations for an 'art week' at a point when children were back in school, but cultural organisations were still closed,

So I thought it would be nice if maybe the arts councillors, the student ones, could have a Zoom meeting with somebody from a museum who could share some pieces of artwork, talk about them or give them a little mini guided tour around the gallery or something so that we were still working with an arts organisation that could be the basis and the inspiration for the art week...

So I emailed Tate about that to see if Tate could be involved; I also emailed Art Gallery A and didn't get an answer back from Art Gallery A. Did get an answer back from Tate, but it wasn't something they had the resources for or had the time for at the time, they were very apologetic about that. So I had to just scrap that idea of working with an organisation, which I really would have liked to have done.

(Interview with Kelly, Senior Art Lead, 17/09/21)

On a personal level, Kelly felt particularly let down, 'There just doesn't seem to be much from Art Gallery A; I've just been a bit disappointed with them actually,' (Interview with Kelly, Senior Art Lead, 17/09/21). Kelly had personally met the gallery educator at Art Gallery A and had previously participated in sessions. Kelly's experience suggests that Art Gallery A is more than just a provider of resources/sessions, there is a relationship that she hopes is reciprocal. Although there are undoubtedly reasons beyond Art Gallery A's control that meant they were unable to engage (anecdotally, I had heard there was a round of redundancies taking place), it points to the teacher's expectation that this relationship is ongoing and continuous. Cultural organisations seem to have not fully understood this importance when furloughing and/or reducing learning teams (Downey, 2020).

4. Back to 'normal' (Apr 21 onwards): 'it was felt we needed to focus on more academic subjects'

Since going back to schools following the second lockdown, teachers have been getting closer to patterns of regular school, and by September 2021, many government-imposed restrictions had been removed. When I interviewed the majority of teachers in autumn 2021, some day-to-day routines had returned, but it remained a stressful time with high staff absence (Weale, 2022).

Teachers, and, therefore, pupils, also experienced pressure from government initiatives, such as 'catch-up' (DfE, 2021a), where teachers were encouraged to address gaps in core subjects. The government has spent time and resources identifying the 'learning loss' from COVID-19 (Newton, 2021; Rose et al., 2021). Government support was directed to closing gaps, particularly in the form of a tutoring programme (DfE, 2022b). Very little government support was directed towards anything other than learning (Sibieta, 2021).

Of course, the reality is that different schools will have had different experiences and, therefore, different needs. Some academics have highlighted that it is more important to address the social needs and have disagreed with the term 'learning loss', suggesting that it underplays the impact of children's social needs (Harmey & Moss, 2021).

There were mixed responses in the schools represented in the study. Phoebe described that on first returning to school in spring 2021, there was a whole school art project. However, when I spoke to her in autumn 2021, there was a feeling that pupils were not where they were supposed to be, and there was very little time to rectify this. This concern for pupils' progress was impacting the arts subjects, as Phoebe describes,

One thing that Covid has really affected is student progress, and I think that the more we have to focus on their progress because of the gaps, the further away it feels like we can be creative and really dedicate time to doing things outside of those core [subjects], the mornings feel very protected. (Interview with Phoebe, Art Lead, 06/10/21)

Phoebe sounds conflicted about having to prioritise student progress over creative experiences. It indicates that creative subjects and core subjects are understood differently by Phoebe (Ofsted, 2018); the pandemic probably has affected student progress in creative subjects too but this is not recognised as a need.

Some teachers interviewed openly disagreed with the prioritisation of core subjects over others. Afsa explains advocating for completing an art project but being told this was not possible,

We were going to do an art project actually that was run by Goldsmiths University that's called FridayFact... it was an art project that there were lesson plans for, and it linked to sugar, and it linked to slavery, and it looked at the role of the River Thames through looking at her [Holly Graham's] art... That, we didn't end up using because we were planning to do it in that term [spring 2021], and then it wasn't really something that could be done remotely. And then when we returned to school [March 2021], I argued for it still to be done, but it was felt that we needed to focus on more academic subjects... (Interview with Afsa, Generalist Teacher, 27/09/21)

Afsa is unable to decide to engage with this art project. This suggests a lack of agency in what she is able to teach, a kind of managerial professionalism (Sachs, 2016). The contents of the project are interesting. As well as offering the children access to art, the project touches on local history and themes of slavery, which may have been helpful to have support with following the Black Lives Matter movement and work to decolonise the curriculum. This was a topic that Tate were interested in, and chapter 9 addresses one of their steps to support teachers with this. Afsa also indicated that the lesson plans, something Tate does not normally provide, were useful.

In some schools, it seemed that art no longer had a regular space in the weekly timetable, the consistency of art's place in the curriculum had not been maintained, and it had been moved to 'special days'. Julia describes setting aside several days for an art project,

When the children came back, there was just a hive of all sorts going on in school, trying to get as much learning done as possible. So, the last three days of school we actually dedicated to the rest of the [HMS] project. (Julia, SLT, focus group, 23/09/21)

Julia's description locates the HMS project outside of 'learning' that had to be done (similar to Joanne's 'brain break' and Kelly's 'extra stuff'). Many of the teachers I interviewed had these special days. Although art days or weeks may be additional to lessons, it suggests that art may not receive a significant amount of time in the classroom and that teachers do not consistently consider art and design 'learning'. This was surprising given that all the teachers interviewed had a common purpose around art shared by their schools (see chapter 6, pp. 145-147).

Not all schools removed art from the regular schedule; some schools also focused on wellbeing needs (Moss et al., 2021). For some teachers in the study, art could be used not only to address wellbeing and support communication skills but also other priorities such as core skills. Brooke, an art lead, felt that art could be used to teach the core skills,

They've missed a lot of spelling, their writing, their maths, their core subjects. But actually, you could still achieve that through art in another way. We are very much at the moment still like the children's wellbeing, their talking, their communication

skills, again, art can help that as well, and I think that's why it's so important that more time is spent on art in schools because it can address so many curriculum, so many things rather than just what some people think, drawing, painting, because it isn't just that. (Interview with Brooke, Art Lead, 07/09/21)

Brooke's focus was on academic skills alongside the school's other priorities, wellbeing and communication skills. Her belief that art can support more than just intrinsic skills, and can help pupils to learn in academic subjects, supports their inclusion in the timetable; it is also a view commonly found in the sector (e.g., Cultural Learning Alliance, 2017a). Her approach acknowledges the social and emotional impact of the pandemic rather than just the academic (Harmey & Moss, 2021).

Only on one occasion did a teacher refer to 'catching up' directly relating to art knowledges and skills. The art specialist teacher, Scott, explained that he felt that because of online teaching and his having to cover for absent colleagues, children had missed out on skills related to art and design. Perhaps this was an increased priority as his focus was only on the subject.

Engaging with cultural organisations: 'my computer was off'

Following both lockdowns, engagement with arts organisations had not returned to normal. However, there was some contact.

One school employed an artist in residence. Violette described using an art experience as a special treat for Year Six pupils, recognising that it had been a difficult period,

So our PTA [Parent Teacher Association] paid a... graffiti artist to come in and do some workshops with the children and then collect all of their designs and actually spray paint the front of our school with their design... but that was funded by the PTA, not by the school. (Interview with Violette, art lead, 04/10/21)

It is interesting that Violette emphasises that it was not something the school would have had the funds to pay for; it was possible only because the PTA had supported it. Another arts partnership Violette had been involved in before the pandemic and had hoped to pick up in this period had not been able to restart as the arts organisation no longer had the funding in place. Violette's experience highlights the double whammy for art education of

both her school's restricted budgets as well as a local arts organisation having limited funding (Easton & Di Novo, 2023).

Other schools reintroduced excursions to cultural organisations or were planning for their reintroduction. A final stage for this 'back to normal' for several teachers was the reinstatement of trips. Julia explains, 'I'm thinking of how we can get back into visiting cultural places,' (Julia, SLT, focus group, 23/09/21). Violette describes how supporting external visits to cultural organisations was part of her action plan for art and design. Rather than thinking differently about trips, for example, doing them online, teachers were looking to return to 'normal'.

One of the teachers, Hattie, expressed a strong reluctance to continue to engage with digital experiences in this return to normal as she felt that young children did not need more screen time. When asked if she continued to use any of the digital resources made available during the pandemic now that she was back in the classroom, she replied,

Well, not once we were back [I didn't continue to use digital resources]. Once we were back in then, my computer was off. We really weren't using the big screen at all for the little ones. Maybe that isn't true for key stage two, but certainly, when Year One came back, I was not using... no, I wouldn't have done that, no, whereas we did do some art, we did link to art galleries sometimes when they were at home. But no, once I was back in school, no, honestly, but we'll go on trips this year. We'll go to real places so that... Not to say that we wouldn't ever do that, but no, when we first got back, that wasn't a thing that we were doing, no. (Interview with Hattie, Generalist Teacher, 29/09/21)

For Hattie, the digital is not as good as an in-person visit. Hattie's view perhaps links to wider concerns and evidence about the negative effects of screen time on young children (Hale & Guan, 2015). Additionally, studies have found that teachers feel that a balance between digital and non-digital activities is important (Ventouris, Panourgia, & Hodge, 2021). Having had a period of digital saturation, Hattie may feel children need a different focus. Hattie's opinion is also in line with the cultural sector's hesitancy to fully replace live experiences with the digital (Kidd et al., 2021).

In this chapter’s final section (C), I argue that the teachers’ beliefs in art education, the rhythms of engagement and practice differ from those of the GECOP. I use the example of the pandemic to establish that the groups had distinct beliefs and ways of doing things that made collaboration harder.

C. The rhythms, actions and barriers of the pandemic for primary teachers and gallery educators

This final section of the chapter will explore how the experiences of the teachers who participated in the study shed light on the relationship between primary teachers and the gallery education team during this period. Although the teachers clearly recognised the value of engaging with cultural organisations as important, this did not result in consistent collaboration between the two groups. Figure 7-2 shows the four phases of art teaching in primary schools in the pandemic.

Throughout the pandemic, the teachers I interviewed believed the joint enterprise of art education had increased in importance to support children’s social and emotional needs, which arose because of continuous disruption. The wider school community shared the

Figure 7-2 - diagram of different phases of engagement during the pandemic

	First Lockdown (Mar 20 – Sep 20)	Interim period (Sep 20 – Dec 20)	Second lockdown (Jan 21 – Mar 21)	Back to ‘normal’ (Apr 21 onwards)
Ways of teaching	Online (with some children in school) Not following curriculum Lack of access to digital devices an issue	Back in school with restrictions	Online and some children in schools. Teaching (almost) full curriculum	Back in school with restrictions until Sep 21, no restrictions following this
How art was taught	To support wellbeing of children As a ‘brain break’ Creative projects Lack of resources an issue	Some big school projects to support wellbeing	Return to normal curriculum Children in school able to do lots of creative activities	Initial focus wellbeing then focus on ‘catching up’, concerns about core subjects take time away from art
Use of cultural organisations	Lots of resources – shared with parents in hubs or in other ways Limited direct projects	Some projects, not able to come into school	Fewer resources from cultural organisations Some unmet needs Some online projects	Some projects Visits to museums / galleries will continue External visitors allowed

belief in the value of art education. A strong joint enterprise activates a CoP and coordinates actions (Wenger, 1998). Particularly in the first lockdown, the deep-seated joint enterprise was matched by creative learning experiences for children and young people. The teachers described successful art activities when children could reflect and be creative. There were moments when the whole school community came together around an art experience.

Nonetheless, even the art-interested teachers who participated referred to art as a 'brain break' or 'extra stuff', in other words, something outside of the 'real learning' (which they considered the core subjects). The teachers seem to have internalised the belief that art is not 'real learning' (Lilliedahl, 2022). Several government policies have formalised this distinction between subjects (EBacc, Progress 8), although Ofsted have tried to redress this imbalance (Ofsted, 2019, 2023). In perceptions of student ability (Grujters & Kurian, 2023), internalised beliefs affect how a teacher carries out their job; this may be the case here too. In some examples, the understanding of art as outside of 'real learning' bled through into the teacher's practice, where experiences with art happened on particular days. The acceptance that art was not 'real learning' was not held by all the teachers I interviewed; art specialist Rebecca described telling a colleague that it was not okay for a child to be removed from the art lesson for an intervention. She felt that this betrayed her colleague's attitude that art was not 'real learning'. She disagreed and ensured that the child remained in their art class.

The gallery educators had a markedly different attitude to learning than some teachers expressed. They understood the learning that their programme enabled to be more important than some of the other learning school provides, which one gallery educator described as 'check-mark based' learning. The two different perceptions of learning, art (not) as 'real learning', had ramifications as to when and where art activities could happen. As well as different beliefs, the two groups had different rhythms of action.

Primary teachers had different rhythms of activity during the pandemic to gallery educators (chapter 5), creating a disconnect. Throughout the pandemic, primary teachers were required to respond to the changing context and provide art learning. Schools struggled to keep up with government priorities and policies as the situation changed quickly (Fotheringham et al., 2021). As the pandemic progressed, the activities of the parallel

PACoPs became restricted as other learning experiences took priority. However, the teachers described continuing to teach art in the spaces they could. The gallery education team experienced the pandemic differently.

The gallery education team spent the first part of the pandemic (1 in my analysis) reflecting. They did some small things, like an e-bulletin and collaboration with Tate Kids on live videos. However, most of their time was spent managing the team and exploring possible ideas, many of which never came to fruition. This is the first period teachers indicated was freer and when they could engage with cultural organisations. By the time the HMS resources were emailed in autumn and spring 2021, schools had moved on to a different phase (2 & 3) with a stronger focus on curriculum and 'catching up' lost learning. Although the gallery education team still found some affinities with schools in this period, it is possible that they would have found more during the earlier period.

Underpinning these different rhythms of action were different practices. Schools focused on action and quick responses, whereas the gallery education team had a reflective practice. The reflective practice sought to understand the new context in which they were working. However, as this chapter has demonstrated, this was continuously changing and hard to grasp (something recognised by gallery educators). By the time that the reflections had been discussed in the team and turned into an action, the primary teachers had moved on. Differently, teachers did not have the choice about whether to do something or not. Teachers described a lack of agency in other areas too.

Several teachers experienced a lack of agency in decisions relating to what to teach. The first lockdown (1) was described quite positively by some teachers who felt free from a restrictive curriculum and able to provide opportunities that they deemed were beneficial (including arts experiences). However, as the pandemic continued, individual teachers were not responsible for decisions which were taken by middle, senior leaders or across multi-academy trusts. Several teachers were not able to directly respond to the individual needs of their classes, even though the pandemic had different impacts on different groups of children (Moss et al., 2021). The teachers' lack of agency is consistent with a managerial form of professionalism (Sachs, 2016), where teachers are positioned to uncritically follow directions or instructions. This created a dilemma for the gallery educators. The teacher

participants in the study were central in the PACoPs. However, the gallery education team recognised that often an individual teacher was not going to be able to make a decision about whether to use a resource or not (further explored in chapter 10).

CODA

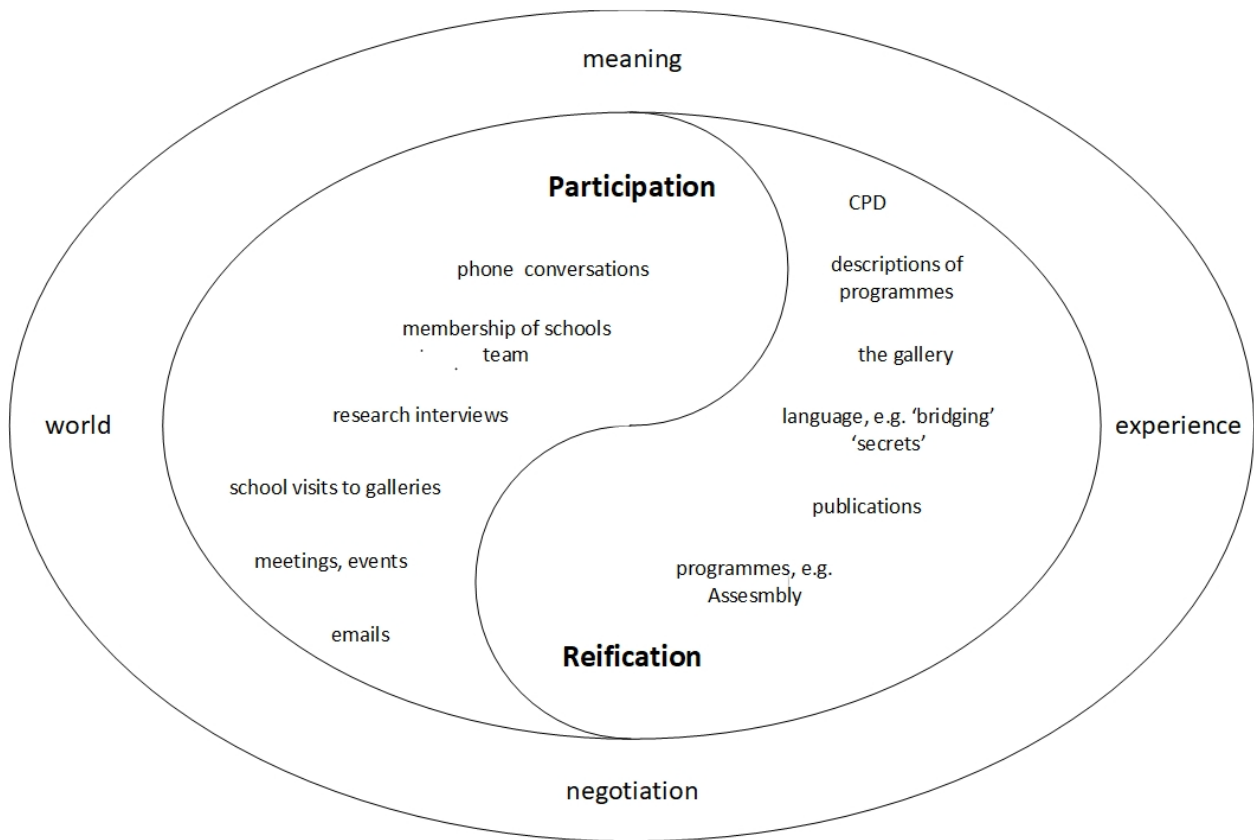
This chapter has detailed how the pandemic increased the importance of art education for teachers due to its perceived wellbeing benefits for children. However, opportunities for mutual engagement varied throughout the period. At times, particularly later in the pandemic period, teachers' needs and desires from cultural organisations were not met in the same way as earlier in the pandemic – this both related to how they were able to engage and what cultural organisations were (able to be) offering. In an environment of increased pressure, teachers hoped to return to partnerships and schedules of visits to different arts and cultural organisations. The engagement, practice and activity of the primary art community of practice was different to that of the gallery education team.

Chapter 8 - Negotiating the relationship between the gallery education practice and schools: 'going beyond' or responding to the curriculum

The gallery education team recognised differences between how they did things and what happened in primary schools. Chapters 5 and 6 established that the two different communities of practice (CoPs) had distinct values and ways of doing things; chapter 7 used teachers' descriptions of the pandemic as an example of how the different ways of doing things impeded collaboration between the gallery education team and primary schools. This chapter demonstrates that the gallery education community of practice (GECOP) did not share a homogenous opinion on how best to approach these differences. Those newer to the practice on the periphery, largely the visits team, thought the GECOP should respond to teachers' requests, such as working by a theme or providing a curriculum outcome. However, for those at the core of the GECOP, this would compromise the difference of the gallery education practice from schools. During the research period, I observed that this was an active topic of discussion in the gallery education team that was reified in the term 'bridging', implying something needed to happen between the two practices. The reification of 'bridging' affected how the gallery education team approached projects during this period. 'Bridging' was, in turn, reified in practice in the Hear My Story (HMS) digital resources and the Arts Reach Project (ARP) (explored in chapters 9 and 10).

'Bridging' was a slippery reification which was subject to an ongoing negotiation of meaning from within and without of the GECOP. In CoPs, *negotiations of meaning* happen through a continual process of participation and reification in relation to experience and the world. Reifications are abstract concepts made concrete, in verbal concepts (like bridging), but also in documents and programmes. Negotiations of meaning are ways that communities learn and develop practice (Wenger, 1998). This process does not invent meanings, nor is the meaning there waiting for discovery; Wenger tells us that, 'The negotiation of meaning is a productive process, but negotiating meaning is not constructing it from scratch. Meaning is not pre-existing, but neither is it simply made up,' (p.54). Figure 8-1 shows this process in

Figure 8-1 - diagram showing participation and reification in the negotiation of meaning, adapted from the duality of reification and participation diagram in Wenger (1998, p.63)



the GECOP. The diagram is adapted from one by Wenger and illustrates the duality of participation (meetings, phone conversations, emails) and reifications (CPD, publications, programmes) in the GECOP. These happen in tandem and within the wider world and the experiences that the team bring to the CoP. This active process forms a negotiation of meaning, where different meanings are constructed, defined and challenged.

Wenger (1998) says that meanings (generated through negotiations of meanings) sit within an 'economy of meaning' where different meanings have different values. Wenger indicates negotiations of meaning as closely connecting to positions and status within CoPs; they engage with 'ownership' (Wenger, 1998). Negotiations of meaning may affect someone's belonging in a CoP.

This chapter cites data from interviews with the gallery education team. Particularly their responses to a question about how the programme interacts and responds to teachers and schools (appendix 2 is the interview schedule for gallery educators). This is the wider purpose of gallery education (Rinaldo & Guhin, 2022). The chapter also uses interviews with

teachers to illustrate their interpretation of how the gallery education programme responded to their expectations.

The chapter has three sections. It starts (A) by briefly reprising the literature on two different groups coming together to collaborate and the literature on partnerships between the arts sector and schools, before detailing the gallery education team's understanding of how this happens. The second section (B) presents different perceptions of the relationship between what the gallery education team do and what teachers do. During the pandemic, gallery education team members at the periphery and the core and teachers who encountered the practice shared experiences, stories and perspectives that defined and redefined the reification of 'bridging', contesting and shaping its meaning. The section describes the gallery education team members' different understanding of their relationship to schools and teachers. The final section (C) summarises the process of the negotiation of meaning for the gallery education team, noting it as a stressful process that destabilised the gallery education team, creating a push and pull on the gallery education practice.

A. Bridging: two groups collaborating

School-art partnerships are an established practice. Chapter 3 detailed the literature that has examined different aspects of them. Although prevalent and significant benefits of collaborative work have been identified (e.g., Burgess & Addison, 2007; L. Cooper et al., 2011; Pringle, 2007), there are challenges (e.g., Herne, 2006; Kind et al., 2007; Low & Proietti, 2021). In particular, the encounter between artist or art-based practices, which tend to be flexible and process-driven, and school practice, which is concerned with outcomes and requires planning, can create tension (e.g., Eckhoff, 2011; Galton, 2010). Therefore, some organisations have found ways to better work together and academics have identified how this 'work between' happens. For example, the TALE research explored how 'cultural broker' teachers are responsible for bringing experiences with cultural organisations back into the school (Thomson & Hall, 2018); in other projects, an extended discussion between both groups has made this transfer possible (Galton, 2010). 'Bridging' is the term the gallery education team chose to describe their relationship with schools.

The need to 'bridge' the two practices arose because the team recognised the differences between them. They had different discourses, languages and ways of doing things (chapters

5 and 6). Rhythms of working too were different; chapter 7 describes how teachers' working patterns during the pandemic differed from that of the gallery educators.

'Bridging' was described to me by various members of the team as retaining the practice but developing how it is communicated in schools,

[What] we have talked about quite a lot in our programme is that it's not about changing everything we do, it's more like being able to communicate why what we offer is useful or how it can help them [teachers], or how it can link to what they do at school. (Interview with Lottie, Assistant Curator, 13/05/21)

To assist with this work, the gallery education team employed a primary art consultant, Nadia. Nadia acted as a broker into the primary art community of practice (PACoP).

As this chapter explores, the definition offered by Lottie was not the only one present in the gallery education team. The following section details various perspectives on the reification 'bridging' that contributed to the negotiation of meaning.

B. Perspectives on the relationship between schools and the gallery practice

The gallery education team and teachers often told stories that shaped 'bridging'. These perspectives contributed to an ongoing modification of the understanding of the relationship between gallery education and schools within the gallery education team. The following sub-section (1) details how teachers exterior to the GECOP also commented on it. Teachers told stories that described a gap between their practice and the gallery education team. The following two sub-sections argue that the visits team (2) found communicating the programme challenging as teachers often asked for something different to what was on offer. The core (3) understood this but thought the difference was essential to maintain.

1. Teachers' perspectives of the practice: 'I don't know what they're doing...'

Teachers had different responses to the gallery education team's pedagogical practices. Some teachers were confused.

During the research period, in interviews and events, I frequently heard teachers describe a sense of perplexity about how the gallery education programme was relevant to their classrooms. In the following section, I have included a series of longer quotations from Kelly,

a senior leader who was also an art lead at a primary school with a strong reputation for the arts. Kelly had studied Fine Art and had her own artistic practice – she was knowledgeable about and interested in contemporary art. Kelly described her perceptions of the Tate programme from her participation in the teacher group Common Projects and her school’s involvement in Assembly (a large-scale event where schools were invited to ‘takeover’ part of Tate Modern and participate in various activities), which her colleague had attended. She describes her colleague’s experience:

We did that [Assembly], but I think it perplexed the teacher who went along a bit; she was a bit like, “I don’t know what they’re doing,” because it’s more outside of the box and the cards that Tate have that, like “use your voice” or “use your...”. If you’re not, I can imagine as a teacher, they want a clear, “We’re learning about this. I want XY and Z,” and then suddenly it’s the children are shouting in the gallery about the artwork, and they’re like, “They’ve been asked to do this?” I think it’s a bit too outside the box sometimes for a lot of teachers, they can’t quite see how it’s relevant or something. (Interview with Kelly, Senior Art Lead, 17/09/21)

Kelly’s story points to an issue with understanding an approach inspired by contemporary art; the boundary encounter (Wenger, 1998) between Kelly’s colleague and the art museum had not been particularly successful. Her colleague was puzzled about what the point of the experience was. The experience in and of itself was not enough; there needed to be a learning outcome or even a rationale for taking part. Although this teacher had a lukewarm experience of Assembly, it was an event that produced strong photographic images frequently used by Tate in press and promotions, reifying the practice successfully for the gallery educators.

Other teachers were more comfortable with the Tate approach. Although Kelly’s colleague wanted clear outcomes, it is important to highlight that some teachers, for example, Matt, who is quoted below, were comfortable with the gallery education team’s nondirective approach,

I did help organise some similar sessions [artist workshops in the galleries] for other classes because I was like, “We’ve had a great time; go and meet another artist and

have a great time yourself,” but they [colleagues] would ask things like “So what are we going to do?” and I would just be like, “Well, you’ll find out when you get there.”... I quite like that open-ended structure because it made me feel less stressed because I knew that once we got there, there was plenty to do. But I can understand why other teachers mightn’t think that way. (Interview with Matt, Generalist Teacher, 16/09/21)

Matt was comfortable not knowing what his class would be doing; however, he highlighted that his colleagues needed more convincing. His confidence perhaps stems from his comfort in the gallery space, ‘there was plenty to do,’ other teachers may not share this. We know teachers lack confidence in art (B. Cooper, 2018), this may extend to working with galleries. It is a stressful experience to take a group of children to a large, busy gallery; therefore, it may have been beneficial for Matt’s colleagues to be able to plan more. ‘Not planning’ could be construed negatively within schools.

Interestingly, Kelly’s experience with the broader programme is perhaps more in line with Matt’s colleagues. She highlights the gallery education programme’s lack of connection to the ways of thinking and doing of primary teachers; she had looked at artist workshops but chosen not to attend:

I’ve looked at the list of [school] workshops [at Tate] before, and, not that they’re not matching the national curriculum, of course, they are in terms of skills, but in terms of, they’re not thematic in a way that other galleries are, you’re doing a Viking topic...

So that’s why the art week, I try and do things and think, “Okay can we do something that’s a bit more outside the box? A bit more different to what teachers might usually pick.” But also, I do try to encourage people to do art school trips and not just history-based ones and things like that, but it is tricky when you’ve only got one school trip a half term or something to be able to pick that. But the practical ones are really good; we’ve done ones at the V&A before... I think teachers do love doing creative things, it’s just trying to work out, “Can I go... can I link this to what I’m teaching?”. Because often, we will say, “No, you can’t go on a school trip if it’s not

linked”, because we used to just say... yes to everything, and then you end up being out of school for so long, and you miss a lot of learning, and I’ve done this amazing experience but actually can we justify it? (Interview with Kelly, Senior Art Lead, 17/09/21)

Kelly indicates a need for any cultural experience, even in a school that values the arts, to have strong explicit links to the curriculum and what is happening in the classroom; the gallery education team’s programme appears to her to fall outside of this. Kelly describes being out of the classroom too often as missing ‘a lot of learning’, showing a particular conception of learning, perhaps as linked to knowledge or skills (her description of themes, also found in chapter 7). Her view is different to what gallery educators consider learning. Gallery educators see value in being with art, which is a potential opportunity for young people to learn about themselves and their peers (chapter 5). This is not to say that the teacher would not see value in this, too; it is an ‘amazing experience’ but not necessarily ‘learning’. These comprehension issues and different practices mean that sometimes Tate gets overlooked for trips to other places with more direct links to the curriculum. It is worth noting that several teachers I interviewed said that a project did not need to be immediately linked to what they were studying, although it was easier if it did (chapter 6). The teachers who did not require an explicit curriculum link felt that they were normally able to make the connections between the visit and what the children were learning themselves. However, they were also happy to do something because it was a ‘brilliant opportunity’. The quote from Kelly also demonstrates teachers’ time pressure, with only a few trips allowed. The Sutton Trust (2023) suggests that time for external trips is decreasing.

Throughout my research, I found examples of this disconnect between cultural offers (not only Tate) and primary school classrooms. One teacher, Afsa, spoke about a gap between the CPD from arts organisations and the classroom,

But when it comes to actually making it easier to teach art, we’re given the theory, we’re given the knowledge, or we’re given somebody else’s knowledge about how to teach art well... Like we had one last week that was run by Art Museum B. And it was really interesting. It was about looking at paintings and how to look more closely and find out contextual clues and stuff, and it was interesting, but there wasn’t really a

solid link to how you would do that in the classroom. Also, something that I feel is an issue with my school's approach, and this is nothing to do with the people that have delivered the CPD, is that we get a lot of it about different things, and then we don't get given any time or resources to actually implement it. (Interview with Afsa, Generalist Teacher, 27/09/21)

It may be that Afsa lacks the pedagogical expertise to take the knowledge gained in the CPD and use it to develop and sequence lessons. Ofsted has identified that curriculum development is a skill lacking in teachers (Ofsted, 2023). Afsa's lack of time is additionally a barrier (The All-Party Parliamentary Group for Art, 2023). However, Afsa's experience is also another indication of a gap between a cultural experience and the classroom. Some cultural organisations do seem able to achieve aspects of professional development successfully. For example, the Royal Shakespeare Company provides professional development teachers can take into the school (Thomson & Hall, 2023). Still, some cultural organisations struggle to make experiences relevant to the classroom, the element stressed by the DfE (2016), getting practice into the classroom, which is understandably crucial for teachers. For Kelly and Afsa, something is missing between what is on offer and the classroom.

To address this gap, Kelly had to do considerable work to make her own experience in a Tate programme apposite to the classroom. On a personal level, Kelly's participation in the Tate programme Common Projects (a regular teacher discussion group led by artists) had been positive. However, she had had to work hard to make a connection between the programme and the school space,

I really enjoyed the Tate Commons Project, and I felt there was one particular one that was really moving. Just in terms of me being involved in it, it was just such an enjoyable experience. And to have those connections and we were being creative, we were developing our own minds and creativity, but then it was like, "How do I translate this back to school?" It's a bit harder to grasp what it is to transfer it, and I had thought about doing some of the activities in a staff meeting, perhaps, and I didn't end up doing that. I think the pandemic hit, but I think I was planning to maybe do something as a creative starter or something because I lead a lot of CPD at school. But then what I did was I did use some of it in our training for the conceptual

art week theme we had. So, I did a trial session with some children and filmed it and then used that to show the teachers an idea they could use. And one of them did actually use that idea. (Interview with Kelly, Senior Art Lead, 17/09/21)

For Kelly, the success of her Common Projects experience, from her role as someone responsible for the arts, is another teacher using the activity. Kelly describes what she does in the gap between her experience on the programme and the classroom as ‘translating’ back into school. As a reification, the gallery education team’s practice, as found in Common Projects, needed teacher work to ensure it could be brought into the classroom. For the gallery education team, the work around ‘bridging’ had arisen because they had identified that teachers were finding translating experiences into the classroom hard, i.e., the gallery educators did not do the ‘translating’ themselves. Other cultural organisations may do this for teachers by providing lesson plans. Given Kelly’s experience and knowledge about art, her difficulty translating suggests that teachers may need more support than Tate provided.

Although this sounded like a positive experience, Kelly went on to describe what may be even more beneficial for teachers,

They [teachers] want the practical, “I can do XY&Z” rather than, “This is how you think creatively”, and then I’ve got to actually think creatively to try and apply it, which I think is a wonderful life skill but in terms of giving teachers what they need in terms of skills, that’s not as helpful...

I mean, lots of places do offer skills-based workshops, don’t they for teachers, and I think it may be something that combined both, it was like, “Here’s some skills, but you don’t actually need to have these skills specifically if you can think about applying yourself in a creative way or getting the children to think in a different way,”. So maybe something that’s a bit more, “This is how you can think creatively, or these are the questions you propose to children, these are the outcomes that you could have. It doesn’t have to be a concrete outcome, it could be a...” something like that because I think Tate could do that very well, but it’s just tailoring it a bit more [so] that it shows what the outcome is of that, that they can take back, how to do the process of thinking. (Interview with Kelly, Senior art lead, 17/09/21)

Kelly proposes something in between what Common Projects provided and what teachers want/expect. It would reorientate what the gallery education team does, not just 'bridging'. This offer would support the teacher with the translation/thinking. There are other organisations which offer things similar to what Kelly suggested, such as Access Art's curriculum³⁰ or CPD sessions run by art education consultants.³¹ These are notably organisations whose entire purpose is art education rather than arts organisations, therefore, 'translating' is less necessary.

Kelly expresses a different expectation of CPD from what the gallery educators offered. Kelly highlights a focus on skills and knowledge not found in the GECOP but essential to teachers (DfE, 2013). She expects that CPD transfers or supports the production of knowledge about a particular skills-based approach (DfE, 2016). The gallery education team sought transformative learning (Kennedy, 2014), wanting to connect with the person, the teachers' beliefs and attitudes (Desimone, 2009). Kelly indicates that her personal experience in the Common Projects did connect to her personal beliefs. She found one session 'moving' but still expects some connection to pedagogical content.

The following sub-section details the visits team's perspectives on the issues raised by the teachers.

2. The visits team's perspective: 'a disconnect'

During interviews, it was clear that the visits team had become familiar with stories like the ones Kelly and Afsa referred to. The visits team, seeing their role as responding to the needs of teachers, expressed their disconnection from the gallery education programme, feeling that although they were communicating the programme to teachers, they did not necessarily align with its actions and pedagogical foundation. Therefore, they found their roles as brokers, sharing the programme to teachers exterior to the practice, at times difficult, as Jessie, one of the visits team explains,

I think the trouble that we've had... I mean, this isn't all the time, but I think in the past, I think the way the curatorial team works [the core of the programme], or in

³⁰ <https://www.accessart.org.uk/primary-art-curriculum/>

³¹ For example, the Primary Art Class <https://theprimaryartclass.com/planning-a-primary-art-curriculum/> or Paul Carney arts <https://www.paulcarneyarts.com/art-training-courses>

any institution, not just Tate, but I think there is obviously a disconnect between the development of programme and how it is communicated directly to the audience, and most of the time the curators don't directly interact with the audience, so I think, like you said, that bridging has always been left to us to do, and it's been left for us to interpret what the programme is. The problem is, is that because we don't really get to see it because we're doing our own job, I think in the past, there have been some issues around wanting more direction and more clearer communications from people in the team so we can effectively do our job for teachers. (Interview with Jessie, Schools Bookings Assistant, 27/05/21)

Jessie's identification of the gap between the programme and the audience, which they have to fill in a broker role they call 'bridging', focuses on questions of knowledgeability. Knowledgeability is the language and practice to operate in the broader landscape of practice (Omidvar & Kislov, 2013). The visits team questioned the knowledgeability of the core team (curators) as they did not have direct experience with the audience. Jessie also highlights that they understand their role as 'for teachers'.

However, the issue of bridging was not solely related to communicating the programme for the visits team. The visits team also noted a disconnect between what the teachers wanted and what the programme offered, closely relating to Kelly's comments. Jessie continues,

But the problem with that is, if it's left too vague or it's left purposefully vague that isn't always what teachers want, most of the time it's not what teachers want, so I think now we've had discussions about making things clearer, but I'm not sure if that stemmed from us moaning about it, or if it's coming from a genuine shift in perspective from the team due to the conversations we've had over the past year. (Interview with Jessie, Schools Bookings Assistant, 27/05/21)

Jessie highlights that teachers often want something clear relating to the dominant pedagogical models in schools (Hall et al., 2007), whilst what is on offer is nondirective and responsive to the people who attend (and, therefore, 'vague'). For Jessie, the issue is not only about a lack of knowledgeability of the school context impeding communication, but

the experiences themselves (created by the core team who lack knowledgeability) are characterised as being outside of teachers' requirements.

The visits team's doubts about how the programme responded to teachers were topics of conversation happening in the GECOP. Two members of the visits team, Frankie and Charlie, queried why the core team would choose not to share the content of a particular workshop that engaged with Kara Walker's (b.1969) *Fons Americanus*, the Hyundai Commission at the Tate Modern,

Frankie: So, for example, we had Kara Walker workshops, which were workshops that were happening at the same time [as] our normal artist-led workshops were happening at Tate Modern, so that, these were extra ones... So, I called them, when I put the dates on [the website], I called them 'the Kara Walker workshops' because all of the workshop was about that. The artist [leading the workshops] was specifically focusing on that. But we were told not to communicate that was what the workshop was about. So for, but for us, it's like...

Charlie: Why?

F: One - why? Two - the teachers would appreciate knowing what they're going to be seeing. It's the work of a Black artist, it's important to comment on that, celebrate that, talk about that. There were lots of things I felt were necessary for teachers to know that we could have told them. But because of the idea that teachers, and you do notice, teachers want you to work by theme, or they want you to work by something that they're studying, and what our team want to do is bring you away from the curriculum a little bit, so they want to bring you away from like... they want to be able to engage with that but in a way which isn't so structured and stringent and so they don't want to project what a workshop could be because there's so many outcomes. And that conceptually as an idea is really nice, but you can't do that to people who aren't necessarily ready for that, so you have to communicate at least what that is. (Interview with Frankie and Charlie, Schools Booking Assistants, 28/05/21)

My early induction to the programme also suggested that removing details about individual workshops made it easier for the gallery education team to react if an artist was unexpectedly unwell or groups had to be swapped around for some reason. Teachers would not be disappointed if they did not receive the advertised workshop. In this example, Frankie was able to (accurately, according to Kelly) identify why it would be helpful for teachers to know the workshop's content because teachers like to know or work by theme as well as it being important to celebrate a Black artist. Frankie also pre-empts the core team's response to the issue. Even though Frankie is aware of the core team's position (and that of the wider team), they feel able to challenge it, citing the teachers' opinions to back them up, indicating that their view on its own is perhaps not enough. The conversational exchange between Frankie and Charlie suggests it is something they had talked about before. There was ongoing negotiation (Wenger, 1998) within the sub-group of the visits team.

The final group involved in the negotiation of meaning of the reification 'bridging' was the core of the GECOP, the more senior roles, mostly curators. They were aware of the perspectives of teachers and the visits team; however, they felt the gallery education programme's purpose was to move participants beyond what they know and be different from schools.

3. The core's perspective: 'the something else was really valuable'
As the visits team indicated, the core team were not necessarily unaware of the issues they and the teachers had raised. However, they valued the difference gallery education could offer from schools. The core team drew from different stories and experiences to reaffirm their approach, as Jodie explains,

We'd often do a tiny bit of benchmarking with something like the summer school³² where we might ask about expectations at the beginning and then again at the end, and what was incredibly common for CPD, in particular, was, "No, it didn't meet my expectations," and either they might describe having their expectations surpassed, or just that it wasn't that, it was something else, but the something else was really

³² A weeklong teacher programme, led by (an) artist(s).

valuable, and our feeling is that if you ask kids what they want, they can only tell you what they know and likewise with all adults.

And so often, we are for ourselves and for our audience trying to go beyond what is known and to hold the space of not knowing in order for that to be filled and always or almost always, that is picked up and commented on and responded to and that is a positive thing. (Interview with Jodie, Curator, 04/06/21)

The teachers are given experiences outside of their current knowledge; therefore, it is difficult for them to have expected outcomes before the experience. Although in some programmes, e.g., the summer school (a weeklong teacher experience), there was time to explore how the contemporary art-led pedagogy related to learning, this was not discussed or communicated to teachers in shorter CPD experiences (although it could have been). Longer-term experiences are more beneficial in both teacher learning (e.g., Cordingley et al., 2015; Desimone, 2009) and art-school partnerships (e.g., Burnaford, 2007; Thomson et al., 2014). Discussion of the experience of offer has been found to be necessary for a pedagogical transfer (Galton, 2010), suggesting that this is something the gallery education team should prioritise in shorter experiences.

The core of the gallery education team knew that teachers often looked for connections to what they were teaching but felt that what teachers 'really wanted' was what they were offering,

You know that question about if we become more like a school for the ease of a teacher wanting to access art and so that takes out a number of barriers around getting, say like, a senior management team to agree to go on a visit or come to a workshop or whatever, or take part in CPD, and that might be about... listing outcomes and making things very 'slotinable' to the curriculum or even connecting directly with the curriculum.

But I suppose for me, there's something about how when you actually have a conversation, I feel that often when I have a real conversation with a teacher, they might say that. So there's always that sense of, like, "Oh well, it would be easiest if there was a worksheet that we could just use and give to the kids," but that you

often, when you really talk about what a teacher might think that art could do, a lot of things that we are offering through our practice, you know, it's almost like I feel like there's something where we, it's how do we support teachers to be able to reflect on what it is that they might want from coming to a gallery and be bold and brave with it, to stay with it to some extent. (Interview with Rachel, Curator, 23/05/21)

Rachel describes the practice as moving beyond the curriculum (described in a slightly mundane term, 'slotinable'), which teachers agree with but do not necessarily have the opportunity to do. The curator shifts the focus to supporting teachers to engage with the programme as it is and supporting teachers to take the risk to do so, i.e., the bridging is this support to teachers.

At times, rather than going beyond the curriculum, gallery educators described 'resisting the curriculum' (Interview with Cara, Curator, 23/05/21). 'Resisting the curriculum' is a political stance – wanting to offer something more than the curriculum provides. Literature has found artists can want to abstain from elements of schools, which they may perceive as a dominant ideology being implemented (Kind et al., 2007). Of course, although this reluctance creates a binary between the curriculum (as something to be resisted, 'slotinable') and what the gallery education team does (something aspirational and bold), there are spaces in between (certainly occupied by some of the teachers in the study and organisations like AccessArt). However, for the core gallery education team, the issue was not what was on offer.

The core team located the issue in the joint enterprise, referring to the potential of what art can do. This research found that teachers have similar beliefs in the potential of art as Rachel, a curator, recognises, although with different emphases. However, the core team failed to address that teachers and the visits team located the issue in the gallery education team's shared repertoire, particularly the nondirective pedagogical approach (understood in its broadest sense, Leach & Moon, 2008). It was integral to the core that teachers 'not know' (Cocker, 2013) what the experiences they participated in would be to allow for them to occur organically. Some teachers found this stressful. The core team also did not address

that teachers found it challenging to take these experiences back into the classroom, something essential to the teachers.

The core of the gallery education team sometimes responded to questions about and discussions of 'bridging' by locating 'bridging's' origin in the world of the CoP, exterior to the GECOP. For both the periphery and the core of the gallery education team, the pandemic had brought attention to the difference between school and gallery education practices. The core team understood that the context of the pandemic, the world, had brought the relationship between the practice and schools to the fore. A range of circumstances had come together to centre this issue. However, for the visits team, the pandemic felt like a long-awaited consideration of and reflection on something that had been an ongoing problem within the GECOP, 'I think, had it [the pandemic] not happened, I think maybe there wouldn't be such a drive to connect with what they [teachers] want potentially,' (Interview with Jessie, Schools Booking Assistant, 27/05/21).

Ongoing work with a primary art consultant, Nadia, who had experience with the programme as a teacher and had identified a gap between what the team were offering and primary teachers, kept 'bridging' present in the GECOP. She introduced not only her own perspective, but a broader range of perspectives from working with different schools. For the visits team, the presence of the consultant, who supported their opinions, was significant, as Jackie explains,

I think this is a whole conversation that we've had with Nadia because she would understand our viewpoint a little bit more because she's been a teacher herself. Whereas the curators might imagine a mindset of one kind of teacher, but so many teachers are very different in how they work and what they expect from Tate. (Interview with Jackie, Schools Booking Assistant, 27/05/21)

For Jackie, the consultant's role as a primary teacher and their alignment with primary art communities of practice (PACoPs) made her a helpful addition. Jackie contrasts Nadia's viewpoint with that of the core team's imagination; they feel the core team find it difficult to create an accurate perception of teachers' practice through limited means and lack of time spent connecting with teachers. Jackie is perhaps suggesting that teachers who engage

with the core team (for example, in CPD) do not represent all teachers. This aligns with the team's recognition that they were not engaging with a broad range of teachers and steps to address it (continuing to work with generalist teachers following Year 3, addressing the lack of global majority teachers who accessed the programme). Most teachers engaging with the programme pre-Year 3 were secondary art specialists. However, the core of the team did not carry the consequences of this limited experience of teachers through to their perceptions of what teachers needed. The core focus remained on the corollaries of the pandemic.

For Jodie, a senior member of the core team, there were questions about whether the consultant, Nadia, had drawn attention to the issue at a time when the gallery educators did not have the opportunity to see the practice in person, meaning they could not see the benefits. She then says that this was potentially necessary,

And so we have had a, you know, a year and a half where we haven't had those moments of the end of a summer school or the end of a study day or the positive evaluation form. We've been working on Zoom with people under acute pressure, not being able to bring their young people to a moment of difference where we, how we bridge... that tension now and how we move forward is probably the biggest conundrum we're facing.

And working with Nadia has been a key part of that, and I think, I don't know, I think we will get there, but I think, I wonder if working with Nadia through no fault of her own, but through this particular set of circumstances has sort of shone a bright light on it, and but maybe that's necessary in order to understand what the knitting together needs to be. (Interview with Jodie, Curator, 04/06/21)

The phrase, 'shone a bright light on it,' suggests that different things have drawn attention to the disconnect between schools and the gallery education team.

Jodie also highlights the difficulty of not seeing the programme's outcomes in the form of positive responses and not being in the gallery space to experience the benefits; this is also true for the teachers. In the gallery, you can see what the programme does and see it in

action, whereas, without those moments, it was felt that the value of the practice was difficult to establish,

I think what's happened is that that tension is just much more starkly felt without the gallery in the mix. So if that argument that you're [the interviewer] talking about is about us not being formal education, not being experts in formal education, but actually working from the premises, a museum, and you know, a building full of stuff, we feel that what we can do is add value and that we want to work with teachers to do that, rather than replicate a system that they are expert in and that happens outside of the museum space and what we can afford are the objects, the space, the general public, the politics, you know, and everything that the artists bring to that space. And I think when that, when we are working in the gallery that, the tension might be there, but the balance is better because you can see it in practice, you can feel it. (Interview with Jodie, Curator, 04/06/21)

Jodie argues that the programme's value comes from its difference from what teachers can do, an argument developed by Anna Cutler, previous Director of Learning at Tate,

I have spent time in what we call formal education (that is, in universities and in schools), as well as in informal learning environments (such as youth groups and cultural settings). What I can say, without hesitation, is that these environments are not the same. A university is not a youth club and a school is not a gallery. (Cutler, 2010, para. 4)

Cutler argues that cultural organisations can provide something different to schools that comes from the difference of the space. The gallery educators strongly felt that what they could do was different because of this different setting and professional set of expertise (gallery educator, not teacher). Artists working on the programme offered different ways of doing things to teachers (Pringle, 2002). Instead of directly responding to the needs of teachers (as the periphery understood their role to do), the core sought to do something different, 'rather than replicate a system that they [teachers] are expert in,' (Interview with Jodie, Curator, 04/06/21). Without the different material space [the galleries], the difference of the practice was harder to maintain.

Removing the material gallery from the programme also had further implications for the renewed focus on the relationship between what was on offer and schools. Whereas before the pandemic, visiting the gallery had been a draw of the programme, potentially linked to cultural capital and getting out of the classroom into a different space (e.g., O'Hanlon et al., 2020), Tate's draw without the galleries was not the same. The assistant curators noted that in the move to digital, Tate had to work harder for a schools audience; the Tate brand seems to have done some of this work for gallery educators when the galleries were open. With the galleries closed, there was less to differentiate the gallery education team's offer from other arts organisations or even teachers producing resources. Although this is speculation, as I did not engage with many teachers who had not used any Tate-branded resources, teachers may have been attracted to things that directly spoke to what they were doing. Teachers were more drawn to organisations or parts of organisations with an established digital offer (Walmsley et al., 2022), such as Tate Kids, which did see a rise in user numbers during the pandemic. They identified some of these users as teachers. It is possible that coming into this new market without the galleries' prestige shifted teachers' emphasis to what was on offer.

The final section of this chapter (C) argues the process of the negotiation of meaning challenged the maintenance of the CoP. This created a push and pull on the practice during the research period, which had implications for the programme.

C. 'Bridging': negotiating meaning in a community of practice

The reification of 'bridging' was shaped and reshaped through teachers' experiences of the programme, the visits team's experiences of talking to teachers about the programme and the core of the team's experiences of running programmes. They all contributed to stories and discourses within the team. The various perspectives brought varying experiences into the GECOP, resulting in a negotiation of meaning of 'bridging', a proxy for the relationship between the gallery education programme and schools.

The reification 'bridging' resisted definition in part because of a lack of a shared understanding of the gallery education team's responsibility and relation to teachers and their pedagogical approaches. The difference between the two practices was something that the GECOP recognised with different responses. For the periphery, they felt it was

necessary to acknowledge and lessen the difference between the two practices. For the core, this difference was central to the practice.

Simultaneously, the gallery education team held the expertise of teachers in high regard. Teachers often formed part of the 'system of legitimisation' in the negotiation of meaning (Wenger, 1998), which is why the visits team frequently referenced the experience of teachers rather than their own opinions when referring to how they felt the programme did not meet teachers' needs. That teachers were held in high regard but also requested things that were incongruent with the gallery education team's practice created a dilemma (rarely articulated during my observations) and points to misunderstandings within and between the CoPs, are cultural organisations there to provide something which schools can choose to engage with or not? Or are they there to serve schools' needs directly? The broader literature (e.g., Arts Council England, 2016; Black, 2012) and discourse more often suggest the former. Although 'gallery education' as a discipline is not known for embracing the curriculum (J. Graham et al., 2012). Nonetheless, it is unsurprising that teachers and the visits team assumed that Tate would offer what teachers requested.

The reification of 'bridging' held the different experiences and contradictions explored in this chapter. Bridging held the dynamic negotiation of meaning as it was an abstract use of a word – an open signifier – rather than something written down with a definition; it changed throughout the research period. It was (sometimes simultaneously) about:

- communicating the programme and its value;
- using language to make the programme more accessible;
- changing how outcomes are communicated;
- the maintenance of a 'curatorial ethos' inspired by artist practice without outcomes;
- supporting teachers to take (translate) the practice into classrooms;
- increased knowledge of the curriculum and the school community of practice (with support from a broker);
- making practice easier for teachers to engage with;
- resistance of the curriculum;
- holding teachers as experts and 'legitimators' of meaning;
- taking teachers (and young people) into an unknown space.

During the pandemic, the negotiation of meaning of 'bridging' was uncomfortable for team members. It unsettled the CoP. It created opportunities for slightly different practice (detailed in chapters 9 and 10). Power dynamics slightly shifted, with the visits team gaining more power.

The visits team felt that there were more opportunities to contest current meanings during the pandemic, the position of the definitions of meaning within the economy of meaning was changing, and theirs had increased value (Wenger, 1998). However, they were cautious about the lasting impact of change. The visits team were frustrated as they felt that their opinions had been ignored and not taken into consideration. The core team recognised this frustration and prioritised it.

However, throughout the study, despite recognising 'bridging' as important, the core team members indicated they were reluctant to radically change what was on offer. For example, the production of a PPT in summer 2021 'defined' the practice (described in chapter 5). The PPT reasserted the core position and, in the presentation and follow-up discussions, how other team members could contribute to it was restricted. Instead of changing what they did, the core sought to communicate the value of gallery education. However, doing this in a way that was accessible to the primary teachers was still a work in progress within the study time. The core's response potentially moved the members on the periphery to a position of marginality. When CoP members feel like they are having their opinions ignored, they move to a place of marginality, no longer feeling like they can engage with the CoP (Wenger, 1998, p. 190).

CODA

This chapter has established that the relationship between the gallery education team practice and what happens in schools was an active negotiation of meaning of the reification 'bridging' (Wenger, 1998), which came into being because of the differences between the practices of gallery education and schools. Teachers found experiences without clear outcomes challenging to take into the classroom and identified a gap between school and gallery practices. This gap was also identified by the visits team, who exhibited knowledgeability of the broader schools' communities of practice. For the core team, the gap was expected as they sought to bring teachers into unanticipated experiences. The

negotiation of meaning was particularly challenging for the gallery educators because the reification of 'bridging' held different, sometimes contradictory, orientations and approaches. The following two chapters will argue that this back-and-forth relationship between the gallery education team and schools manifested in the Hear My Story digital resource and the Arts Reach Project.

Chapter 9 - A step towards school practice: a digital resource

This chapter offers the case study of a digital resource, Hear My Story (HMS), as an example of how the gallery educators sought to 'bridge' their practice to primary schools whilst the art museums were closed. The digital resource was a new way of doing things digitally for the gallery educators, and it used language and approaches from primary schools. The changed mode of activity resulted from the ongoing discussion of 'bridging' within the gallery education community of practice (GECOP) and working closely with a broker to primary school practice. The digital resources were able to travel into schools where they were engaged with through the participation of teachers, facilitating a digital boundary encounter (Wenger, 1998). Therefore, the digital resources can be understood as boundary objects (Star, 2010; Star & Griesemer, 1989).

Boundary objects can facilitate boundary encounters between two different communities of practice (CoPs). A term used for various objects, they facilitate interactions, can be talking points and can enable collaboration (Wenger, 1998). They can be produced by the CoPs or not; for example, a painting could be a boundary object for gallery educators and teachers (Herne, 2006). Boundary objects work well when they are able to work across different CoPs. They have interpretive flexibility and allow groups without a consensus to work together (Star, 2010).

The HMS boundary objects enabled the gallery education team to engage with primary teachers. However, because they employed more approaches from the primary school CoPs, they were not objects of difference. I have established the difference of gallery education was something the core of the GECOP were keen to maintain (chapter 8). Consequently, the resources did not create the same friction in teachers' responses as other gallery education programmes did. However, as this chapter will demonstrate, it also limited the boundary objects potential as objects of change as teachers incorporated them into their own approaches.

The chapter draws from observations of the HMS project team meetings, which I attended in the last third of the project (Mar – Aug 21). I also present findings from interviews with teachers who used the HMS resource (table 6-1, shows who the teachers were).

This chapter has four sections. Section A offers the aims and more details about the resource. Section B focuses on the gallery education team's practice producing the resources. It will show how the gallery education team worked iteratively, aiming to incorporate teacher feedback into their practice. However, this was challenging. During the development of HMS, the team also worked with a broker, a freelance consultant with expertise in primary schools, to better understand how the boundary object would operate in the classroom, introducing new elements of practice. Section C then presents findings on how the boundary objects operated in primary schools. The section evidences that the values and ethos of the boundary objects were shared across the different CoPs, indicating that they served as visionary boundary objects (Kubiak, Fenton-O'Creevy, et al., 2014). However, how the resources conveyed the pedagogical approach of the gallery educators could have been more effective as teachers interpreted it in different ways. In the final section (D), I discuss the boundary objects' ongoing impact on both of the CoPs.

A. What was the Hear My Story resource?

Many cultural organisations significantly increased their use of digital resources during this period to support teachers with home learning (ICOM, 2021). Digital resources have the additional advantage of being relatively low-cost and reusable; they can reach many teachers and do not rely on visiting a particular space. Therefore, they were useful tools for gallery educators to connect with schools during the pandemic.

Beyond only connecting with teachers in this period, the gallery education team hoped that the HMS resources would *do something* in schools, act as a boundary object that would support children and young people, as well as influence teacher practice. At the same time, the gallery education team sought to learn more about how their approach worked in this digital landscape.

There were three significant aspects of the resources which formed its ethos and values.

The resources:

1. Referenced predominantly global majority artists; this was part of the gallery education team's response to the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, and this rationale was explicitly articulated to teachers;

2. Were designed to centre and value young people's experiences and culture as a way to assist them in processing the tumultuous pandemic period; one team member described them as 'reparative' (Interview with Rachel, Curator, 23/05/21);
3. Connected to ongoing conversations within the team about valuing and celebrating the cultural backgrounds of all young people. It asked young people to tell their own stories.

The gallery education team were aware that Tate asking for children's stories could be done in an exploitative way. In an interview, Helen, a curator, told me that they had spent a long time thinking about and discussing what it means for Tate to send out this resource and how to frame it (Interview with Helen, Curator, 27/05/21). The team deliberately used a framing device that shifted the perspective from Tate onto the young people's cultures.

The HMS resource is a set of four digital emails, including PDF activity sheets and links to resources on artists. Two recorded videos accompanied the first three emails to support the use of the resources, one which spoke directly to the children and one to the teachers. Appendix 8 is an extract of the first resource. The gallery educators described creating the HMS emails as an 'editorial practice', as, in addition to the activity sheet, content from different areas of the website or other websites was brought together in the email. Many of the artists referenced were in Tate's collection, and nearly all were contemporary. The resources were emailed to all Year 3 schools throughout the academic year 2020/21.

The location of the boundary encounter departed from the usual GECOP practice. Whereas boundary encounters would typically happen in the gallery, these boundary encounters were happening in schools and classrooms. The team, 'saw it as a privilege to be able to enter the classroom as so much of the experience is normally centred around the gallery. This also enabled a different starting point for the activities, with the young person as opposed to the artwork,' (field notes from meeting with two Assistant Curators, 02/03/21).

Many cultural organisations produced digital resources during the pandemic period; however, it was a challenging way to engage teachers. Teachers suggested that the market was oversaturated and that they needed help sorting through the vast number of resources available (Walmsley et al., 2022). For cultural organisations without an already established

digital presence, digital resources were underused by teachers and families (Kidd et al., 2021). My interviews with teachers (chapter 7) suggested that teachers were experiencing increasing pressure to return to teaching a full curriculum and address core subjects; concurrently, they were aware of the social and emotional impacts of the pandemic. Although it is difficult to tell the exact number of teachers who used HMS, responses to surveys and interactions on social media suggest that the number who engaged with the resource was relatively small compared to the larger group it was shared with, perhaps fifteen out of 1,540 schools. However, all the teachers I interviewed used it across the school, meaning that most schools planned a whole school project. It reached a significant number of pupils and had an impact at a school level, whereas the gallery education team had largely engaged with individual teachers.

The following section demonstrates how the gallery education team produced the HMS resources. It details the iterative approach taken and how teachers were perceived to/actually did inform the ongoing project. The final sub-section explores how a primary art consultant, a broker, informed practice.

B. Practice in the creation of the boundary objects

This section demonstrates that the team sought to work iteratively with teachers informing practice. However, teachers' availability and the team's time to stop and reflect impeded this. Additionally, where teacher feedback was welcome was limited to practical elements of the resource (not the pedagogical approach). As the desired reflective practice was not fully functional, a broker, a freelance primary art consultant, played an important role in creating a resource that held elements of school and gallery education practice.

An iterative approach informed by teachers

The rhythms of engagement in the production of the resources are a good example of the gallery education team practice; the pace of work on HMS was fast and iterative. The project started with aims and an ethos (detailed earlier in this chapter), without a firm plan. Development work on the project began in summer 2020. The project then ran through the academic year 2020/21. The digital resources were emailed throughout the academic year (20/21) to flexible deadlines. In the period I observed the meetings, Mar 2021 – Aug 2021, there was a continuous fast-pace of work, which only slowed in the school holidays (mid-July onwards). When creating the resource, the gallery education team worked individually

or in small groups; this production was punctuated with weekly meetings of the project working group (a group of five staff members, which three of the schools booking assistants joined when they returned from furlough). These meetings acted as spaces to update the group on the progress of certain aspects of the project, to make decisions about how to proceed and, at times, to do work, e.g., wording an email (example in chapter 5).

One teacher noted the iterative practice. An art lead named Violette felt the resource lacked direction; she would have liked to have known what the outcomes would be at the beginning,

Because it was stop-start because it was in dribs and drabs, I wasn't quite clear on what exactly the children were meant to have by the end, and I didn't know the timeline about when everything was due. And what we were even meant to do with it when we'd finished? Where was it going?... I don't know if perhaps that was me, just not having time to fully digest it... so I just tried to make the best out of each part, at each time. (Interview with Violette, Art Lead, 04/10/21)

The gallery education community of practice's (GECOP) working methods were visible to teachers through the boundary objects. Violette went on to ask me if she had misunderstood or whether the approach was deliberate. This is an example of Violette positioning me as an insider (Dodworth, 2021) with the gallery education team and assuming I would know the answer to her question. At the time, I explained the lack of initial outcomes in the resource to Violette as relating to the context of its production, the impact of furlough and staff reductions, rather than the gallery education team's working process. Although this context impacted HMS' development, I also recognise(d) that this was a deliberate practice. Reflecting on why I responded as I did, I did not think Violette would understand why the gallery education team were taking this approach, which is so different from how teachers work. I made an assumption informed by my insider knowledge of schools and teachers.

Although Violette struggled to understand the approach, most paramount for the gallery educators was the desire for the resource to speak to the needs of teachers (and, therefore, the young people). The obvious way to do this was to talk to teachers about the resource

directly. Early in the project, the gallery educators felt that they had frequently received feedback as my notes from a meeting in March 2021 with two team members recall,

They noted that after the first HMS resource pack, they started to get more feedback from teachers on how they were using the resource. They wondered whether this was because the resource was digital, and they were asking for feedback in digital... (Field notes from meeting with two Assistant Curators, 02/03/21)

This feedback had lessened by the time I joined HMS meetings later that month. Nevertheless, the perceived need to be talking to teachers had not reduced.

The desire to connect with teachers was in part spurred by another team, the digital team, who had encouraged the gallery education team to consider what they knew about how the resource was being used; my notes from a HMS project meeting record a conversation about a meeting with the digital team,

They [digital] really questioned how the team knew how things were being taken up. The [gallery education] team are aiming to emulate how Tate Kids had conversations with teachers and did surveys. They said that they would allocate one of these [project team] meetings to discuss the evaluation. They [digital] suggested 'agile working' where you do sprints, then evaluate before doing the next sprint. The [gallery education] team felt that this was similar to how they were working anyway, just more formal. (Field notes from HMS project team meeting, 30/03/21)

The digital team, part of the landscape of practice (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2014) of the wider art museum, introduced a slightly new focus to how the GECOP were working. At different points in the project's development, team members suggested getting in contact with teachers, as my field notes show, 'Bella questioned whether there was a time for pausing and talking to teachers in the process of the project...' (field notes from HMS project team meeting, 23/03/21). However, reaching out to teachers did not happen until the end of the project when a survey was emailed (summer 2021), and teachers were interviewed in the following term (autumn 2021) (which forms part of this research too). Although the desire to talk to teachers resurfaced at various points during my ethnography, the day-to-day pressure of producing the resource (and the display that took place

concomitantly) took precedence. Rather than sprints with time for reflection at the end, I observed continuous high levels of work. Ad-hoc feedback, for example, teachers sharing something on Twitter, also reduced as the year went on – this may have been due to the increased pressure on teachers (identified in chapter 7).

However, there were also limitations on how teacher feedback could and would change practice. When creating the survey at the end of the project, the gallery education team did not want to include open questions like ‘What would be useful from Tate?’ as they worried that the organisation may not have the resources to meet requests. The feedback that had already been received had indicated that knowing learning outcomes was essential, which was not something offered in this resource; not everything was open to be changed. Other literature suggests artists can perceive school practice as irrelevant to their own learning (Chemi, 2019). During the research, the limitations of where teachers’ input would be welcome or not were never articulated. However, I never heard a desire to have input from teachers into the pedagogical approach. There was particular interest in having teacher feedback on practical elements, and how the digital resources were used in the classroom.

The practical information about how teachers would use the resource and the digital nature of the project meant that it could be more flexible in responding to the developing situation in schools (a benefit of working iteratively). The reality of how a teacher would receive the resource, down to the smallest detail, was considered. This is where the opinions of teachers were valued. Would teachers prefer a PDF or PPT file? Were teachers teaching online? This was to get teachers to use the resource, ‘Bella said it was about “How do we get them to do it?”’ (field notes from HMS Project team meeting, 20/04/21). The teacher imagined by the team was a generalist teacher, following on from Steve McQueen’s Year 3 (which predominantly worked with generalist teachers). This close consideration of the teacher’s role differs from other cultural sector projects where their teachers’ positions can be limited or overlooked (e.g., Christophersen, 2013).

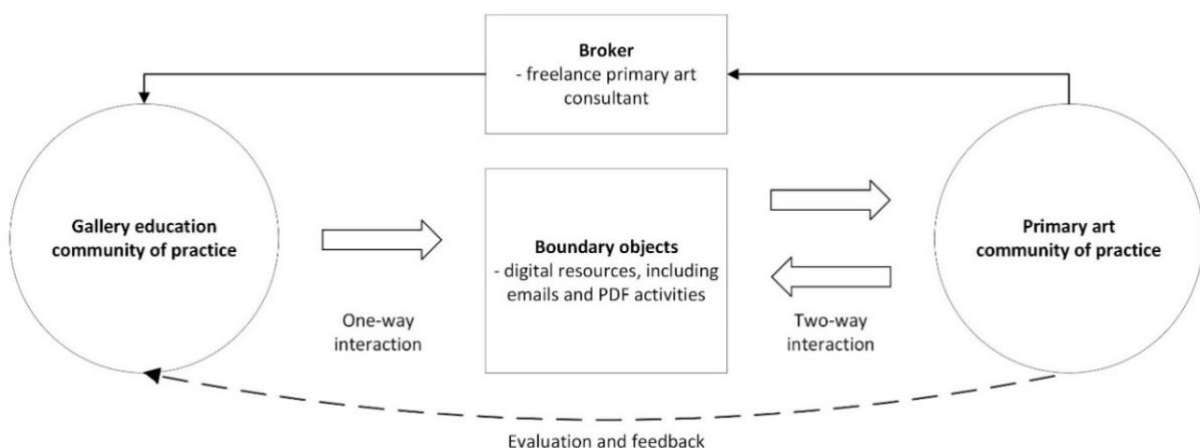
Given that so much work went into this aspect of the resource, it is surprising that when interviewing teachers who had used it, I often found myself being asked questions about it. One, already cited, was about how it was shared and whether the approach was intentional. I was also asked whether more resources would be emailed; another teacher asked why it

was so hard to find on the website (it was not on the website). These questions all point to misunderstandings and that the teachers did not feel particularly held by the project when encountering the GECop. Boundary encounters are most successful when both CoPs can participate, and the learning is not just travelling in one direction (Wenger, 1998), which it seemed to do in this instance; the teachers had no direct contact with the gallery education team.

The HMS practice created a boundary encounter with unequal participation between the two CoPs (figure 9-1). The gallery education team desired an evaluative, reflective way of working; however, it was not fully functional due to the team’s and teachers’ capacity (as well as the gallery education team only welcoming feedback in certain areas). The lack of teacher engagement and participation was addressed by working with a broker to learn more about the primary art community of practice (PACoP) (expanded on in the next sub-section). However, the boundary object, the emails and PDFs were the only way teachers were able to engage with the GECop. Although this could be interpreted as a transmission model of delivery, as a boundary object, the digital resources had interpretative flexibility (Star, 2010) and were interpreted within the primary CoPs, which will be expanded on later in the chapter.

Working with a broker and Hear My Story as a ‘bridge’
 With a lack of feedback from teachers, the freelance consultant the team were working with, Nadia, acted as a broker between the GECop and primary teachers, ‘brokers work at the boundaries of the landscape, building connections between different practices,

Figure 9-1 - diagram showing HMS as a boundary encounter



introducing practices from elsewhere and facilitating cross-boundary experiences,' (Kubiak, Fenton-O'Creedy, et al., 2014, p. 81). Although able to operate across different CoPs, for the gallery education team, it was Nadia's knowledge of the PACoP that was particularly of value; her suggestions were often discussed and frequently implemented,

Nadia had felt that collage would be a good activity as teachers may not be that confident. Nadia talked about how evidencing progression in this might be quite difficult for teachers normally. Abigail highlighted the steps in the pack were there to support. (Field notes from HMS project team meeting, 30/03/21)

Nadia was able to validate the teams' ideas or suggest her own. Her role practically bridged the GECOP practice to teachers. Throughout my fieldwork, I found Nadia's input had formed critical elements of the project, 'It was interesting to hear that the question that shapes the email was a concept introduced by Nadia,' (field notes from HMS project team meeting, 22/06/21). Nadia suggested using a framing question as it was a way primary teachers often work. The boundary objects created by the gallery education team incorporated elements of the school CoP in ways that had not been done before in the GECOP. The resources used words like 'challenge', had a section for keywords (not directly connected to the curriculum), which linked to things that teachers might be doing in school and the activities were structured around 'lessons'.

Simultaneously, there were still vital elements of the GECOP, for example, the Donna Haraway quote, 'It matters what stories make worlds, what worlds make stories,' from *Staying with the Troubles* followed the framing question in each of the four emails (Haraway, 2016). Of course, the aim of the resources was to introduce new and different ideas (which the quote did). However, I found the lack of contextualisation of the quote confusing. Although I could guess why the team had chosen the quote and how it related to the digital resources, I was unsure about it and imagined some teachers would be in a similar position. This suggests the outsider part of my insider-outsider status in relation to the gallery education team. I raised my feelings about the Haraway quote with one team member who felt including references to intellectual ideas was an integral feature of the

practice. The presence of two practices (GECOP and PACOP) in the resource was a form of 'bridging' for the team.

Having demonstrated that the creation of HMS was a new way of working for the gallery education team, which the team wanted to be informed by teachers but in practice was informed by a primary broker, the next section examines how teachers responded to the resource.

C. Teacher engagement with the boundary objects

This section argues that the resource was a visionary boundary object (Kubiak, Fenton-O'Creevy, et al., 2014), which facilitated its use in the primary classroom. As a boundary object, it was flexible and able to be interpreted by those who encountered it in different ways. Finally, the section demonstrates that although HMS proposed a pedagogical approach different to dominant school practice, this was not necessarily recognised by the teachers who used it. The teachers interpreted it into their own ways of doing things.

A visionary boundary object: 'it just fitted with our ethos'

The resources acted as visionary boundary objects (Kubiak, Fenton-O'Creevy, et al., 2014); teachers overwhelmingly described being drawn to the resources because of their themes and ethos, which are described in section A of this chapter, as opposed to the activities or the artists referenced (although these were important in their decision to continue using them). Visionary boundary objects share values across different CoPs; in this one, it was the centring of children's culture and identities. Some quotes from teachers who used the resource highlight this:

I think the whole identity thing and talking about, which is something that's very important to us at the moment, and we were looking at representing all our children and making sure that individuals are really heard and really celebrate their own culture. It just fitted in with our ethos and everything we were trying to achieve at that time... (Julia, SLT, focus group, 23/09/21)

It was about the children. It was very child-centred. It was very appealing to them; all the questions, all the topics were very important at that time. (Interview with Brooke, Art Lead, 07/09/21)

Well, there was an interesting quote from her [artist Joy Labinjo (b.1994)] in the Hear My Story resources about how art didn't have to be about something big and momentous, it can represent you and your family. And that's always the starting point that we try to use with everything because if we can't make something relevant to the children we teach, then it's harder to get them interested in it... And I do think no matter how much we try, a lot of the art we teach is still very 'white male historical art', just because that's probably what we know more about, and that's what there's a lot of resources for out there, but my school, I'm aware of trying to counteract that, and that was another thing that I thought the Hear My Story did really well because it featured lots of different artists from different backgrounds. (Interview with Afsa, Generalist Teacher, 27/09/21)

Notably, valuing children's identities and own cultural backgrounds were not referenced as new ideas introduced by the resource, but ones that already corresponded with beliefs and approaches present in the school, 'it just fitted in with our ethos...', 'that's always the starting point that we try to use with everything...'. The values visible in the resource, such as celebrating the children's own cultural backgrounds, centring and valuing their own experiences and referencing artists from similar backgrounds, resonated with the teachers, as they were values already present in the schools.

However, the GECOP felt they were providing a point of difference, particularly given the curriculum and Ofsted framework where an elite type of cultural capital is emphasised (Thomson & Hall, 2022); HMS encountered a different practical reality at a teacher and school level. Many of the teachers I interviewed were making concerted efforts to ensure that the artist references in their curriculums were relevant to the young people (Bates & Connolly, 2023). In this, they were working against the dominant canon and, as Afsa mentions, the majority of available art resources. For these teachers, any links with cultural organisations they made also needed to be relevant for their pupils. Teachers appreciated and noted Tate's efforts in this regard. However, the gallery education team were not introducing a new idea. This is an example of how the gallery education team's knowledgeability (Omidvar & Kislov, 2013) of the school landscape of practice was limited.

The resource's status as a visionary boundary object eased its use within the school day. It was not necessarily used during art lessons; its connections to PSHE enabled its use in other areas of the curriculum. Brooke used it as time to reflect and check-in with students, the 'reparative processing' (Interview with Rachel, Curator, 23/05/21) that the gallery education team imagined the resources would enable. Another teacher recounts a similar experience, 'They [the children] were so proud, some of them went on for ages. They were just talking, talking, talking [about an object from their cultural background],' (Sam, Generalist Teacher, focus group, 23/09/21). Sam's description of using HMS suggests that the resource enabled an experience that used digital materiality (Galani & Kidd, 2020), as indicated by the inclusion of objects. Both Brooke and Sam indicate that the visionary boundary object could be used in lessons other than art because it allowed children to process their experiences and share their cultural background through discussion. Funds of knowledge, originally seen as a way to avoid a deficit model when teaching Mexican children in the USA, argues that children's home cultural and social experiences and knowledges can be beneficial and should be embraced in the classroom (Hogg, 2011). Esteban-Guitart (2016) has introduced funds of identity which acknowledge, not only the home experiences, but the young person's growing and changing interests, friends and passions. Engaging with these funds are ways to build relationships for teachers. The teachers who used HMS embraced this aspect of the project.

Interpretive flexibility: 'it was just so adaptable'

The digital resources, boundary objects, were interpreted differently locally; this made them easy to use for teachers. Although Star (2010) suggests that the interpretative flexibility of boundary objects has been overemphasised, it is still an important feature. Interpretative flexibility describes how a boundary object allows meaning to be attributed to it by those using it. Whilst using HMS, teachers felt that they could easily adapt the resources,

I found it quite easy to fit in and to modify, even though all the plans were there, as a teacher, I could change it and adapt it when feeding it forward to other staff. Also, I felt that you could change it, make it as long or as short as you like. (Interview with Brooke, Art Lead, 07/09/21)

Other teachers shared this feeling, 'It was just so adaptable, and you could really extend it and think about that higher learning, but also it was very accessible,' (Julia, SLT, focus group, 23/09/21). An early years teacher described how they could make HMS work for their children, 'Obviously some of the stuff we'd adapt slightly. Use as inspiration,' (Farah, EYFS Teacher, focus group, 23/09/21). One teacher, Hattie, described why she felt that it was adaptable and possible to work across the school,

Because it didn't try to link constantly to key national curriculum objectives. It wasn't a skills-based project. It was more political, I suppose, in the way that it was shaped, so that made it easier to adapt to different year groups rather than it being an art project about something that is specifically something that Year Four are going to be looking at for their work, so in that way, it was open-ended enough. (Interview with Hattie, Generalist Teacher, 29/09/21)

Often, the advice given to gallery and museum educators is to maintain a connection with and respond to the curriculum (Arts Council England, 2016). However, Hattie says this resource was more useable across different year groups because it did not have a narrow connection to the curriculum. It did connect strongly with the overall wholistic educational aims and intentions of the school. Whereas the gallery education team, particularly the core, often presented a binary, either being dictated to by the (narrow, tick-box) curriculum or going beyond it (chapter 5), Hattie indicates that a third option that HMS achieved – relating to ideas and aims that were present in the school.

The following sub-section examines the pedagogy employed by the gallery educators in the resource and how they expected it may be different from how teachers typically taught. However, rather than being interpreted as an object of change, the teachers who used the resource interpreted it within their own primary CoPs.

Changing pedagogy: 'you might be used to working with a final piece in mind'
The resource aimed to enable schools to take a different approach to art teaching and learning, however, the resources were largely interpreted within the school CoPs. The gallery education team were aware that they were potentially offering something different to how they understood art was taught in schools, as a transcription from the video introduction to the resource for teachers shows,

This creative pack is going to introduce you and your students to the ways in which artists play and explore materials, experiment with ideas, sometimes without having a final piece or outcome in mind. We want your students to use either the home or the classroom like a studio space and work like real artists do... you'll see that the artists in this pack all experiment with ways of interacting with objects. They play with the objects, sometimes they speak to the objects, and they kind of play around with them with no final piece in mind. So, this might be a bit unusual for you and your students. You might be used to working with a final piece in mind, whereas these artists and these activities are all about play, exploration and experimentation. (HMS Digital Pack 2, Teacher Video, 2021)

The introduction indicates that the gallery education team expected this could be a different approach, one without 'a final piece in mind'. Beyond this brief reference in one of the videos, which was not watched by all teachers I interviewed about the resource, there was no further explicit articulation of the approach Tate expected teachers to take.

In fact, some of the imagery showed a different approach to artmaking. In one of the videos, the consultant, Nadia, is (accidentally) sitting in a classroom in front of a series of versions of a Claude Monet (1840-1926) painting, all looking very similar. The homogeneity of the children's paintings suggests that a teacher has modelled what they expected the children to do. A screengrab of this scene is used repeatedly throughout the resources without commentary. Reflecting on the project, a gallery education team curator questioned the impact of the image on the teachers receiving the resource as it was an approach they were trying to challenge (field notes, HMS project team celebration, 31/08/21). They worried it might be misinterpreted as being what Tate expected teachers to do with the resource.

The gallery education team wanted to facilitate teachers' engagement with the resource; however, concurrently, they were keen to avoid having a step-by-step activity where all children end up with the same artwork. In my meeting notes, I reflect that the team are treading a fine line between something easy to use and something that is 'colour by numbers',

I think there are... questions around how do you make things clear and simple, can be used by a generalist teacher who is seriously short on time and at the same time avoid it being something where the children (or through the teacher) just copy step by step. There seems to be a real tension here. (Field notes, HMS project team meeting, 09/04/21)

Although an oversimplification and a binary, one might consider two different pedagogical approaches were at play. One approach is teacher-led, with an expected outcome that the teacher knows before. The other is child-centred, where the child can lead and explore in their own practice. These are not dissimilar to what Ofsted (2023) have described as a convergent approach and a divergent approach, respectively. Taking a child-centred approach (although with prompts, like the work of artists) rather than being teacher-led was a pedagogical mode the gallery education team supported. This child-led approach is in opposition to some politicians, for example, Nick Gibb (2017), who have advocated for teacher-led approaches. However, for the GECOP, the resource was actually more didactic and instructional than previous materials they had produced. It was assumed by that making things as easy to use as possible would support more non-art specialist teachers using the resources. The inclusion of session plans and keywords reflected a practice shift influenced by Year 3 and working with the primary art consultant Nadia. It was a practical example of the reification 'bridging'; the resource used language familiar to teachers and was structured around lessons.

Although in comparison to other resources produced by the GECOP, HMS was notably more 'school-like', as a standalone resource, it conveyed a mixed approach. No teachers interviewed commented on this incongruity in the resource. However, there were mixed reactions regarding how it supported teaching (another example of the resources' interpretive flexibility, Star & Griesemer, 1989). For one teacher, Violette, who shared the resource with her own school and two schools in her trust, the resource did not provide enough instruction for less experienced colleagues,

When one of the other teachers from the other school planned it, it seemed as though they'd just snipped the pictures off the thing and didn't really know what the talking points were... It was difficult to transfer it from this information pack into

some kind of lesson with a clear structure, it was a challenge, and it meant that I had to really think about what I wanted the children to get out of the videos because they're nice videos teaching about artists, but some of the children didn't connect that to the fact that you can use your own heritage as... in teaching, we always talk about modelling, you need to show the children, so it was nice information, but it didn't necessarily resonate with them because... perhaps a video of somebody talking about their heritage whilst they're creating a bit of art, and then you could see how that goes from up here to on the page, would have made it... all that had to come from me, which I could do because I was putting effort into it and I've got that way of thinking with art. But I can imagine that the other teachers who were delivering it didn't, and it didn't resonate as much with the children as it could have. (Interview with Violette, Art Lead, 04/10/21)

The art lead teacher addresses the work required to broker the resource from the pack into the classroom. Even though the activities were structured around lessons, these had not provided sufficient structure for this teacher and her colleagues to pick up the resource and use it in a way Violette considered successful. Her reference to 'modelling' and 'delivering' suggests she was looking to take a teacher-led approach rather than the child-centred approach the resource intended to facilitate. The children, too, are accustomed to this teacher driven approach, 'it didn't resonate,'. Although some of the format and imagery of HMS suggested a teacher-led approach, it was inadequate to support this. As someone with experience in art, Violette could translate the resource into her own practice but she worried that other less art-experienced colleagues would not be able to. She did not notice that the resource is advocating for a different approach to the one she usually takes.

Another art lead shared how she, in fact, did planning for other teachers, again suggesting a more teacher-led approach. However, she also emphasised during the interview that the resource's child-centred approach had attracted the school to use it. Therefore, there might be space for something to happen between the two binaries.

Boundary objects have interpretative flexibility meaning that they can operate across different CoPs (Star & Griesemer, 1989); therefore, unsurprisingly, this was not the only interpretation of the resource. Hattie felt that the offer of a starting point without a

prescribed outcome was beneficial. Her professional approach was more in-line with Tate's own. She understood the resource as encouraging a different approach to ones that may be prevalent in primary schools, which can focus on reproducing certain styles or artworks. This teacher reflected on the approach,

I was also really aware that in the early years, the practice around creativity tends to be much better, children have huge amounts of time and space to be creative, and it's child-led, and that as soon as you're teaching the national curriculum, children are just producing imitations of canonical artworks where they have absolutely no control over what they're making, and it's just like 30 sunflowers. It's really unimaginative planning.

So I was hoping that we could move away from that, and Hear My Story was a really nice way of doing that because it was empowering and it was about children's own experiences rather than just looking at existing historical artworks and hopefully being inspired by them, but also not being allowed to be inspired by them and just sticking to these weird formulas [copying historical artworks]. (Interview with Hattie, Generalist Teacher, 29/09/21)

It is important to note that the national curriculum does not promote children copying artworks. Despite the boundary object conveying mixed messages in terms of pedagogical approach, Hattie still felt that it enabled different approaches through centring the young people.

Hattie later reflected that some teachers in the school had still created work that looked very similar when using HMS resources, whilst others had allowed completely free responses. When asked why she thought teachers may ask children to reproduce a canonical work, she responded,

I mean... until I was the subject lead, I don't think I did any professional development around arts between my PGCE and between last year. You know, there was six years in between, so it's not like you're given a huge amount of professional development in that area. I think there are certain ideas about things that children do in primary schools, and I think reproducing artworks for some reason is one of them, I have no

idea why, but that has sort of become a trope of primary school classroom teaching... And obviously, art history is part of the curriculum, and that's absolutely fine, looking at artists is absolutely fine, but I don't know why we do the imitating thing; it's really unhelpful, I suppose.

And then I suppose most other subjects that we teach, we usually have a really defined learning intention in mind, and we plan something that leads towards that point of hopefully a majority of the children achieving that learning outcome by the end. So maybe it's quite hard to let go of that a little bit.

...

I suppose maybe there's pressure for... evidence to look good in books, for a huge amount to be achieved in a really short time in foundation subjects, because they have such low status in the curriculum, so your whole morning typically in a primary school, is consumed teaching English and maths. In the afternoons, you've got to teach RE, history, geography, DT, art, music, PE. It's an awful lot to fit in, so if you rush those processes because you don't have time, that is really understandable because there's a huge curriculum to be taught just in afternoons, which is when children don't learn as well. (Interview with Hattie, Generalist Teacher, 29/09/21)

The reasons Hattie gives relate to other evidence:

- there is little art and design CPD, especially if you are not an art lead (The All-Party Parliamentary Group for Art, 2023);
- there is not a clear understanding of the role of art history and how it should connect to artmaking. Ofsted's (2023) subject review can be seen as providing support with this relationship;
- planning in other subjects is customarily done around a learning outcome (Hussey & Smith, 2002); this is 'imported' into art and design;
- there is pressure for things to look good, a result of accountability measures (Ball, 2003);
- a lack of time and priority is given to Foundation subjects (Ofsted, 2018; Whewell et al., 2021) which are done in the afternoons when children find learning harder.

Hattie's explanation evidences complex interactions of the subject art and design with a lack of professional development opportunities and interpretations of the political accountability frameworks (Ball, 1993).

The gallery education team particularly wanted to challenge the focus on working towards a pre-defined outcome, which may be the dominant approach in schools (Hall et al., 2007); however, the resource did not fully convey this expectation. That the resource represented a different approach to teaching art was not an area for reflection for teachers as they interpreted the boundary object at local levels according to already established approaches. Whereas the focus on the young people encouraged individual responses, some teachers still structured how young people responded or felt that they needed to (therefore understanding the resource as inadequate to support them to do this) and meaning that the children produced similar work. Participation happened within established school CoPs for the teachers, bringing into question whether a digital resource (reification) can change practice.

Having demonstrated that the resource was successfully embraced by teachers who used it and they interpreted it within the PACoPs, the final section of this chapter examines the ongoing impact of the Hear My Story digital resource on both the gallery education team and primary teachers.

D. The ongoing impact of the resource

Boundary encounters often result in learning for the different CoPs involved (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011); however, for several reasons, the resource had little identifiable longer-term impact on either group it encountered. This is despite it being very successfully received by most teachers interviewed and celebrated by the gallery educators.

Throughout my observations of HMS meetings, its future in the next academic year was envisioned. Change in job roles in the gallery education team meant that the position predominantly allocated to develop resources was not filled. A new digital role, which sits in between the digital team and the gallery education team, is exploring the comprehensive digital experience of teachers, how they engage with the website and the type of resources that are useful. Email correspondence in September 2022 indicated the potential for the resource to be returned to once this is completed; however, currently, it is not in use. It is

part of the team's development of their wider digital programme. Nonetheless, elements of the practice, such as adapting language for the school environment, have remained in other resources the team has produced.

For teachers, the ongoing life of the resource was a question of whether the resource would or would not be used again. However, teachers interviewed strongly identified it with the particular time period in which it was produced; only one teacher talked about re-using the resources. For most teachers, it would not have been possible to re-use the resource because they did not want to repeat activities. Teachers are keen to avoid repetition and enable progression, as chapter 6 demonstrated and policy emphasises (Ofsted, 2019). In addition, boundary objects often have a limited life span (Star & Griesemer, 1989), so it is not unusual that it was strongly associated with the pandemic period, notably as it directed itself to remote learning environments.

The gallery education team expected the digital resources to be an object of difference within schools (emphasising process over outcome, highlighting children's cultural backgrounds); however, only where the boundary object found these values and practice already in place did teachers successfully adopt it. Interestingly, in the teachers' engagement with the resources, HMS found a middle ground between providing limiting outcomes dictated by the curriculum and not engaging at all with the curriculum, demonstrating that the binary that the gallery education team envisioned was not the only possibility. However, none of the teacher participants indicated that they changed their values or practice after encountering the resource; where HMS met different teaching approaches, it was adapted to align with this approach. Even though the resource did not seem to provide this learning opportunity, the digital resources expanded the teachers' discourse. Some teachers indicated that they discovered new artists relevant to their students.

For more learning to take place, the GECOP could have further articulated their hopes for the resource in textual information and the content of the resource. The quote included in this chapter from the broker, Nadia, could have been highlighted and brought into the body of the email rather than sitting in a video. For Wenger (1998), participation with reification from *both* CoPs ensures more successful boundary encounters; teachers may have

benefitted from having an interactive session to introduce the resource (one teacher suggested this).

CODA

This chapter has conceptualised Hear My Story as a series of boundary objects that reified a slightly new 'bridging' practice for the gallery education team. As part of this practice, gallery educators were keen to incorporate teacher data in some areas to facilitate its use in the classroom. However, during the research period, this did not happen; this increased the importance of a broker who created a 'bridge' resource. The resources' ability to operate across boundaries as a visionary boundary object made them successful. However, pedagogically, rather than being an object of change, they were interpreted locally and incorporated into existing practice. To be more successful, participation needed to be reciprocal; the boundary encounters explored in the next chapter give examples of this.

Chapter 10 - Connecting, resisting, listening and returning: developing practice in boundary encounters

In this chapter, I give four vignettes of boundary encounters between the gallery education team and primary (art) teachers that took place as part of the Arts Reach Project (ARP), initially designed as a collaborative project with primary teachers, that developed over the pandemic. Adapted from field notes and, in some cases, transcripts of events or meetings, the vignettes demonstrate fundamental moments in the development of the gallery educators' relationship to schools. These chronological examples illustrate the push and pull on the gallery education team's approach from school practice and are described as: connecting, resisting, listening and returning.

Collaborative working is often cited as a way of ensuring projects meet the needs of community partners; it is a frequent way to work with teachers to ensure that projects address their needs (Kaszynska et al., 2023). Through this practice, organisations seek to benefit the communities they work with. For the cultural sector, it can be a way of ceding power and ensuring that what is produced is relevant to a wide range of communities (Lynch, 2011). It can benefit the museum or organisation as it gains access to new knowledge and audiences (H. Graham, 2011). However, it is recognised that it is a resource-intensive way of working. It is hard to address participants' different needs and requirements, as well as maintain a power balance (K. Thomas, 2015). The ARP encountered some of these challenges.

The first vignette details an online continuing professional development (CPD) session in which the team were keen to connect with different teachers and learn about their current realities. In the connection, the different expectations of what CPD is came to the fore. Teachers wanted something to bring straight back into the classroom, whereas the gallery educators wanted teachers to reflect on the pedagogical approaches underlying an artist's practice. In the second vignette, a steering group meeting challenged the gallery education team as they encountered schools' fixed practice; teachers felt unable to concede their schools' necessity to have firm plans and outcomes. This resulted in the gallery educators reasserting their position and resisting changes they felt compromised the project. The third vignette returns to close listening as it recounts a Reflection Session where the team facilitated ways to listen to teachers' experiences. Through this process, the teachers

translated learning from a CPD session into the primary setting. Finally, the fourth vignette describes the gallery educators returning to the first in-gallery CPD since the pandemic. In this return, some of the learning from the ARP project seemed not to be carried forward. The vignettes illuminate the gallery education team's complex relationship to school practice. Although the team wanted to connect and hear from teachers, they also resisted certain aspects of school practice and desired to maintain their different approach.

I have theorised these moments as boundary encounters. The gallery education team's own theorisation and modelling of these relationships took the form of a triangle, in which they did not feature. They positioned themselves as curators of an interaction between artist, artwork and audience (chapter 4, figure 4-1). However, in my theorisation of these encounters, I document a bilateral relationship between the gallery education community of practice (GECOP) and the audience (in this case, predominantly teachers from the primary art communities of practice - PACoP) in which artists and artworks are boundary objects. This allows me to understand the gallery education team as active agents in the encounters (figure 3-2).

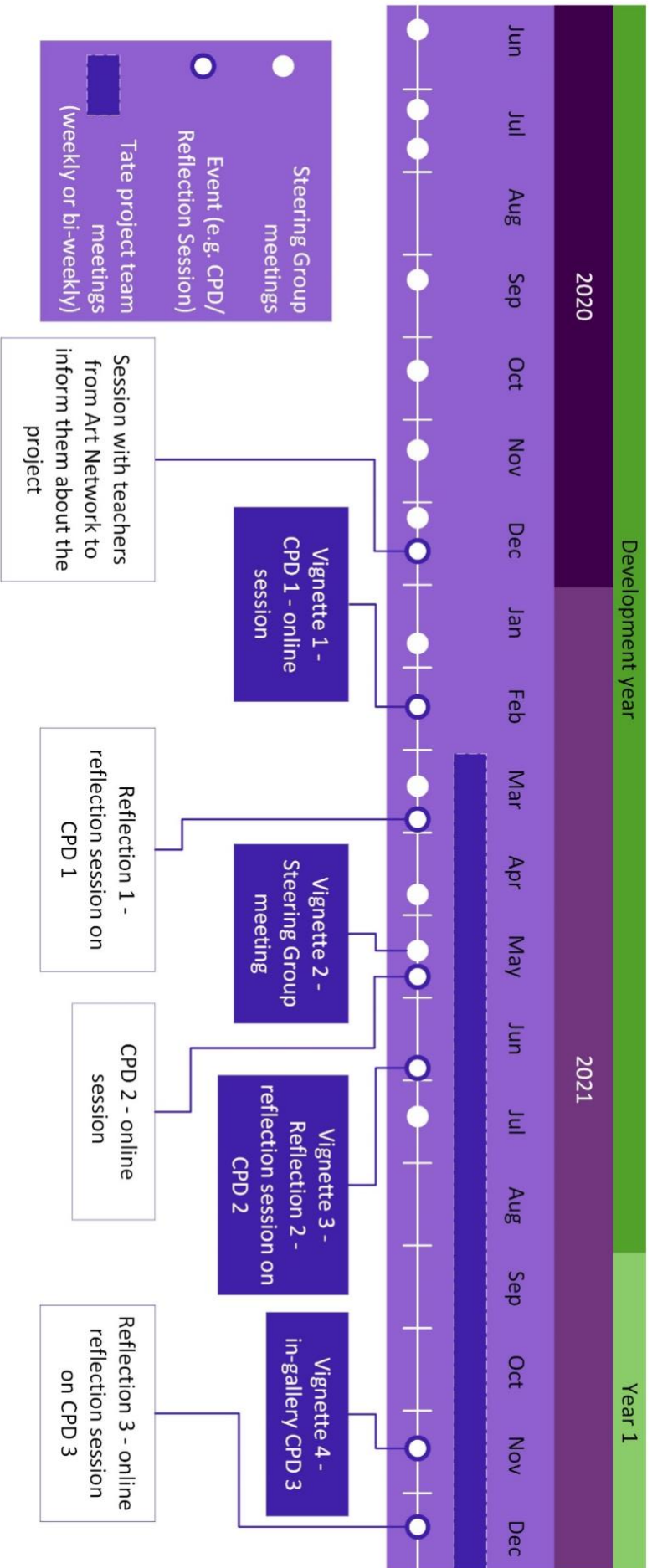
This chapter starts with an introduction to the project (A). It then has four vignettes (B), each followed by analysis. The final section (C) analyses across the four examples.

A. The Arts Reach Project

Following other projects that the gallery education team had been working on (chapter 1), the ARP had been developed and planned pre-pandemic to build on the TALE research and Steve McQueen's Year 3 project. However, the project's development year did not start until summer 2020, during the pandemic. The ARP developed iteratively, starting with speculative conversations between what became a steering group for the project. Figure 10-1 gives a timeline of the project events. The steering group included two primary art leads (one who ran a primary art and design network), a Director and Project Manager from a Teaching School Alliance (TSA), members of the gallery education team, an academic critical friend and me. The TSA brokered the relationship between the schools and the gallery education team.

The project examined the research question, 'How can cultural organisations and schools work together to foster arts-rich learning and teaching environments in Primary Schools?'. It

Figure 10-1 - timeline showing activity of the ARP during the research period



hoped to find ways to support schools to develop arts-rich environments whilst acknowledging that some of the more established ways of doing so, such as having artists in schools for a prolonged period, were not viable for many cultural organisations (or schools), including Tate, due to the financial and staff resources required. The steering group aimed to recruit six schools with varied levels of arts provision to explore this question through professional development and other activities that would emerge during the iterative process. During the development year, the networks attached to the steering group created a pool of teachers who were invited to trial CPDs and 'Reflection Sessions' to find out more and express interest in being involved in the ongoing project.

The project officially started in the academic year 2021/22. Although the project aimed to recruit a range of schools, when teachers who had signed up for ARP were interviewed, it became clear that all the lead teachers were experienced and knowledgeable about art and art teaching and learning. They all represented schools where the arts were (relatively) well supported. The steering group decided to include two schools (the steering group schools) that had good established arts provision to support the other schools. However, the intention had been to include a mix of schools. The networks, particularly the primary art network and the sign-up events, potentially skewed the schools that were approached. A school not already prioritising the arts may be unwilling to commit time and resources to an arts project. However, the schools successfully represented a range of schools in London regarding levels of FSM, types of schools and geographies.

B. The vignettes

The next section includes the four vignettes followed by analysis of them as boundary encounters.

Vignette 1 – 'Connecting whilst apart': online CPD in lockdown

An online CPD brought a distinct boundary encounter in a synchronous digital space in which the GECOP were able to connect to teachers and, in turn, support them to connect to their young people when the nation was in a lockdown, schools and the galleries were closed. However, in this connection, the GECOP encountered expectations of what a CPD should be and do, which differed from how the gallery education team understood CPD.

In January 2021, following the national lockdown (figure 1-1) and closure of schools, the gallery educators initially questioned whether to still go ahead with the CPD as they imagined teachers might have other priorities. However, they were told by the broker in the steering group, the teaching school alliance (TSA), that online CPDs were popular as there was no travel involved and teachers were looking for ways to connect to other teachers. Interestingly, it was the most well-attended of the gallery education team's CPDs during the period, with 26 participants. Teachers from the Primary Art Network and the TSA were invited as a Taster event for the ARP; this created a mixed group. There were some art leads but also generalist teachers and support staff. At the end of the session, teachers were given an opportunity to express interest on behalf of their school on being part of the continuing project.

The session was led by an artist, Dan, who sought to disrupt Zoom and create connections between people when the lockdown at the time imposed disconnection. His leading question was, 'How can we work together when we're apart?'. He was aware that many children might not have access to art materials and families were struggling to meet basic needs, so he used everyday objects (Child Poverty Action Group & The Church of England, 2020). Dan was an artist the gallery education team had worked closely with previously and knew well.

The CPD session

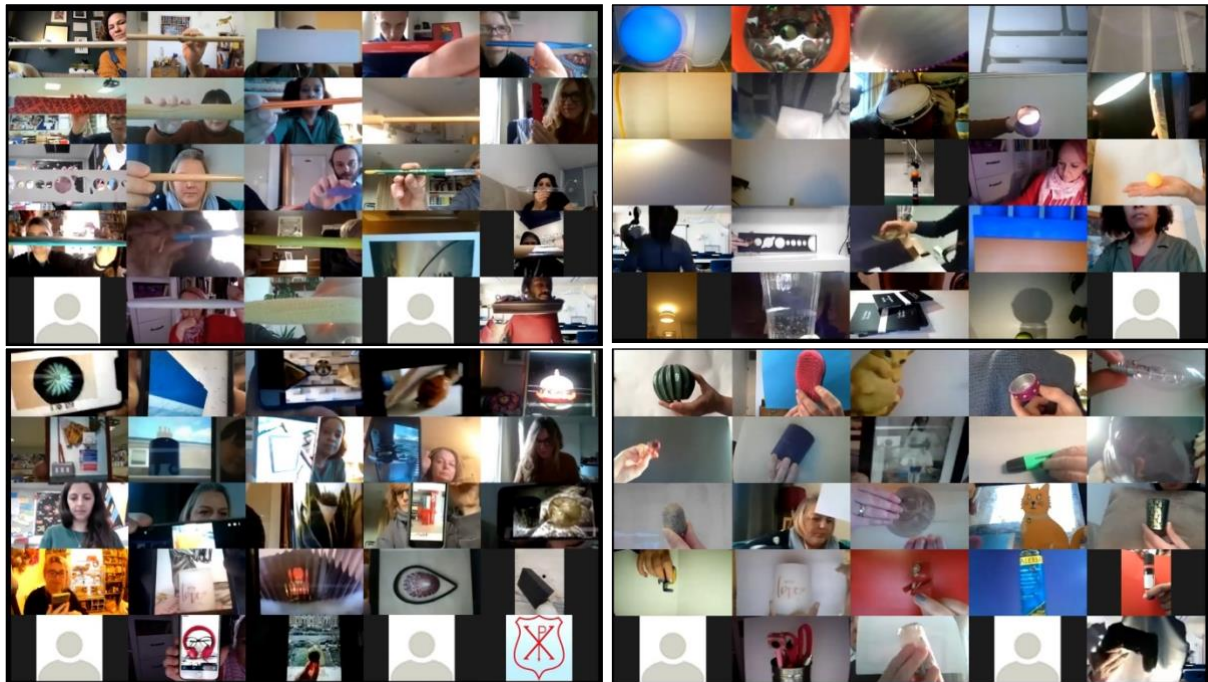
Dan, the artist, starts by talking about their own practice, which explores sculptures made to be filmed.

In the first activity (figure 10-2a), we are invited to use objects with a straight line (rulers, pens, yoga blocks) to connect with others on the screen, horizontally, vertically, diagonally. We were asked to move the objects in unison.

Next, we are asked to find three objects from our home spaces to 'exhibit' on screen, we hold them up to the screen, creating different visual impressions of the objects (figure 10-2d).

Dan shares that he has done the next activity with children; he suggests timings and other 'extension' parts, e.g., sharing photos. We take close-up photos of the objects

Figure 10-2 - screengrabs from online CPD. From top left clockwise, a – moving lines across the screen in unison, b – responding to a prompt, c – sharing photos taken of objects from strange angle, d – sharing a chosen object.



in different places (figure 10-2c). This explores how placing an object somewhere unexpected could create new meanings.

For the final activity, Dan introduces a series of prompts, created in response to Black Mountain College’s Light Sound Movement workshop.³³ In groups we coordinate a response to the prompts, e.g., ‘someone falls’, ‘there is repetitive movement’. We use sounds made with objects around us, lights, objects and materials.

In the breakout group where we prepare our performance, teachers talk about feeling a bit stale with online learning and that this is an input of some new ideas. There was also a question about what age group would be able to do some of the activities (one of them required lining up). However, conversations predominantly focused on the context of online learning. One teacher was doing full-time in school. Another was teaching live 30 minutes a day. One was doing a week in, then a week out of school at home teaching online.

Back in the main space, all at once everyone shares their performance with the rest of the group (figure 10-2b).

³³ <https://www.blackmountaincollege.org/light-sound-and-movement/>

Following the performance, we are asked to give a sentence of feedback as a breakout group of four participants. Our feedback was “taking a step together”.

The session feels energising. I enjoy doing the activities and could have spent much more time doing them. Throughout the session, I wonder whether the focus has been too much on activities that were clearly designed as takeaways, but this seems very popular. Other participants too seem to be enjoying the session.

One of the teachers suggests at the end that they set up a cross-school project which seems to confirm that connecting to other schools was useful. I wonder if there is a lot of appetite for some kind of forum like this.

It is interesting that Emily [the primary art network lead] did not know all of them [the participants] – they had different roles, there were more men present, and there seemed to be a broader range of ethnicities than at other events run by the gallery education team.

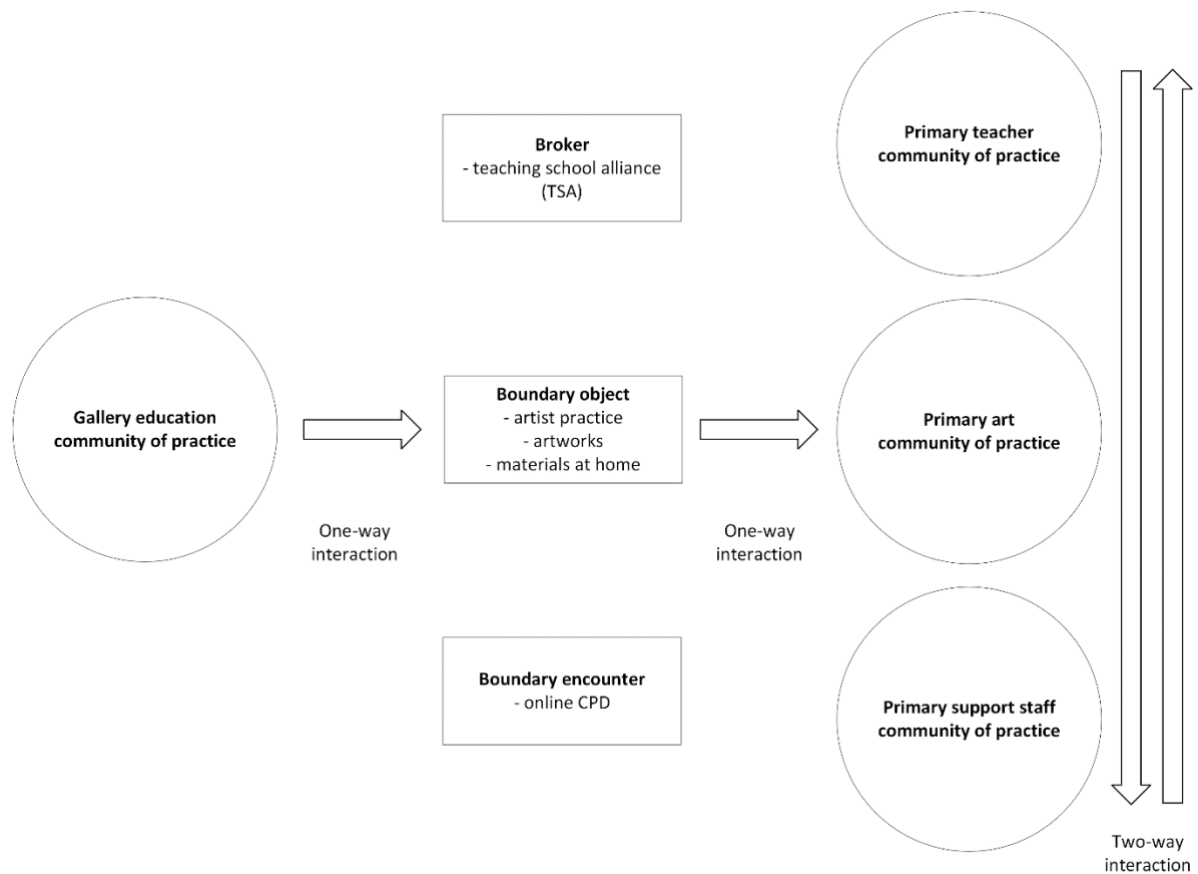
(Vignette adapted from field notes of CPD, 10/02/21)

Features of the boundary encounter

The CPD offers a simple boundary encounter model, one where the gallery education team provided an experience which the teacher participants could engage with or not; it was designed for teachers to be able to take activities back into the classroom. Therefore, figure 10-3 shows a linear interaction from the GECOP through the boundary encounter and boundary object of Dan’s approach to the communities of teachers. There was no opportunity for teachers to feedback on the practice or explore how it did or did not connect with what they were doing in school.

The artist’s practice was positioned to reify the gallery education team’s approach. However, there were elements that the gallery educators felt slightly uncomfortable with. Firstly, despite the commitments made in response to the Black Lives Matter movement around working with artists from the global majority, Dan appears to be a white man. In the

Figure 10-3 - diagram of boundary encounter in vignette 1



development of the session, there had been time and resource pressures; as Dan was someone the team had worked with before, additional time was not needed to build a relationship. Secondly, the art school he referenced was dominated by white artists and part of a traditional canon of modern art which did not correlate with the team’s desire to centre artists from the global majority. Therefore, the teachers encountered a particular type of practice, one that did not reflect the gallery educators’ own aspirations of the practice. The team reflected on this at different points following the event.

The art referenced during the session by Dan, both through the artwork shown and the activities proposed, was conceptual. There is a possibility that this would be quite different to what teachers may have been expecting. Unfortunately, we do not know how this was experienced by the teachers who attended without a particular interest in art, as the only teachers I followed up with were experienced art leads and art teachers. The session lacked an evaluation approach that included all teachers.

The boundary object of the artist's practice was understood to serve differing purposes by the CoPs. Dan went quickly through a series of activities that were presented as activities that teachers could take straight into a(n) (online) classroom. Dan encouraged the group to think of how activities would be used in the classroom, mentioning how much time he would allow and things that he might do if there was more time. However, the gallery education team wanted the teachers to extrapolate from the activities and consider the underlying pedagogical approaches. This was discussed in gallery education team meetings about the CPD. However, it was not explicitly imparted to the teachers; therefore, it was difficult for them to know this was the expectation.

Despite the boundary encounter in the main space taking an essentially linear format, in breakout rooms, discussions centred around what was happening in schools; in my breakout group, teachers predominantly did not engage with the activities they had taken part in. Instead, they explored the current context of home/in-school learning, comparing who was in school and teaching online with those who could do this from home. The teachers were interested in finding out how other teachers were managing. This attention to the context of schools was aided by the session reaching a broad range of teachers and some support staff. The gallery education team were also interested in this. However, these two interactions (breakout rooms and main space) did not come together for a two-way exchange.

Learning from the boundary encounter: 'it's always that, "what can we bring back"'

The overwhelming focus of teachers following the CPD was what activities they could take from it into the classroom. One of the things requested by teachers, but not immediately provided, was a PowerPoint (PPT) from the CPD, a reification, which would make this easier. This expectation of CPD positions the teacher in managerial professionalism – where they uncritically take activities offered to them (Sachs, 2016). Responding to the CPD in a steering group meeting, the two teachers were positive:

Hannah: I had a 'class meet' the next day, and I immediately used a lot of the things we did. And I think for the teachers, it's always that "what can we bring back in, what can we use"...

Emily: Yeah

H: And with that meeting [CPD], there was lots of that. But the fact I just used it the next day, and I think, yeah, that that's what can you bring back into the classroom.

(Hannah and Emily from the transcript of a steering group meeting, 17/03/21)

Hannah was excited about using activities from the CPD in the classroom.

However, one teacher felt unable to transfer these activities. In a follow-up interview, Phoebe mentioned trying an activity with her class, but it did not work as well as she would have liked. The children could not line up things as neatly as adults. The activity was proposed as about the process of connecting; however, for this teacher, the 'outcome' and visual impact came from doing it well. Additionally, the CPD happened online at a time when some teachers were teaching online; this potentially limited its impact to the online teaching environment. Although most activities could be adapted into in-person ones (and Dan gave examples), reflecting, Phoebe was unsure how it was relevant now that she was no longer teaching online. She did not know what to make of the CPD beyond replicating activities (which she understood as obsolete in a non-online learning environment).

For Phoebe, this was part of a more extensive difficulty in recognising what was on offer as apposite to her classroom practice:

I really liked it [the CPD], and I thought it was interesting, and it made me think about things that maybe I hadn't thought about. I think I really struggled with the translation of that into the classroom or how, you know, now we're not on Zoom, how I would use that in the classroom, I think was tricky for me because I guess it didn't have a skills focus and I think often in art we definitely are working on different skills... I found two things hard, that I didn't know how to take it into the classroom, and I didn't know how to take it to other teachers. Even though I enjoyed the session, even though it made me think about things that were interesting and different.

So it was good, but I think that, I mean a big thing with teachers... is time... because I do think it's really important to think beyond what you're normally thinking about, but I guess it's how you utilise that, or how that impacts you or stays with you

enough that you can translate that and it becomes impactful on your students without you having to do too much work post I guess. Which is really tricky because also I think it's not about having a package and being handed the package and being like, "follow this, follow this, follow this," because I feel like there's a lot of that already, and Twinkl can give you all of the different stuff that you need, but it's not particularly interesting. (Interview with Phoebe, Art Lead, 06/10/21)

Although Phoebe repeatedly emphasised that she enjoyed the session, she struggled to make sense of the experience within her teaching approach and the school context; its connection to her practice seemed too far removed, and there was no time to do the work to incorporate it. In this quote, Phoebe completes a type of *identification*, othering, where the differences in practices are identified; Phoebe reflects on her (school) practice (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011). She distinguishes this teaching practice from what was on offer from the gallery education team, one of the critical elements of this is the (lack of) emphasis on skills, something fundamental in the curriculum (DfE, 2013). In the boundary encounter, she had no space to raise these concerns and consider how they may be overcome or adapted to fit into her school environment. Notably, Phoebe emphasises that she is not just talking about herself but also other teachers, 'a big thing with teachers...'.

The session lacked a space to reflect, something which was raised by Emily, who said that she would have appreciated more time to be able to think about what she could do in the classroom, coinciding with what we know about teachers needing time to reflect on CPD (Cordingley et al., 2015; Postholm, 2012),

And then it was almost suddenly too soon when we then finished the meeting, and we didn't get enough of a chance to actually think, "What could we do next actually? How could we take this...?" I think even more time for that planning what you could do from that, what you could take away. (Emily from the transcript of a steering group meeting, 17/03/21)

Emily needed time to reflect on and interact with what was on offer (two-way interaction), which Phoebe may also have appreciated. The time to do this was not available in their day-to-day professional lives.

Nonetheless, Emily was able to take on an aspect of the CPD beyond replicating activities. The CPD inspired Emily to think about photography differently and use prompts to create a weekly photography competition where children were encouraged to send in their photos. This was ultimately not taken up by the children, although the school endeavoured to support children to do so. This moved towards the learning the gallery education team expected - the theme of connection had been identified and developed through to a new project. Although it was unsuccessful in the end, she went beyond replicating activities, potentially taking something from the boundary encounter that would extend into her practice, creating an opportunity for *transformation* (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011).

Although the teachers focused more on the activities that they could take from the CPD and how they did or did not work in the classroom, the gallery educators wanted to support teachers to think beyond what activities they could use immediately in their teaching to understand and explore the pedagogical decisions and approach the artist had taken, for example, the use of prompts and silence. This situates the teacher as a democratic professional who critically engages with what is on offer (Sachs, 2016).

Within GECOP, the gallery education team, particularly senior members, saw it as their role to support teachers to think beyond replicating activities from the CPD, facilitating the learning from the boundary encounter. This would involve supporting Phoebe to consider how her concerns could be overcome. Nonetheless, the CPD session allowed little of this to occur. Undoubtedly, the Zoom format made this more challenging, but also, the ongoing lockdown meant that teachers were keen (and had few opportunities) to connect with each other. Therefore, they used the CPD as an opportunity to do so.

In the Reflection Session on the CPD (which was only attended by the two steering group teachers and their colleagues as the format was still being developed), the gallery educators were able to prompt teachers to reflect on the approach of the artist. My field notes record a discussion about Helen's (a curator) experience in a breakout room in the Reflection Session,

Helen spoke about how initially, the reflection [by teachers and brokers] on Dan's session took the form of literal mirroring of the activities. Then Helen pushed them to think in other ways about it. She described it as giving them permission to not

know alongside their pupils. She suggested that good questions to ask the teachers might be “What is teaching art?” “What does teaching art look like?” (Field notes from ARP project team meeting, 31/03/21)

Helen understood the CPD as about transformative learning (Kennedy, 2014), which questioned the purpose of art teaching and how it is done.

Discomfort in connecting

The CPD celebrated connecting and its value; however, in this, it confirmed two different expectations from the CPD. The gallery education team wanted teachers to consider the underlying pedagogical approaches that the activities were based on; on the other hand, the teachers and the broker, the TSA, considered what teachers would take away from the CPD as about how the different activities could be replicated. In connecting to this expectation, the team gently challenged teachers to move beyond it. Although replicating activities and understanding the pedagogical approach are not necessarily mutually exclusive responses, they indicate dominant expectations of CPD.

Vignette 2 – Resisting: an unexpected encounter in a steering group meeting

The second vignette recounts a boundary encounter during a steering group meeting in which the GECOP confronted the fixed nature of school practice. However, rather than conceding and making changes they felt compromised their approach, the gallery educators resisted and maintained their own way of doing things.

Throughout the development year of ARP, in steering group meetings and emails, two different rhythms of engagement and orientations towards action encountered each other. The need for action was mainly driven by Catherine, the broker from the TSA, who pushed for dates, time commitments and planning. At the start of the project, Catherine proposed recruiting schools for a start date in January 2021; this did not happen; it happened in September 2021 as the gallery educators slowed down action. This push and pull over action and speed of practice resulted in an uncomfortable experience for both groups. One gallery educator described it as faster than they were accustomed to, whereas, in the same meeting, the broker expressed how earlier meetings had felt aimless; she said the group had been, ‘drifting around in our own thinking,’ (field notes from steering group meeting,

09/11/20) – referring to the discursive practice of gallery education and suggesting a lack of action.

Ironically, although school practice pushed for quicker action, the regular steering groups eventually stopped in Year 1 due to the challenge of finding time when the teachers could attend. This meant that the possibility of collaborative work stopped; it changed the teachers' role and removed the broker.

However, even before this, the collaborative nature of the project had been called into question. In the particular steering group meeting recounted in the vignette, the teachers' difficulty engaging with the GECOP came to the fore. On coming to the meeting, both teachers had residual feelings of doubt about the project from finding a previous Reflection Session challenging to bring colleagues to (this was because they were asked to bring colleagues who had not attended the CPD). The agenda of the meeting was primarily concerned with confirming which schools would be approached to participate in the project in the next academic year and receiving feedback on a letter of agreement that would be shared with schools as part of this recruitment. However, the encounter took an unexpected turn. The introduction of a letter of agreement for schools signing up to the project, designed to be a boundary object that coordinated practice (Star & Griesemer, 1989), provoked confusion and concern over the project's direction, especially the iterative approach of the gallery educators.

The meeting

The meeting starts like any other... When everyone arrives, there are seven people on the Zoom, three members of Tate staff, Helen, the curator, Mel and Lottie, both assistant curators, two teachers, Emily and Hannah, the project manager from the TSA, Lydia, and me. Although this is a lot, it's been almost a year that we've been doing these meetings now with essentially the same group. It feels quite comfortable.

...

The meeting moves on to the next agenda item, the letter of agreement. It's a long document which aims to share with the Senior Leadership Teams (SLT) at the various schools what the project is and how much of a commitment it entails. It has been

emailed beforehand, but the two teachers present have not had time to look at it so are seeing it for the first time.

The sharing [through screen-share] of the letter of agreement brings to the surface that different people in the group understand the project differently. The confusion relates to two things, the lack of firm time commitment included (this is because it's an iterative, co-produced project – the teachers understand this) and how schools struggle to work in this flexible way. The second thing is a misunderstanding of what the CPD offer is. The teachers had understood that it would be individual tailored CPD for the whole school. If this is not happening, how does the learning get shared?

The issue around having a fixed time commitment is raised first. Hannah expresses concern about the lack of information and how difficult it is to communicate the project to her SLT,

I just know that with my SLT, they absolutely want to know what it is that they're buying-in to, because we're so busy and so pushed and so stretched in every single way at the moment, staff and money and everything, that I think they really need to know exactly what it is and what it entails and what commitment and what the project's going to look like.

Hannah repeats her point at several points during the meeting, emphasising, "schools are such institutions,". Lydia, from the TSA, agrees with Hannah, she doesn't know if SLT will sign it off without knowing exact commitments.

It is not just the time commitment but the content of sessions that Hannah is concerned about. She says that whilst she is happy to go along to Tate for a conversation (a reference to the prior Reflection Session), colleagues with less interest in arts, "are going to want to have something specific,".

The other teacher, Emily, is confused by the offer. She thought that there would be an individual CPD offer for each school; how can it be shared with the rest of the school without this? Where is the time to do this? To achieve the project goal, this would surely be the best way. Emily apologises for misunderstanding but explains that she thought that it would be adapted to the school and is worried about the time required to do it this way.

Hannah agrees with this. She uses the example of the upcoming CPD to demonstrate that a CPD shared between different schools may not work, her school have already decided how they are going to teach Black history, and the CPD seems incoherent with their approach. The school have decided that they're going to explore positive stories of Black history as opposed to concentrating on slavery. However, the invite to the CPD suggests the session may reference slavery. Hannah apologises. She feels like she's bringing lots of problems today.

Following this, the confusion around what is on offer is addressed by the gallery education team. Helen, the curator, reiterates how the project is shaped and the reasons why there is not capacity to do six different projects with each signed up school. She acknowledges that it is confusing and also where the team have taken onboard feedback from the teachers,

We took on board your issue, which we completely understand, and we really need to think through the support... what we don't want for the lead teachers is to have then to reproduce that CPD in their school.

Mel and Lottie, the other Tate staff present, recognise the work in sharing the CPD and the challenge in doing so. Mel says that what Hannah and Emily have said confirms something else they have heard about CPD from teachers.

There are some compromises Tate can make to help. It would be useful to know what the CPD is about; this can be done. It won't be a theme, like portraiture, but could be ways of approaching art.

Lydia, the Project Manager, shifts the attention back to the timeline and contacting schools. The meeting continues.

It's not an argument, it remained very polite, but it's the first open disagreement I've seen in the project's development.

(Adapted from field notes and the transcript of a steering group meeting, 19/05/21)

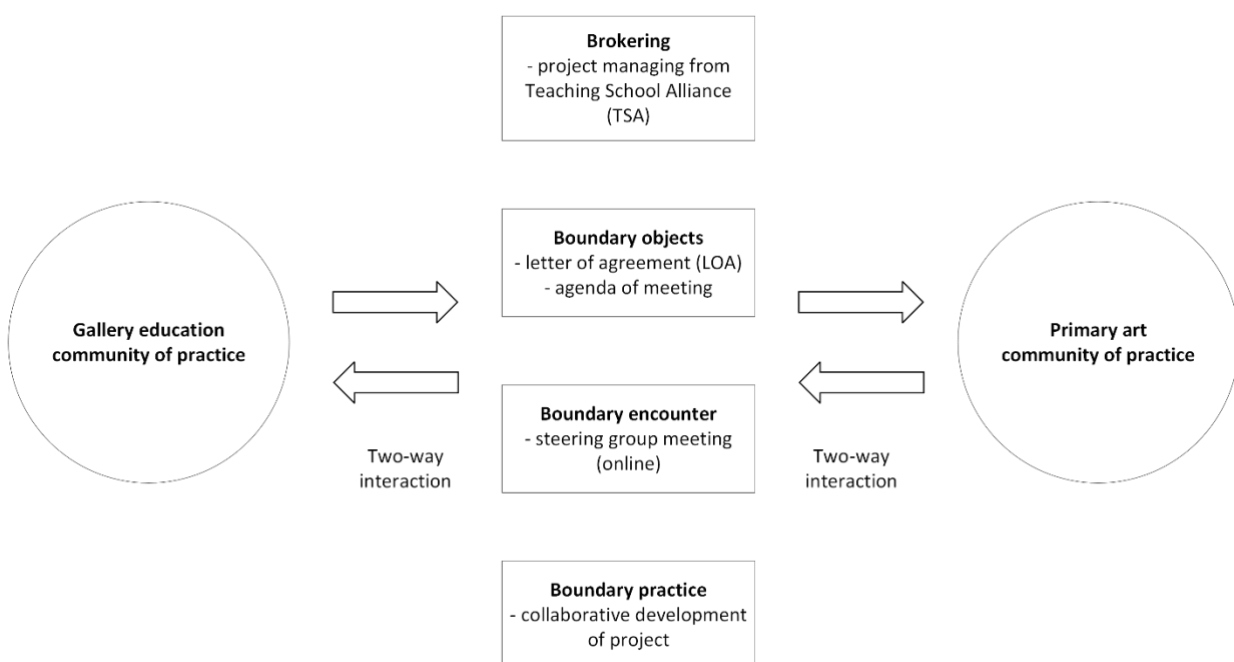
Features of the boundary encounter

The boundary object, the letter of agreement, played a significant role in the boundary encounter (Wenger, 1998). The GECop had written it to convey the ongoing ARP project to schools that could potentially become participants. It was mainly directed at SLT, as the

broker had indicated that it was essential for SLT to be committed to the project for it to work. For the letter of agreement to function as a boundary object, it was necessary for it to take a form that imitated school practice; it was clearly laid out and attempted to give a sense of the potential routes for the development of the project. However, its content still represented the iterative practice of the gallery educators (e.g., lacking quantifiable commitments). Therefore, it was perceived as incongruent with schools. The letter of agreement as a boundary object and reification of the boundary practice was supposed to hold the project and facilitate collaboration (Star & Griesemer, 1989); in fact, it emphasised the difference between the two CoPs and that it was not produced as part of a boundary practice (Wenger, 1998). This confirms the powerful position organisations are in when they produce documentation in collaborative relationships (Durose et al., 2011).

However, the meeting involved two-way interaction; both CoPs were able to contribute (figure 10-4). The gallery educators contributed by introducing the boundary object, the letter of agreement. In response, Hannah’s repetition of the phrase ‘they’re such institutions’ suggests that she felt that the gallery educators did not understand the realities of schools. Hannah even questions the value of Tate’s offer to the broader teaching staff; they need something ‘specific’ (which is implied has not been on offer) – a reflection on the discursive practice of the gallery educators. The broker in the space, Lydia, sided with the

Figure 10-4 - diagram of boundary encounter in vignette 2



teachers supporting them in bringing the schools' contexts to the group. The teachers and the TSA acted as a broker to broader school practice, a role I have established art lead or interested teachers frequently inhabit (chapter 6). For the project to work with the broader school, they needed to speak from this position.

The broker, Lydia from the TSA, played a small role in facilitating the encounter. Although brokers can be multi-lingual, for Lydia, the important language was the one of the school CoP. Before she left the organisation, I interviewed the director, Catherine, about why their role in brokering partnerships between schools and cultural organisations was necessary; she explained,

I think people who don't work in schools don't recognise how complex it is to work in a school. How many things are going on for teachers in any given day, week, term. I don't think, unless you've been in the classroom, you can imagine what it's like and how full your brain is and how difficult it is to be able to focus on something that's happening that is peripheral to the kind of meat and two veg I guess of classroom teaching. (Interview with Catherine, Director of TSA, 26/03/21)

Catherine saw part of her role as facilitating connections between schools and external organisations (sometimes cultural organisations) and ensuring that what was on offer was viable for schools. She did not see her role as supporting schools to be more accommodating to what cultural organisations could offer.

From the information given on schools, the gallery educators recognised that the teachers were concerned about the project and provided explanations for the project's current form, such as the lack of resource available to the gallery education team. Consequently, they made slight changes to what they were producing, e.g., sharing information about CPD sessions beforehand. However, the gallery educators also pushed back (or resisted) some school practices, for instance, schools being unable to accommodate something without pre-quantified time commitments.

Disparate perspectives from within the GECOP were visible. Helen was assured in her position as someone senior in the team, a full member (core); however, the other more junior team (peripheral) members were more easily swayed by the teachers' arguments.

The gallery educators had differing understandings of the purpose of the CoP (related to their position with the GECOP, core or periphery). The assistant curators understood their roles as responding directly to the needs of schools, whilst the core team member held that there is a purpose beyond that.

Reframing the offer: resisting school practice

For the teachers involved in the boundary encounter, the project engaged with aspects of schools that were not open for changing. Schools were fixed institutions. Teachers sought to contribute their experience to the GECOP and, eventually, the competence of it (Wenger, 1998). My field notes from an gallery education team project meeting in which the gallery educators reflected on what had happened address the nature of co-constructing a project with teachers, 'If it was truly co-constructed, we would end up with something that looks very much like teacher models of CPD as these would be easiest for teachers to engage with and allow teachers to sell it to their SLTs,' (field notes from ARP project group meeting, 26/05/21). The broker, too, acted with the expectation that the gallery education team would change to accommodate schools. A boundary practice should combine elements of both groups (Wenger, 1998). However, the difficulty of working with schools is that they do not offer flexibility, or at least, the representatives in the boundary encounter could not offer flexibility.

The meeting came as a shock to the GECOP, and its impact reverberated in the following days, leading to reconsideration of what was on offer. In a follow-up meeting between the gallery education team and their academic critical friend, the conversation explored how the project challenged current models of CPD by asking teachers to do more than just replicate activities that they have been shown (an issue raised in vignette 1). This issue was tangential to the ones raised by the teachers in the meeting detailed in vignette 2. The team decided that even though it would be easier for schools if it was different, for instance, they included pre-established time commitments or changed the CPD model to offer a series of activities that can be taken straight into the classroom, the practice's values should not be compromised. This decision was justified as a way of respecting teachers as professionals able to make decisions about what they teach, i.e., they did not need something more 'specific' that they were asking for, relating to Sachs' (2016) democratic professionalism.

Although the gallery educators reduced the pressure on schools following this boundary encounter, the shape and content of the project remained essentially the same. Helen described this as 'reframing'. The first year of ARP would predominantly concentrate on the CPD offer for the lead teacher who would bring a colleague to sessions. There would be no requirement to reproduce it for the wider school, like a cascade model (Cordingley et al., 2018).

This reframing meant that what could have been considered a boundary practice, no longer was recognised as such. This was particularly true of the teachers who did not recognise the boundary object as something they had contributed to. Of course, this is not surprising as it was the gallery education team who created the letter of agreement; the teachers had no time to contribute beyond the steering group meetings and events. However, in the gallery educators' response, by resisting certain amendments that teachers felt were uncompromisable, the ongoing practice of developing ARP cannot be described as a boundary (or collaborative) practice.

Can the cultural sector resist school practice?

This boundary encounter draws into question what boundary practice looks like between the cultural sector and schools. The gallery education team maintained their offer by reframing it. However, the ability to resist may be related to the status of Tate and schools' desire to work with them; other smaller organisations may struggle to do the same.

Vignette 3 – Listening: a space for reflection

The following vignette details a 'Reflection Session' on a CPD in which the gallery educators facilitated activities that allowed teachers to reflect and the gallery educators to listen to teachers' experiences. This session allowed the two groups to interpret CPD into the primary classroom.

As part of the ongoing ARP, the gallery education team decided to introduce Reflection Sessions following CPDs to allow teachers to have time to process what they had learnt, acknowledging that teachers were finding it challenging to take learning from CPD into the classroom (see vignette 1). During the developmental year of ARP, two Reflection Sessions took place. These were developmental formats, and teachers were encouraged to offer feedback.

The Reflection Session

The Reflection Session reflected on a CPD that took place online, which explored identity and how artworks can facilitate difficult conversations. The artist Evan's practice explored histories of slavery and queer identities. I participated in both the CPD session and the Reflection Session. In the CPD, activities supported us to consider our own implicit biases and have conversations in which we reflected openly on them in small groups with our cameras off. We also looked at artworks, which touched on issues of gender and race, and discussed whether we felt represented by them. We discussed our identities as educators and how these were brought to learning spaces. There was then an activity, making a monument, in which we reflected on our own personal identities. The session was positively received. Although challenging issues were dealt with, the artist created a safe space where people felt able to be vulnerable.

The following Reflection Session was attended by the two teachers from the steering group, Emily and Hannah, a project manager from the broker organisation, Lydia, three members of the gallery education team, Cara (a curator) and Evelyn and Mel (assistant curators), and me. It took place online in June 2021 – teachers were back in schools, but the gallery education team had not resumed in person programming.

The curator, Cara, introduces the purpose of the session,

It's almost like tools or strategies. What are those ways of being that were present in the space [CPD]? That set the atmosphere for the session, and how could we begin to think of those as things that we could maybe take forward from the session? So, as well as the actual things and activities that Evan put on the table, what was the stuff underneath it? I think that's the bit that we're really interested in getting to with this session.

Attendees have been asked to bring an item to the session that connects them to the CPD. We are then put in breakout groups to share these with each other and make a connection between them. For this activity, I am in a breakout room with Lydia; she has brought something from her professional role, I brought something from a previous poetry project that I worked on. We both discuss experiences in our professional roles openly.

In the 'interlude section,' the team share a resource created by Neil Walton with the group [this was introduced to the team by their academic critical friend].³⁴ It delineates differences between traditional, modern and contemporary approaches to teaching art. The curator shares how it has helped them to reflect on their own practice, they initially thought what they did fitted into the contemporary bracket, but actually, though contemporary dominated, all of the different ways of teaching art are represented.

Cara shares that the author [of the resource] argues that art teachers must have access to a range of different ways of teaching art. Cara encourages the participants to think about how this connects to their classroom practice: "I don't know if any of you have immediate thoughts or things that you'd be interested in sharing in terms of how this might connect to classroom practice?"

Hannah shares how it mapped on to a three-stage planning process they use at school,

It [planning] almost starts in a very traditional... and it's looking at the artists, and the themes... and then practising the skills of their craft, and then it moves into creating their own and then by the end of it turns into something, it follows a loose pattern of this...

Throughout the session, the teachers share moments from their school life. One of the teachers had asked children to make anonymous Christmas wishes, and this was an insight into their [children's] daily lives. Tate staff use the word 'secret' to describe this; however, for the teachers, this has negative associations with Safeguarding protocol preventing the keeping of secrets. The teachers explained how it was not a word they would use.

One teacher talks about different attitudes among staff in sharing information about their personal lives; she was happy to, whereas a colleague was less happy to. This connects to ideas of professionalism in the CPD session. The assistant curator, Mel, is

³⁴ <https://www.artpedagogy.com/threshold-concepts-a-critical-point.html>

interested in the creation of safe spaces, and if these are common, “Would you say that’s [having a book corner] becoming more common practice now?” [the teachers responded that they felt it was becoming less common now].

There are also discussions about responding to and engaging with artworks; Hannah describes,

We were talking about how you introduce that [an artwork], if you just say how does that represent you, then you’re frozen with it, whereas if it’s gradually introduced and what questions do you ask before you can get that personal response... but it’s actually how do you initiate those conversations and almost yes, almost a sort of step by step, how do you talk about a picture, and how do you get children to respond to it in a personal way.

In the final ‘bringing together’, the group aims to identify six things that teachers would take back into the classroom. This is framed by a prompt that a team member had given, who cannot attend, this is: “How do you respond to the CPD session without making a monument?” (As making a monument had been the key activity).

Cara summarises the ideas being taken forward,

I took for takeaways this idea of safe space and exploring what a safe space is or could be within school, whether that’s with colleagues or young people, and whether that’s a physical exploration or looking at the spaces that already exist and talking about those.

I’ve got this thing around confidence. That how to encourage confidence in talking about artworks, and one mechanism might be this list of questions, that creating a set of questions, that give that way in to reading any artwork or encountering any artwork.

And then... I’ve got your comment Hannah at the end, the, “you don’t have to look at everything.”. I think that is quite a key takeaway... if you’re giving one message to a class who are coming to an art gallery, or even just looking at artworks in a room, it does that message, doesn’t it, that’s like trust your own

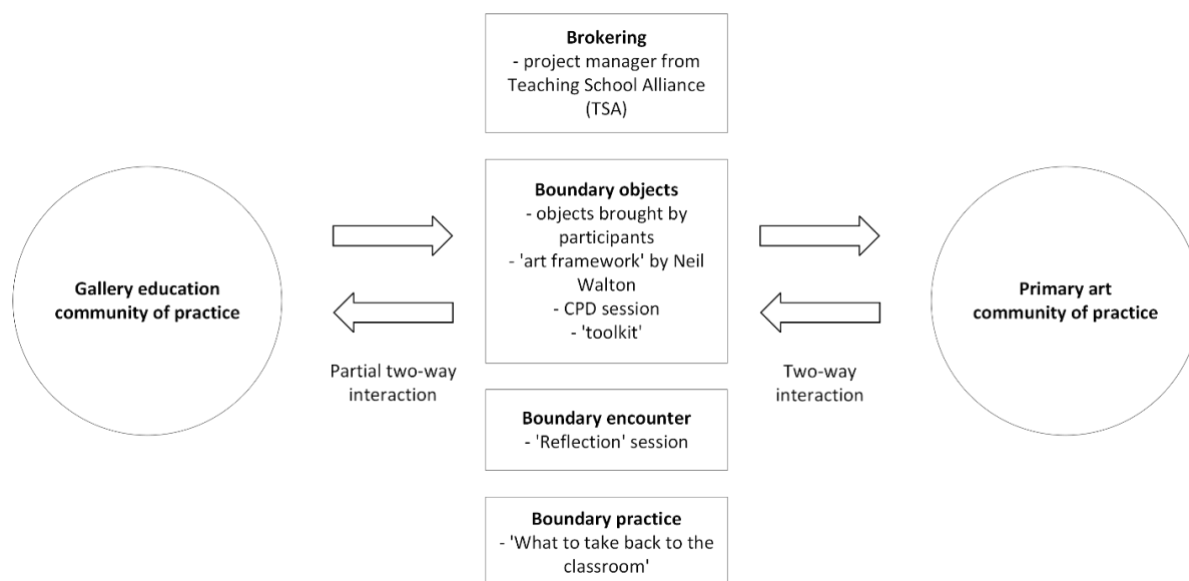
interests and follow your own eye in a way, where you put your attention and focus on.

(Written from field notes and transcript from a Reflection Session, 30/06/21)

Features of the boundary encounter

Rather than being an encounter that was a space where the two groups could learn about each other, the space was envisioned as one where the teachers could be supported to take the artist's practice into their classrooms; therefore, this was the focus. For the gallery education team, it was an opportunity to learn about school practice. At several points, the gallery educators asked questions about what happens in schools, such as book corners. The primary teachers were not consistently given an opportunity to ask the same questions of the gallery education team. Therefore, the PACoP participated in a two-way interaction, and the GECoP participated in a partial two-way interaction (figure 10-5). For example, the framework by Neil Walton introduced a moment of sharing the gallery educator's practice

Figure 10-5 - diagram of boundary encounter in vignette 3



without a space for teachers to feedback and question the gallery educators' approach; attention immediately shifted to schools. However, the conversation around the use of 'secret' did appear to be incorporated into the GECoP.

The session made use of various boundary objects. The objects brought by the participants in the initial activity functioned to enable them to share how they had understood and responded to the CPD session. Making connections with the boundary objects facilitated the

boundary encounter and allowed different responses to another boundary object, the CPD session. The objects we brought worked as a way for us, as participants, to bring our broader personal and professional experiences into the space as well as make connections between the CPD and our wider professional life. Another boundary object, the framework by Walton, a tool to talk about and classify ways of teaching art, offered a way to learn about each other's practice. As this was created outside of both CoPs, both groups were doing the same work with it, contributing to its success as a boundary object. Nonetheless, its potential to explore both approaches was not fully realised; teachers were not given an opportunity to ask questions about the GECOP.

Listening to create a boundary practice

Notably, the gallery educators focused on listening to the teachers' experiences during the boundary encounter. They were interested in things that had happened in the schools and teachers' experiences. Through this, they found ways the CPD resonated with the teachers. Although they carefully listened to teachers' experiences, the gallery educators did not offer opportunities for the teachers to do the same. The focus was on hearing from teachers rather than the gallery educators sharing or being questioned about their practice.

Nonetheless, the connection from CPD to Reflection Session to classroom practice was implemented. During the CPD, the artist had asked the participants to respond to questions about artworks. In the Reflection Session, the group explored the type of questions that may allow teachers to engage children with an artwork without the teacher knowing much about it. One teacher, Hannah, considered questions that supported children to make a personal response. She additionally contemplated how this may work for her colleagues, who may be less confident talking about art. This idea originated with an activity in the CPD but moved through to Hannah's own practice and that of her colleagues.

The ideas being 'taken away' were neither those of the GECOP (or artist's practice) nor were the teachers directly 'lifting' activities from the CPD; a temporary boundary practice emerged in the session. The gallery education team's expectations for learning from the sessions focused on issues of social justice, relationships and space in the classroom. What emerged was slightly different when Cara summarised the takeaways. Two of the

'takeaways' were about engaging with art; the other one was unrelated to art; it is tangential – creating a safe space, something the gallery educators suggested.

This temporary boundary practice could have been developed further, perhaps feeding into a resource. However, this did not happen, and I do not know if the teachers independently took the ideas forward. Additionally, there was a disconnect between this Reflection Session and the next one (which took place in December 2021), as planning for the following session was rushed due to staffing challenges, and the purpose of the sessions became less clear; was it a space to reflect on CPD or the ongoing project? Or was it both? All three options were viable purposes for the space.

Listening and creating: a pedagogical boundary practice?

The Reflection Session was a chance for gallery educators to listen to teachers. The extended reflection time allowed teachers to consider how the artist's practice could be incorporated into their teaching. From this, the beginning of a pedagogical boundary practice was generated, incorporating elements from both CoPs.

Vignette 4 – Returning: in-gallery CPD

The final boundary encounter (a CPD session) is the first encounter between the gallery education team and teachers since before the pandemic. The gallery educators were able to return to a practice not available to them for over a year and a half, however, in this return, it was apparent that some of the learning from previous boundary encounters was not taken forward.

The CPD was the first event in Year 1 of ARP. It was attended by five lead teachers from the signed-up schools; four also brought a colleague – therefore, present in the encounter were not only teachers who occupied a position at the core of the PACoP but those who may be on the periphery or even non-participants. As well as the teachers, two members of the gallery education team, the researcher and an artist critical friend to the gallery education team also attended. The session was led by two artists, Riley and Avery.

The day

As it was the gallery education team's first in-gallery event since the pandemic, there is an excitement around the day.

Although taking place in an art museum, the first activity brought attention to the relationships that are often overlooked in day-to-day school life. Participants were collectively asked to identify their own and other 'roles' in the school.

We are sat in a circle in the studio space. On one wall, the artists attach different roles, which are written on post-its. There are lots [of roles mentioned], mainly focused on pastoral roles, for example, SENCO [Special Educational Needs and/or Disabilities Coordinator], OT [Occupational Therapist], there's also art teacher, art lead, headteacher, SLT, cleaners, caretakers, MOVE³⁵ lead, etc. Eventually, pupils are added, but not until much later.

The artists then ask us to think of a time when we have been supported, they ask volunteers to share when this was and where the support came from. Using wool, they map between the different roles.

We are then asked to think of a time when we lacked support, and the lines of communication may have broken down. An example is given of the Covid pandemic making relationships with parents harder. These are also mapped in a different colour wool.

There is talk of invisible roles and what these may be. I notice there is much more focus on the pastoral roles than academic ones. TAs [Teaching Assistants] are highlighted as important; there is a discussion about cuts to their numbers and the impact of this on the classroom dynamic. The special school teachers talk about the importance of TAs for their work and what they do.

This leads to a wall with post-its and different wool connecting different roles, mapping the networks of support in schools (figure 10-6).

³⁵ MOVE is an activity-based framework for disabled young people to develop mobility skills. <https://moveeurope.org.uk/about/what-is-the-move-programme/>

Figure 10-6 - photo of 'wall of connections'



This activity grounds the workshop in school experience and the relationships that shape it. It makes me think back to my own teaching experience and support that I did or did not receive. A couple of teachers say it was like 'therapy'.

This activity takes time; it does not feel rushed. They [the artists] leave silences and allow for them.

The activity was typical of the day. The artists took time moving from activity to activity, leaving space for discussion. The CPD took place at a time when connections with colleagues had changed and reduced following the pandemic; meetings were still taking place online rather than in person, use of space in schools remained restricted. The day offered a space for teachers to slow down, be together and have conversations that they would not normally have time for. Lunch was extended and allowed for conversations to continue.

One discussion, which took place during a making activity in one of the gallery spaces, explored the legacy of Victorian ideas of schooling,

Conversation led to the arbitrariness that children are required to sit at desks; it is identified as a carryover from the Victorian establishment of schools. One teacher says it makes no sense to have children sat down for hours a day;

children should be moving. Both SEND and early years practice was considered much freer, with benefits that get lost when children move up the school.

The artists structured the session to allow for teachers to discuss their beliefs around education and have these present when participating in activities. Discussions frequently compared the practice between mainstream primary settings and special settings. In general, special school practice was seen as better than that found in mainstream schools. For instance, a special school teacher described having activities that children could do outside the classroom if they were not coping inside. Other mainstream teachers thought this was a great idea, but laughed about what might happen if this was the case in their schools.

In addition to discussion, participants engaged with art, art practice and their own making practice. The day included visiting a Phyllida Barlow (1944-2023) display; Barlow uses everyday and unusual objects in her artwork and emphasises the process of making rather than the finished piece. Following spending time in the exhibition, we made artworks to respond to Barlow's work with a range of materials, including string, bottle cleaners, materials and card.

The final activity of the day was titled 'I can't draw'; this is a reference to comments frequently heard about art, often used by pupils and, in primary, sometimes used by teachers. This was framed by one of the artist's own practices. Riley introduced her practice and focused on ideas of care and the ongoing life of the artwork. She showed us images of her artwork being transported to be exhibited; she described looking after it whilst it was on display.

In the following activity, participants were asked to write about their own artwork (that they had made in response to the Barlow exhibition). This referenced interpretation found in the gallery; however, there were no rules to follow for this writing. In pairs, we were then asked to make a box or container to house our partner's artwork and look after it using card, string, tape amongst other resources. Using the containers,

We set off to the Turbine Hall. Different boxes are carried or dragged; some look easier to take than others. We cross the hall and move towards the end, where chairs (figure 10-7) are set up for everyday plinths (a Barlow reference). In turns, each person reads out what has been written by their partner, unwraps the objects and sets them on the chairs. Some texts subvert the traditional gallery interpretation text; there's a fun 'dear Alexa' one, whilst some conform to it. One person notes the care people take placing each others' objects.

In addition to highlighting care, the activity also alluded to the making and maintenance of art as a shared endeavour. The ongoing life of artworks are managed by different people.

At the end of the session, rather than reflecting on what was learnt, participants reflected on how the artists created an environment that engendered creativity during the session (figure 10-8),

In my group, the responses to the day are positive. We talk about:

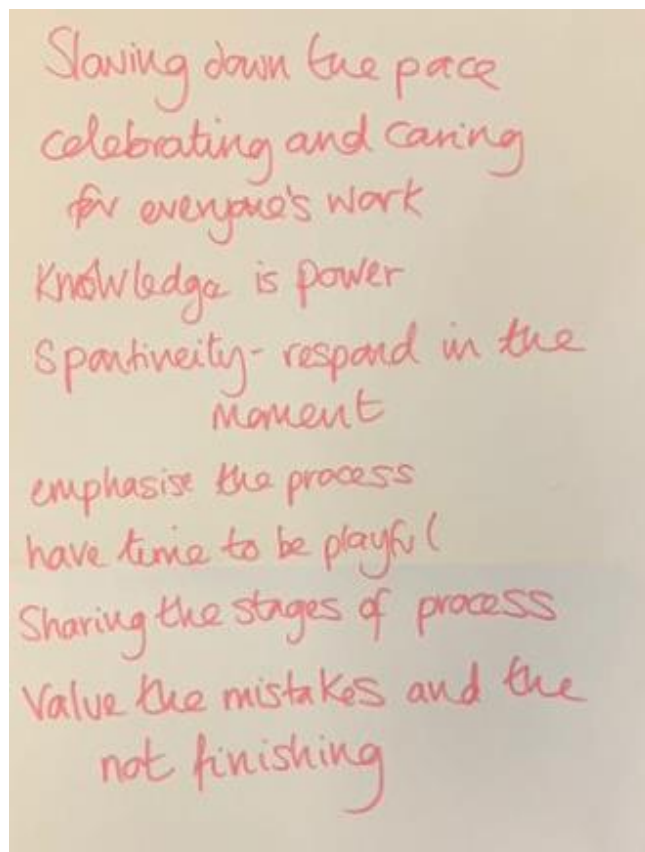
Figure 10-7 - photo of 'everyday display' of object



- *space and the use of it, the gallery space, that it's big and you can move freely;*
- *exploration of the journey of the artwork, there is more to the artwork than just the finished piece – how is it looked after and cared for? How is it moved?*
- *the use of care to interact with artworks;*
- *pace and it [the structure of the day] being much slower [than a school day].*

(Vignette written from field notes, including direct quotes, and photos, 10/11/2021)

Figure 10-8 - photo of reflection on 'how the artists created an environment that supported creativity'



Features of the boundary encounter

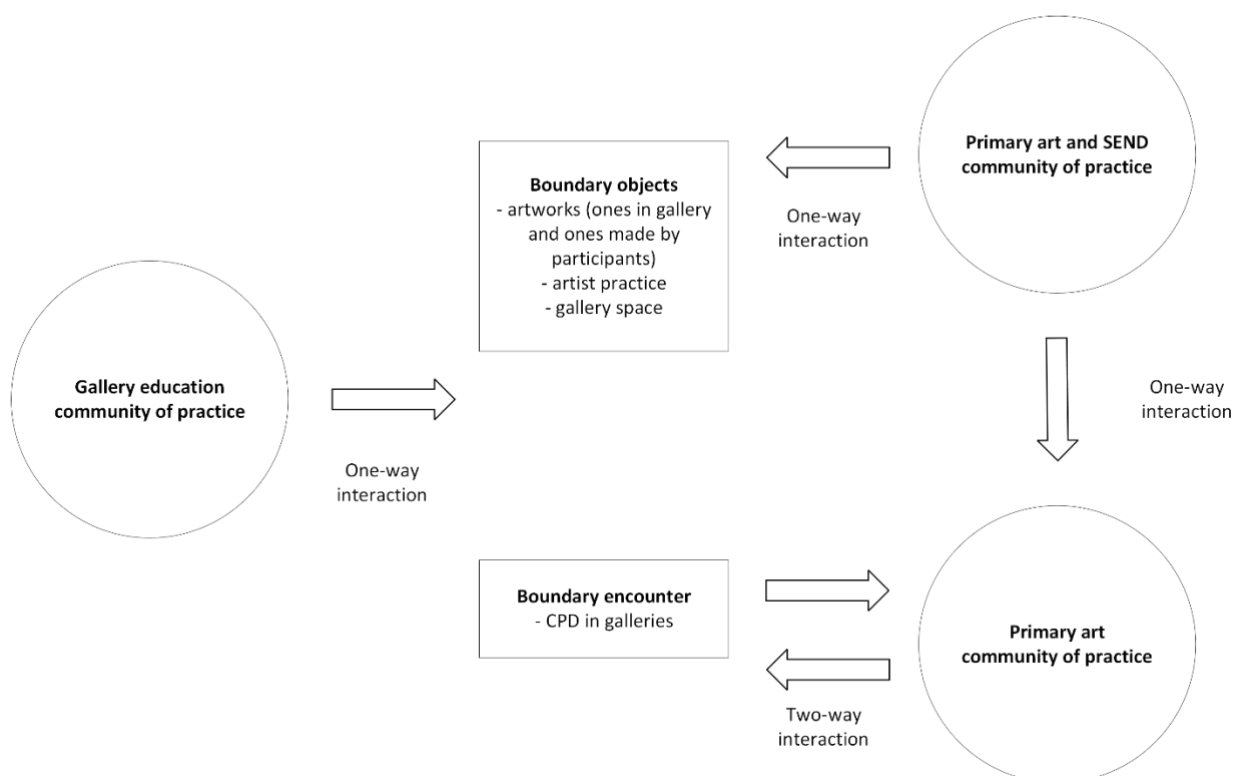
The purpose of the CPD was for teachers to be able to explore pedagogical approaches taken by artists, Riley and Avery. Then teachers would later be able to use them in their own contexts. The day's focus on the teachers' school contexts, such as in the first 'connections activity', enabled a two-way interaction between the boundary object of the artists'

practices and the PACoP (figure 10-9). The artists leading the session created space for conversations and dialogue to enable this to happen, and teachers could discuss their own contexts. This naturally led the discussion onto beliefs around education, which is important in teacher learning (Cordingley et al., 2015).

However, there was no mechanism on the day for the teachers' responses to feedback into the GECOP, creating a one-way encounter for this group. This was not helped by the day being challenging for the gallery educators to manage; the two members of staff present spent a significant amount of time distracted by admin issues limiting their ability to engage fully. Although the gallery educators usually had admin to manage, as the first event back in the gallery this was particularly distracting.

The boundary encounter employed various boundary objects. The gallery was a boundary object which facilitated the encounter. The CPD emphasised the importance of the art museum as somewhere apart from school, and there was excitement about being in this different space. It allowed flexibility of movement and use of space; therefore, it was understood as freedom from some of the constraints of daily school life. The artworks operated slightly differently as boundary objects. They introduced ideas and processes into

Figure 10-9 - diagram of boundary encounter in vignette 4



the space that teachers could respond to (not always positively), e.g., Barlow's artwork introduced ideas of process and everyday materials. The artists leading the session also contributed their practice to the encounter; the teachers encountered the slower pace of the day, embracing of silences, and the flexibility with timings. It felt very different for teachers from their day-to-day lives in schools and this was enjoyable. These three boundary objects were close to or part of the GECOP; the schools' CoPs were not represented as boundary objects.

During this CPD, a new dynamic was introduced as special school teachers attended. Although previous resources and encounters had recognised that all teachers were working in different contexts and 'teacher' was not a catch-all, in this session, it became clear that the special school teachers identified as a separate community of practice (CoP). The day included several comparisons of how practice was different in the SEND school attending. The SEND teacher practice was often cast in the role of better or ideal practice, for example, in the use of pupil voice, whereas in the mainstream setting, various limitations and requirements meant that this could not be achieved. A form of *identification* occurred, where both groups explored the difference between the practices (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011).

For the gallery educators, the encounter between the gallery space and SEND teachers challenged ways of doing things in the art museum. The accessibility of the space was questioned. At the CPD, I observed a group reflect on how a blind child would experience the gallery space. Would they notice the sounds and smells (the installation at the time, the Hyundai commission, Anicka Yi (b. 1971), *In love with the world*, had a scent attached to it)? In the later Reflection Session on the CPD, the SEND teacher commented on being unable to touch artworks and how this is not accessible. This highlighted different understandings of what art is, something the gallery educators could learn from. However, the challenge of managing the event in the gallery shifted the focus to the immediate needs of the group in the art museum instead of what the GECOP could be taking from the encounter.

The CPD session was a boundary encounter between three different practices. The SEND teachers pushed both mainstream teachers and gallery educators to reflect and into the *identification* of their own ways of doing things (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011). Still, this

process had a different impact on the SEND teachers who did not take things back into their classrooms. In an interview with one of these teachers, June, and her colleague Elliot, it became clear that they were accustomed to taking on a 'consultant' role, usually unpaid, where they advised cultural organisations on what was or was not accessible for a SEND pupil, recommending how they could make their offers more accessible.

Learning in a gallery CPD: 'it was very transferable' or encountering barriers

Immediately following the session, participants focused on how activities from the CPD could work in their classrooms. The session raised many ideas for the participants, as figure 10-8 shows. Just after the CPD, I interviewed two teachers, Hannah and Emily, who had clearly enjoyed the session, particularly in comparison to previous online ones:

Hannah: I think this one [as opposed to other online sessions], I could definitely think of exactly how I'm going to use that in the next two weeks at school and then use that to share with other people, that display element, sharing the work.

Interviewer: And what do you think makes that session today easier to share than perhaps some of the other sessions?

H: I think because we had that time to reflect when we were in the Turbine Hall, we really thought about it and were quite explicit, and everyone had so many different things that they'd brought from it, so that was really useful.

Emily: And it was something kids could do with resources that we would have.

H: Yeah. It was very transferable. And very easy to transfer. There was nothing complicated in it.

E: And the concept you could apply to lots of different art topics and outcomes.

H: And also thinking about, you know, we get children to present their own work, and I was thinking, well, what if they were having to present someone else's in the class? What care would they take? So bringing some of those elements. (Interview with Emily and Hannah, Art Leads, 10/11/21)

In this short extract, the two teachers focus on what is transferable from the sessions and how it could be used in their teaching, again highlighting that teachers' first response to CPD is often what practical activities can be replicated in the classroom and how. In returning to the gallery practice, the gallery education team had still not articulated the expectations of the CPD, i.e., that they did not expect teachers to 'lift' activities from the day to replicate them in school. However, beyond thinking about only activities, the teachers started to think about approaches, such as care when children are asked to share another child's work. The artists also supported with this in their final activity requesting the group to reflect on the elements of the day that had fostered a creative environment.

Nonetheless, some teachers' responses were similar to those described in vignette 1 (the online CPD). The teachers enjoyed the difference of the boundary encounter, created by the boundary objects, which emphasised freedom of movement and rhythm of the day. However, for several teachers, the CPD reinforced that the gallery education practice is difficult to transfer to outside of the gallery, a kind of *identification* where participants recognised the two practices (schools and gallery education) as different with distinct priorities, repertoires and rhythms of engagement (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011). On the day it felt possible to challenge the perceived limitations of school practice, this felt less possible during the Reflection Session, which took place around one month later.

In the Reflection Session following the CPD, how the artists' practice could work in schools was further explored, and it came into opposition with other priorities and ways of doing things in the schools. Although the discussion in the CPD had felt like a space to explore what could happen in schools, an almost ideal practice, the Reflection Session felt firmly grounded in the realities of schools where different agendas and priorities are continually managed (Thomson et al., 2012). The Reflection Session took place online, and most participants joined from their schools. Several were interrupted to deal with issues that had arisen in the school environment; online learning from schools may pose these issues. A transcript of me talking about a teacher's experience that was shared in a breakout room details some of the problems that the teachers identified,

We went into, I guess quite a long conversation about outcomes, and how that may be seen as something quite fixed and actually really hard to challenge in the school

system, with curriculum and everything pointing to a particular outcome. And even things like sketchbooks or documenting the process, there's a pressure for that to be quite neat and tidy and maybe not messy and allow for the creative process fully.

(Researcher from transcript of Reflection Session, 07/12/21)

Other teachers also raised similar issues. The teachers described an outcome-focused environment in their schools (Briggs, 2021; Hall et al., 2007).

For the teachers, it was not that they did not value what was offered by the gallery education team; they felt it was just not possible to bring this into the classroom. Hannah had been hopeful that her colleague would be able to bring the learning from the CPD to her teaching practice. Still, in the end, she found that her colleague struggled to translate it to the classroom,

She [my colleague] really enjoyed it, and she said, "Oh, the pace was just lovely," and she was really struggling at school at that time, and it was like a real headspace for her.... But she did walk away and go, "That was really nice. But we'd never get away with doing it at school,". And I mean, well, we can, we do, that's why we're doing it, but I think there was a feeling just that it didn't translate. (Interview with Hannah, Art Lead, 30/06/22)

On the day, Hannah's colleague had expressed concerns about some assessment-focused practice in schools, showing a misalignment with some aspects of teaching practice. However, the dominant practice of her school overrode her ability to try new things and challenge this.

When the teachers raised these barriers in the Reflection Session, the gallery educators could not offer a solution or a way for the teachers to overcome them. As the project was a research project, the gallery education team were gathering information about the situation in primary schools. However, the issues presented by the teachers, such as a focus on outcomes and things looking good, align with other available information on primary school education in England (e.g., Craft et al., 2012; Hall et al., 2007). In other words, the gallery educators could have pre-empted these barriers. The gallery education team were able to offer prompts to think about and examine the artists' practice in the CPD; however, it would

have been more effective for the teachers if they could have done this whilst considering the context of primary schools. For the teachers, this context was paramount. The pedagogical approaches from the CPD had to interact with it.

This Reflection Session was notably different to the one described in vignette 3. In this Reflection Session, the conversation did not move towards a boundary practice. Firstly, the session in vignette 3 was attended by a smaller number of teachers. Conversations were, therefore, easier. Secondly, the lead up to the session was rushed, perhaps not giving the gallery education team time to think about and plan the session fully. Finally, there were no spaces where the teachers could question the approach presented to them, either in the CPD or the Reflection Session. Although this was limited in vignette 3, the teachers were able to hear about some of the approach and reasons behind it.

However, one teacher, Hannah, did incorporate elements of the CPD into their practice. Hannah had explored slowing down in her teaching in subjects like maths, and tried using different spaces,

I've been really interested about the pace of the day and how the pace of what's going on in school and the pace of what's going on there [the gallery] is so different, and I've really transferred that. And even in maths, I've slowed my maths lessons right down... rather than this explaining, explaining, explaining, it's been, "OK, well, let's slow it right down and actually just look at that question... for two minutes. And just look at it and think about it..."

We were talking about environment. In Covid, we were really locked in our classrooms, and I remembered that session at the Tate when we made sculptures and took them out and then how that changed the atmosphere... so I've done much more of taking children out. (Interview with Hannah, Art Lead, 30/06/22)

Hannah was able to transfer elements of the different practice into her own. This can be described as transformational learning (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011). Hannah's colleague was a recently qualified teacher. However, Hannah was a teacher with several years of experience, which may have assisted her engagement. Additionally, she was a steering

group member and had attended all of the events in the development year; therefore, she was more familiar with the GECOP.

Returning to the gallery: a boundary encounter with dominant approaches

The return to the gallery CPD was enjoyed by teachers. However, learning taken from it was not consistent. The teachers' responses to the CPD can be delineated into three groups:

- it felt too far removed from school practice to consider transferring learning. The obstacles presented in the school environment seemed insurmountable;
- special school teachers took on the role of consultant rather than learner, suggesting that these accessibility concerns need to be addressed before they can take on the role of learner;
- for at least one teacher, the CPD resulted in a *transformation* of her teaching practice (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011).

Evidently, the CPD aimed for the third option; however, this only happened for some.

C. Back and forth: gallery/school practice

This chapter has traced moments in the ARP where the gallery educators' practice was pushed towards school practice through their desire to connect and listen to teachers. In other moments, they pulled away again through resistance or returning to ways of doing things they believed valued teachers as professionals.

This summary section has three parts. It starts by examining the participation enabled by the different boundary encounters. Although ARP was initially conceived as a collaborative project (or boundary practice), by the end, it became clear that (1) this only referred to certain areas of the project, and (2) teachers did not have the time to contribute to a boundary practice fully. The next sub-section argues that boundary objects needed to represent both groups. The final sub-section demonstrates that reflection and time were key to the project's success.

Interaction and participation in the boundary encounters

For Wenger, two-way interaction between different CoPs is the most successful (Wenger, 1998). The literature also suggests that both groups need to be open to learning and be adaptable (B. W. Andrews, 2011; Kenny & Morrissey, 2020; Wolf, 2008). The most frequent

interaction in ARP was one-way; the gallery educators offered something the teachers took or did not take back into the classroom (table 10-1). There were moments when two-way participation partially took place. The steering group meeting, in particular, was a chance for both CoPs to learn about each other; however, even in this, there were only certain areas where the gallery education team were willing to change to ease schools' involvement. The resistance to change was as the gallery education team positioned the teacher within 'democratic professionalism' rather than 'managerial professionalism' that appeared to dominate in the teachers' schools (Sachs, 2016).

Table 10-1 - showing features of the four boundary encounters

Boundary encounter	One-way or two-way participation	Boundary objects	Broker	Boundary practice	Type of learning (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011)
1 – Connecting - online CPD	One-way participation	Artist practice	TSA	No	Identification & Transformation
2 – Resisting - SG meeting	Two-way participation	Letter of agreement	TSA	Not recognised as a boundary practice	Identification & Coordination
3 – Listening - Reflection Session	For GECOP – partial two-way participation For PACoP – two-way participation	Artist practice Artworks or items brought by participants Framework	TSA	Potential development pedagogical boundary practice	Identification
4 – Returning – in person CPD	For GECOP – one-way participation For teachers - two-way participation	Artist practice Artworks Gallery space	No	No	Identification & Transformation

The predominance of one-way interactions was also due to the desire of gallery educators to hear from teachers, to connect and listen. Listening and connecting through discussion were of use to the gallery educators, who enjoyed it. Particularly in vignette 1, teachers were also keen to connect with each other. In vignette 4, discussion served as a way to explore and potentially change the participants' beliefs around education, something evidenced as necessary in teacher learning (Desimone, 2009). However, it limited the time that could be spent examining the gallery educators' practice and the artist practice in CPDs.

It is perhaps due to the dominance of one-way interactions that learning frequently remained at *identification* (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011). Gallery educators and, in particular, teachers often reflected on how their practices were different, suggesting that recognising and reflecting on one's own practice in relation to another one is a valuable feature of boundary encounters between these two groups, something that is supported by the literature (Galton, 2010). The Reflection Sessions were introduced and designed to enable teachers to move to *transformation* through reflection (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011). However, even with the Reflection Sessions, different participants responded differently. For example, in both CPDs, for some teachers, the experience reinforced the difference between the two practices, making it hard to think about moving between them; for other teachers, they could transform their practice from the same experience. I have already established that most teachers in this study were interested in and knowledgeable about art. Therefore, the difference in participants' ability to recognise and take what is on offer is not determined by an interest in art. It appeared more closely connected to the broader school approach; however, further research in the schools would be needed to confirm this.

The predominance of one-way interaction has ramifications not only for the learning participants can take from them but also for who feels they can be in the gallery education CPD space. ARP recruited schools with an established interest in art, despite wanting to connect to those without. One-way or limited two-way participation may restrict the type of schools and teachers engaging with the programme to ones who already understand the gallery education pedagogical approach and do not need space to ask questions about it. In vignette 1, a range of teachers attended. However, this did not result in a broader range of teachers expressing interest in further being part of the project. Another impact may also be a dominance of teachers from specific backgrounds engaging with the programme; the class and racial profile of people who are more engaged in visiting museums and galleries and therefore may already 'speak the language' of the gallery education team is not representative of the broader population (DCMS, 2020a). Consequently, to achieve a broader range of teachers accessing the gallery education team's opportunities, it is essential to demystify the pedagogical approach further in the boundary encounters through two-way interaction.

Another area that this seems to have not been optimal is in the priority given to art leads, who generally were more familiar with the gallery education approach than their colleagues but did not have the power to make significant change in their schools. The project recognised the need to interact with SLT and generalist teachers; however, attendance at the CPD and Reflection Sessions was from art leads and a colleague (typically not the SLT). It is possible that having members of SLT present is important. As has been found in the literature, the teachers often expressed annoyance or disagreement with the priorities given to certain agendas in schools, e.g., testing such as the Standard Assessment Tests (BBC, 2019). Tate provided alternative ways of doing things with different priorities. However, the boundary encounters did not interact with the broader school CoP where some of these priorities originated; they predominantly interacted with PACoP representatives. These teachers felt like they had little power to change things at a school level. A member of the SLT would have more power to make changes.

Moreover, the vignettes question how boundary practice, or collaborative practice, works for these groups. Whilst 'collaboration' is popular in the cultural sector (Lynch, 2011), it was not clear that the steering group held a shared understanding of what it was and the availability of resources was heavily weighted towards the gallery education team. This shifted control and power to the team as they were responsible for arranging events, producing documentation and deciding which schools should participate (Pringle & DeWitt, 2014). Consequently, the teachers did not recognise some objects produced in this practice, such as the letter of agreement, as representative of them. The issue of funding and resources for these ongoing relationships should be considered.

The limitations of what could become a boundary practice or how knowledge acquired in the interactions would be used were not clearly delineated. When the GECOP was challenged, for example, in vignette 2, this did not always lead to compromise (for instance, the iterative shape of the project did not change). This was particularly true of the pedagogical approach, which teachers were never invited to give feedback on. The literature suggests that artists can be hesitant to see partnerships with schools (and school practice) as having relevance for developing their pedagogical practice (Chemi, 2019; Kind et al., 2007), the same might be said for gallery educators. When a pedagogical boundary practice had the potential to develop in vignette 3, this was not continued by the gallery

education team. The in between practice that emerged in the Reflection Session may have been more accessible for teachers to take into the classroom than the practice of the gallery education team. However, creating a pedagogical boundary practice was not prioritised as an outcome.

Creating boundary objects for the encounters

The vignettes demonstrate that boundary objects can facilitate encounters (Herne, 2006) and that their creation needs to represent both groups. Groot and Abma (2021) note the importance of creating boundary objects for patient groups to enable health care staff to understand their viewpoint; following this it may be equally helpful for teachers to bring things created in their CoPs to the encounters. Teachers' contribution of boundary objects may assist the GECOP in understanding the barriers teachers experience. Objects closely associated with the GECOP resulted in *identification* (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011), which sometimes led to them being perceived as incompatible. For example, the freedom created by the gallery as a boundary object was enjoyed; however, it felt too different for some teachers to consider that the learning and experiences in this space could be brought back into the classroom. This is not to say that the gallery space does not have a role in these encounters, it was very positively received, but perhaps it should be accompanied by a boundary object from schools, or the sessions should aim to support teachers to bring young people to this different space (rather than classroom learning) if the focus is on teacher learning.

However, a boundary object that both groups encountered as equals was more successful in allowing both groups to reflect on their own practice; the framework by Neil Walton facilitated conversations. It could have allowed both groups to reflect on each others' practice too.

Time and space to reflect

Reflecting and time to do so was a luxury that was necessary for boundary encounters; this is supported by the literature on teacher learning (e.g., Bell & Gilbert, 1996; Postholm, 2012) and arts partnerships (e.g., Chemi, 2019; Galton, 2010; Hall et al., 2007; Riding et al., 2019). As the programme progressed, time for reflection became incorporated into the Reflection Sessions, in which the gallery educators played a pivotal role. What this meant in practice was time to talk through potential barriers and, concerning learning from CPD

events, discuss possible routes of action in the classroom. At times, the online CPDs impeded the discursive practice. The Reflection Sessions were also time for teachers to think about the activities offered and the underlying pedagogical approaches, as these were rarely directly given to the participants (Galton, 2010).

Underpinning all the boundary encounters was the barrier of time to participate. For both groups, lack of time impeded participation. Long-term relationships and trust benefitted the boundary encounters which require time to develop. None of the teachers who had a one-off encounter in vignette 1 continued to be in contact with the GECOP following the CPD, which is in line with the benefits of sustained relationships, frequently highlighted in the literature (e.g., R.-J. Adams, 2014; B. W. Andrews, 2011; Gregory & March, 2020; Harding, 2005a; Pringle, 2008).

However, in the current context of financial pressure on schools (J. Andrews, 2022) and the cultural sector (Easton & Di Novo, 2023), sustaining these relationships between gallery educators and teachers is becoming more challenging. In this project, the maintenance of the steering group was not possible. In a period of restricted funding when there is no realistic way cultural organisations could offer these sustained, long-term relationships to every school, the project sought ways to circumnavigate this. However, sustained relationships were vital in the project. The research brings into question how similar learning and benefits are achieved without long-term engagement. The gallery educators rely on sufficient time for teachers to familiarise themselves with an approach that is different and, at times, contradictory to their own.

CODA

This chapter has detailed moments in the Arts Reach Project where the gallery educators responded to school practice. Although the project initially was considered a two-way interaction, through the examples of the vignettes, I have demonstrated that this was at most partial and typically a one-way interaction; teachers were given limited opportunities to provide feedback into the gallery education community of practice. One reason this occurred was as the gallery educators desired to position the teachers within democratic professionalism. However, the teachers' own expectations corresponded to managerial professionalism (Sachs, 2016). The vignettes and Wenger's (1998) theory suggest that

teachers would have benefitted from having more creative input into the boundary encounters and boundary objects. However, this finding is underpinned by the acknowledgement that the time required for these two-way interactions was unavailable for either group, particularly for the primary teachers. Finally, the boundary encounters revealed questions about who was and needed to be present to make significant changes back in school.

Chapter 11 - A return to 'normal'?: A gallery education programme following the pandemic

Communities of practice (CoPs), as learning groups, are continually changing. However, the pandemic required a drastic overhaul of practice and was a period when it felt like everything could change. While change programmes can be planned, this one was neither planned nor desired but enforced by a pandemic. This chapter shows that following the back and forth between a contemporary art-led practice and responding to what happens in schools, what the gallery educators did and how they thought about it largely returned to what it had been before the pandemic.

As shown in previous chapters, the pandemic had disrupted the gallery education community of practice (GECOP), changing the world in which the gallery education team members were operating. However, changes in response to this encountered challenges familiar in the literature of change programmes; although there was considerable reflection and new ways of doing things had developed, this did not (yet) result in radically changed actions.

Change is hard to sustain (Beycioglu & Kondakci, 2021; Fullan, 2016; Tyack & Tobin, 1994). Maintaining the difference of gallery education from school practice was more important than directly engaging with what happens in schools to the gallery education team. This difference was important to teachers; however, how the relationship with school practice was perceived by gallery educators – as something not relevant to their approach – limited the learning that could take place for both groups and which teachers felt able to engage with the programme.

This chapter brings together findings from the previous chapters, particularly the two case studies in chapters 9 and 10, and puts these in conversation with an interview (cited throughout the chapter) conducted in February 2022 with two curators, core members of the GECOP, in which they reflected on changes to the programme. In February 2022, change was clearly still in process; for instance, the team had only recently restarted in-person events (November 2021). The interview was an hour long and included six questions (appendix 2) that encouraged the gallery educators to reflect on changes in the programme. The developments they identified included a continuance of ideas that they had shared

earlier in the study, for example, a belief that the practice was relevant across the curriculum beyond the subject of art and design and an aspiration to work with generalist primary teachers. However, surprisingly, 'bridging' the gallery practice to schools was not an area they reflected on.

The chapter starts with an exploration of the pandemic period as one in which reflection was fomented (A). It then (B) examines the process of change within the GECOP. This includes how the gallery educators' position in the CoP, core or periphery, influenced their orientation to change. It examines changes in the programme, such as the move to digital. The final sub-section focuses on how the gallery education team related to schools and how boundary encounters with teachers influenced the alteration of practice.

A. The pandemic as a period of disruption and reflection

Reflection is an essential feature of change programmes in the education and cultural sectors (Beckett & Wood, 2012; Cutler, 2013; Galton, 2010; Thomson & Rose, 2012).

Reflection enables participants to understand the change being implemented and its relationship to their own beliefs and attitudes.

The pandemic disrupted the GECOP and changed the context of the art museum and schools (Leonard & Ward, 2022), requiring new practice for gallery educators. For the gallery education team, the pandemic was a period when the CoP was examined and reflected on; it enforced a pause in the regular programme, enabling it to restart differently. Before this pause, the programme was busy and successful; the team was in the middle of a programme involving many schools, Steve McQueen's Year 3. The GECOP would not have had time to reflect in the way they did had the pace of work continued. This pause was felt more by those more junior in the team as senior team members spent considerable time supporting the move to home working and ensuring the team 'felt ok' about pausing or cancelling events (chapter 5).

Reflection brought some unexpected consequences. Although the time to stop and reflect sounds like something that would be positively received in a busy programme, several members of the GECOP found it difficult as it brought into question the importance of the common purpose. If events could be cancelled, were they necessary? Should the

programme change to respond to the more acute needs of the audience? This discomfort was emphasised as contact with teachers and young people reduced (chapter 5).

Additionally, this period of reflection included new voices. Peripheral team members who were usually busy booking schools onto visits introduced their ideas and experiences into the CoP, becoming more active members, 'I anyway feel a lot more involved within the team itself. And feel a lot more like I have the space to contribute,' (Interview with Jackie, Schools Booking Assistant, 27/05/21). Prior to the pandemic, these junior team members had been on the margins; however, during this period, they felt they had been able to move towards the centre of the GECOP. These team members introduced new thoughts, experiences and ideas, which assisted with the ongoing reflective practice.

Moreover, the period of reflection was spurred on by events in the wider world. The social movements that happened in the period (Pleyers, 2020), for example, the resurgence of the Black Lives Matter movement, formed an environment in which the GECOP *could be* questioned and scrutinised. It created a prevalent 'negotiation of meaning' in some areas of the CoP (Wenger, 1998), such as the role of global majority teachers in the programme. The broader landscape of practice of the cultural and educational sector was participating in a period of reflection brought about because of its role in reinforcing inequity in its workforce and the arts it promoted (e.g., Akers, 2021; Downey, 2020; Kantawala, 2021; Prottas, 2021; Quilter-Pinner & Ambrose, 2020). The whole team acknowledged that these were not issues new to the team or the wider organisation. In fact, the gallery education team had been interested in these issues for some time (they were a partner in another collaborative PhD that examined racism).³⁶ Still, the period had supported reflection on them and made acting more urgent. The social movements at the time were essential to the GECOP as its members were committed to social justice. For example, when the artist collective Black Obsidian Sound System (2021) criticised Tate for 'exploitative practices', particularly towards Black women artists, this was discussed in a Hear My Story (HMS) project meeting. The team considered their own actions in this context and modified them because of this reflection.

³⁶ <https://www.tate.org.uk/research/studentships/janine-fran%C3%A7ois>

Strikingly, this period of pause and reflection, which was more prominent amongst junior members of the team, was different to teachers' experiences (chapter 7). Teachers continued to teach lessons throughout the pandemic and wanted to continue to engage with the cultural sector. The teachers interviewed as part of this study embraced offers from cultural organisations; they were important to help them feel connected and part of a community, 'There was a lot to be said for feeling part of a community again,' (Interview with Matt, Generalist Teacher, 16/09/21). The resources (videos, digital resources or 'challenges') provided by cultural organisations assisted with home learning and were popular with the whole school community.

Tate, the wider art museum, had the impulse to reduce activity mainly to protect finances; email communications to Tate staff during the period also reflected a prioritisation of staff wellbeing. Tate could *stop* without ongoing responsibility for children, unlike schools' experience. The art museum (and GECOP) perhaps underestimated the value of the programme to teachers - it was teachers' requests for continuing professional development (CPD) that meant that the Arts Reach Project (ARP) continued in the way that it did (chapter 10). Although the gallery education team questioned the programme's importance, its significance was not queried by schools.

However, for the cultural sector, this time to reflect was loaded towards the start of the pandemic period and was not mirrored by a similar space as the team came 'back into action'. The demand to 'return to normal' without time to stop and reflect on the pandemic was experienced by cultural workers at other organisations too (Walmsley et al., 2022). Like teachers during the pandemic, the GECOP experienced a demand to keep going as school visits returned in June 21 (and were quickly at capacity), and the in-gallery programme restarted in November 21 (figure 1-1). The wider art museum saw the pandemic as an interruption rather than a disruption to 'normal' activity (Leonard & Ward, 2022). For the senior team, the research interview in February 2022 served as a moment of reflection, 'It's almost like I'm hearing you [colleague]... differently... the questions serve a particular reflective catalyst perhaps,' (Interview with Curator, 04/02/22), highlighting that the team had not had many such opportunities to connect with each other and explore the impact of the pandemic. The gallery educators would have benefitted from time to stop (or even slow down) and reflect on how the practice had developed during the pandemic. However, the

organisational focus was on returning to normal (perhaps understandable as the audience – schools – were keen to do this), and the financial repercussions of the pandemic were ongoing.

Having established that the context of the pandemic initially supported the reflection necessary for change to occur and then impeded it, section B will detail the change within the GECOP.

B. Changing practice in a community of practice

The thesis has conceptualised the gallery education team as a CoP in the process of a change. This section examines how the CoP did or did not change. It starts by arguing that the different sub-groups in the GECOP had different attitudes to the change. The second sub-section demonstrates that the team's practice was challenging to translate into digital. The final sub-section is more extended and shows that the team's relationship to schools influenced how they did (and did not) alter how they worked with schools. Their relationship to school practice consequently meant that only certain teachers took expected learning from boundary encounters.

Community of practice members' relationship to change

Throughout the thesis, I have identified that the team members' position in the GECOP, old-timer/core or newcomer/periphery, influenced their orientation towards the change happening or discussed in the programme.

During the study, team members from the periphery talked about the need to change; one assistant curator described the team's approach as 'ever-changing' (Interview with Lottie, Assistant Curator, 13/05/21). However, the later stage of the study saw several peripheral members of the gallery education team resign for new roles within or outside the organisation. Staff turnover is one of the biggest challenges to change programmes (Tyack & Tobin, 1994). For Wenger, learning in CoPs happens within social relationships (Wenger, 1998); therefore, this disruption in members was substantial. The staff change had particular relevance to the relationship between the gallery education practice and schools, as members of staff who left were predominantly those advocating for change on this issue. In the interview at the end of the research period with members of the core, 'bridging' was not an area for reflection, which, considering this had been such a significant area of focus

during the pandemic, was surprising. The change in membership of the CoP had made 'bridging' less urgent and prominent, highlighting the earlier influence of the peripheral members as well as the challenge of staff turnover.

The core of the team was less invested in the change. Throughout the turbulent period, the core team used reifications to define a stable, consistent approach; for example, the practice statement in *In Site of Conversation* (published in 2017) and the PPT which the senior team members presented in a team meeting (vignette 1, chapter 5) expressed very similar approaches. This research has shown that the core team resisted changing their approach. This is not necessarily negative as the reticence to change was underpinned by certain values, which will be explored later in this chapter.

For the GECOP, the major change the pandemic precipitated was the need to work digitally as opposed to enabling in-gallery experiences. The following sub-section argues that although this was challenging for the gallery education team, it was part of the pandemic programme they were keen to pursue.

A digital gallery education practice?

One of the main challenges of the pandemic period, identified by the gallery education team, was how a practice predicated on presence in a gallery space, with art and with people, 'translated' into an online environment. This research has shown that some practice integral to the programme was harder to replicate digitally. Although the team had trialled different formats, they did not quite achieve the same impact as in-gallery events; for instance, one of the comments by teachers after the first in-gallery CPD was how much better and more memorable it was than online events.

The gallery education team recognised that some of the pedagogic principles underlying the practice did not necessarily convert into the online space,

So in a digital space, that waiting and seeing what happens, I just don't think works because everything is so instant, everything's so quick, you have to grab their [teachers'] attention in the first three seconds, otherwise, it's gone. (Interview with Lottie, Assistant Curator, 13/05/21)

The pre-pandemic practice was predicated on responding to the people in the environment and dialogue between participants, the artist and gallery educators, which were harder to facilitate online.

However, in February 2022, the gallery education team were thinking about 'being with art' as something broader than just visiting the gallery,

So it is not to say that we don't think that that engagement with art is any less important, but there is a shift towards a more fluid in and out of the physical space of the gallery, and therefore the proximity to the object of art... I think we maybe are broadening out what we mean when we talk about 'being with art'. Whereas once upon a time, that really did mean being in the gallery. (Interview with Jodie, Curator, 04/02/22)

The gallery education team did not know whether teachers agreed with this or not. My interviews with teachers, and the gallery education team's experience of the popularity of school visits to the art museums after the pandemic, suggested this was not the case. Teachers preferred the gallery experience. However, the team responded to the potential of digital to reach a greater number of teachers (and therefore young people) and what they knew about schools' reduced time to go on visits (The Sutton Trust, 2023). They thought these benefits were valuable even though the approach did not directly respond to what teachers were doing or asking for. Of course, the gallery education team can provide both in-person and digital experiences.

Following the pandemic, the gallery education team continued collaborating with Tate Kids, co-producing a series of artist-led videos. Going forward, Tate's existing platform for digital experiences for children may allow the team to explore the digital practice further and potentially create a boundary practice (Wenger, 1998) with the digital team.

The final section of this chapter, about the central theme of the thesis, the gallery education team's relationship to teachers and school practice, argues that the team's conception of school practice sometimes limited the change that could take place between the gallery educators and teachers.

Changing in relation to schools: 'a kind of affinity'

A notable aspect of the interview in February 2022 with the curators was the continuing discourse of art and artists and the absence of school language or references. The curators referred to artwork and artists rather than what was happening in schools – this is something I have already identified as a feature of the GECOP (chapter 5). However, as chapter 9 showed, there was a period during the pandemic, particularly in the HMS project, where discussions around 'bridging' led to the gallery education team combining elements of school practice with their own. Nonetheless, following the pandemic, the identity of the CoP continued to be closely associated with artist practice. This did not mean connecting with teachers was unimportant to the gallery education team.

However, the team's relationship to school practice was more complex than just responding to what teachers requested. The gallery education team were keen to connect with teachers; it was important to them. Teachers were legitimators of meaning in the GECOP (Wenger, 1998), meaning that the team's experiences of interactions with teachers were often cited as justification for certain decisions. During the pandemic, mainly due to teachers' time restrictions, conversations or meetings with teachers were not as frequent as the team would have liked. In the interview with the senior team members in February 2022, some of the changes that the curators recognised were different to what teachers had indicated was of value. Rather than precisely manifesting as action, teachers' input was incorporated and reflected on within the team and their practice before manifesting as action. Team members in the periphery of the GECOP felt that this relationship should be different and that the practice should respond directly to what teachers wanted.

In practice, the encounters between the two groups, schools and the gallery education team, although sought after and beneficial to both CoPs, were complex and sometimes sites of contestation and challenge (Herne, 2006). Somekh (1994) argues that this is an inevitable experience when two practices first come together. In this case, the contestation stemmed from the convergence of two different ways of doing things and values with some opposing practices, for instance, a focus on outcomes in schools and a valuing of the process over outcomes in gallery education (Hall et al., 2007; Pringle, 2008; Riding et al., 2019), as well as different dominant conceptions of teachers' professionalism (Evetts, 2009; Sachs, 2016).

Although the team recognised that the difference between their practice and that of schools was challenging for teachers, they were resistant to changing some of their practice. The gallery education team's pedagogical approach, part of the shared repertoire, the knowledge and tools developed in a CoP (Wenger, 1998), was one area of the GECOP where the approach was not open to being influenced by teachers or school practice. The core of the CoP expressed reticence to change or question the pedagogical approach throughout the study. For instance, reticence was evidenced when a survey of teachers indicated that their top priority was having listed outcomes for learning resources online; this was not introduced. The refusal to supply outcomes was justified by senior team members by a strong belief in the benefits of non-directive and open-ended practice for children and young people, i.e., that outcomes could not be predicted.

The GECOP strongly believed in the benefits of letting children and young people explore with art without prescribed outcomes. Additionally, the CoP thought that what happened in gallery education was different from schools and that gallery educators should not replicate what happens in schools (Cutler, 2010), something teachers are experts in,

If that argument that you're [interviewer] talking about is about us... not being experts in formal education, but actually working from the premises, a museum, and a building full of stuff, we feel that what we can do is add value and that we want to work with teachers to do that, rather than replicate a system that they [teachers] are expert in. (Interview with Jodie, Curator, 04/06/21)

This perceived division between the GECOP and the school CoPs, whilst respecting the expertise of the teachers, created a binary. This made it difficult for the team to build 'bridges' between the practices as the differences needed to be maintained.

As there was this perceived difference, in order to be a member of the GECOP, it was not necessary to have knowledgeability of the broader school landscape of practice (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2014) – something identified by the visits team, a peripheral sub-group of the CoP, as meaning that experiences produced by the team did not complement what teachers were expecting (chapter 8). The resistance to school practice made the team less able to offer 'ways in' for teachers.

As well as seeking to maintain the difference, the team actively opposed engaging in the more political aspects of schools due to a supposition that school education was 'restrictive'. The language used by the gallery education team to talk about schools often indicated that the team believed schools constrained young people through a didactic or 'check-mark based' learning style (chapter 5). The GECOP conflated political rhetoric, priorities and policy with all school practice, which meant that the team were less able to recognise the coherences between their practice and that of schools. A good example was in HMS when the gallery education team felt they had introduced something that challenged current discourse around cultural capital. In fact, this approach made it coherent with the practice of the teachers who used the resource (chapter 9). Although the gallery education team recognised that individual teachers did exceptional projects, they did not fully appreciate that teachers often resist or interpret policy; they shape practice with their own beliefs (which are often more in line with the gallery education team) (Bates & Connolly, 2023).

The gallery education team worked with this binary between their own practice and what happens in schools. The binary was a way of maintaining the difference between the two practices, respecting the expertise of teachers and not replicating something teachers could do themselves (Cutler, 2010). However, the flipside of this binary meant it was hard to work collaboratively or 'bridge' the practices. In the literature, different arts partnerships have distinct understandings of how the roles of artist and teacher can successfully come together. Some research has found that teachers and artists need to work together for projects to be successful (B. Andrews, 2011; Gregory & March, 2020; Snook & Buck, 2014). There also have been art-school projects where these roles have been kept as distinct and defined (Costes-Onishi, 2020; Myers, 2003) – which was the binary that the gallery education team conceptualised. However, they also usually expected or desired for teachers to take elements of the artist practice back into the classroom. In longer-term partnerships, it may be possible for teachers to take on artist identities and approaches (Kenny & Morrissey, 2020). However, this is more of a challenge in shorter-term projects. This research found this was more achievable for teachers who had engaged with the project for a significant amount of time. Collaborative working is also a way to achieve this (B. Andrews,

2011). The gallery educators tried several ways of ‘bridging’ encounters with primary teachers.

During ARP, the gallery educators sometimes imagined the boundary encounters with primary teachers as collaborative, suggesting that both teachers and the gallery education team were active participants. However, my research found that the collaborative work was limited partly due to the gallery educators’ reticence to change some aspects of their offer (e.g., the CPD sessions) but predominantly because the teachers simply did not have time (The All-Party Parliamentary Group for Art, 2023). However, in February 2022, ARP was perceived by one curator as a collaborative project, particularly in comparison to previous projects,

The projects where we might have tried to work collaboratively with teachers before... which was the one that was, I think, the most difficult and the most painful. And it’s definitely felt different to that [in ARP], and there’s felt much more affinity, which maybe is through the steering group, a kind of affinity with the schools, and more connection to the schools and more of a mutually valuable learning opportunity. (Interview with Curator, 04/02/22)

It is worth noting that the gallery educator highlights the difficulty of working collaboratively previously (‘difficult’, ‘painful’), something also evidenced in the literature (Gregory & March, 2020; Somekh, 1994). This ‘painful’ project is contrasted with the more recent experience, described as a congruous experience. The process of developing ARP is described as ‘mutually valuable’, suggesting that the contributions of the two groups were relatively equal.

The account of Hannah, a teacher from the steering group, indicates she felt differently about her experience from how the gallery education team imagined,

I think it’s been really interesting, just watching it evolve, and there have been times, especially near the beginning when I’m thinking “Oh, I don’t know quite what this is or where it’s going,” and today it was really nice to see it happening [in the CPD], and see how it works and how it’s happening. (Interview with Hannah, Art Lead, 10/11/21)

The teacher expresses a positive experience, indicating that their involvement met their expectations. However, she does not describe her role as active but as a bystander or spectator, waiting to see the outcome. I contend that 'mutually valuable learning' and 'just watching it evolve' sound like two different projects. 'Mutually valuable' suggests a two-way encounter; however, the teacher describes a more passive experience with less involvement in what the gallery education team were developing. This research indicates that the gallery education team created an 'offer' for schools which the teachers could choose to interact with. This was particularly true after the steering group ceased meeting due to teachers' lack of time. Encounters were not often strategically structured to ensure the gallery education team could learn too. There were limited mechanisms for teachers to inform *what* was on offer and feed into the GECOP (chapter 10).

The limited two-way interaction made the format of CPDs tricky for some teachers. Primary schools in England have developed professional development programmes that primarily happen internally or in a network of schools (due to reduced funding and the move towards academies, with local authorities playing a less prevalent role) (Cordingley et al., 2018; Matthews, 2018). With reduced funding for external CPDs, a cascade model is sometimes employed where one or two teachers attend an external CPD and then 'deliver' it with other staff back in school (Cordingley et al., 2018). Throughout the early part of the ARP, the expectation, mainly pushed by the broker, the teaching school alliance (TSA), was that ARP would be a cascade opportunity. The teachers' and the broker's expectation was also that the teachers would encounter activities that they could 'lift' and take back into the classroom without spending too much time thinking about how they need to adapt them; this is a form of professional development that positions the teacher within a transmissive model of teaching (Hayes, 2000) and managerial professionalism (Sachs, 2016).

During the development of ARP, it became clear that the format of the CPD was not open to becoming boundary practice, a composite practice created by both the priorities and practice of the GECOP and the primary art community of practice (PACoP), for the following reasons (chapter 10):

- the resources needed to implement what the schools were requesting (individualised CPD for each school in the project) were not available to Tate;

- the teachers wanted a CPD session that gave them activities that could be taken straight into the classroom, corresponding to managerial professionalism. The gallery education team considered the teacher as a professional who can critically engage with the offer (democratic professionalism, Sachs, 2016; Thomson & Hall, 2023);
- the teachers wanted learning outcomes and/or themes of the CPD beforehand; the iterative practice of the gallery education team made this difficult to provide. In addition, the gallery education team wanted to support artists leading sessions to freely respond in creative ways;
- the gallery education team did not feel that a 'cascade model' would be possible as teachers would not be able to replicate the artist facilitator, i.e., respecting the different identity of the artist (Pringle, 2002; Thomson et al., 2012). The steering group teachers were additionally wary of the amount of their time needed for the cascade model to take place.

The gallery education team wished to maintain the CPD offer as it was with the addition of a Reflection Session. This was the case even though the teachers in the steering group felt that their schools could not make concessions to the art museum's ways of doing things. The CPD sessions did not include themes, learning outcomes, or a set expectation of what teachers should take from them. There may have been activities that teachers could bring into the classroom (more or less successfully). However, the expectation and aim (I have argued not always successfully communicated, such as in vignette 1, chapter 10) was that teachers would reflect on and understand the underlying ideas behind different activities.

The lack of a boundary practice and maintenance of difference in the CPD introduced an area where the boundary encounters were uncomfortable for the teachers; they did not correspond to their expectations from a CPD session, and therefore, teachers sometimes considered them unsuccessful when they judged them by the accustomed criteria of immediate applicability. The encounter between teachers' expectations of CPD, drawn from the dominant model of CPD, and how the offer differs was not fully explored by the gallery education team. It may be helpful to do so to ease the experience for teachers.

The ARP experience casts doubts on whether ‘co-creation/collaboration/co-production/boundary practice’ with teachers is possible within teachers’ time constraints. Moreover, the gallery education team would need to be more willing to cede control for them to operate. Rather than working collaboratively with schools, the team often worked with ‘bridges’.

During the pandemic, the team trialled other ways of working with schools, for example, ‘bridging’ the two practices. I have shown in chapter 8 that ‘bridging’ was a complex reification for the gallery educators and was not always coherent. To ease the encounter in HMS and ‘bridge’ the practices, the gallery education pedagogical approach was slightly tempered with references to developing skills in addition to ‘ways of thinking and doing’ from artist practice (chapter 9). This ‘school practice’ was introduced by a broker, a freelance primary art education consultant. The HMS resources were welcomed. Teachers could access and use them, and they supported young people to produce work considered beneficial – the young people, too, enjoyed partaking in the project. The project’s success was made possible as teachers were able to engage with it through the scaffolding provided by school practice, e.g., including keywords, but particularly because the resource and emails embodied values shared across the CoPs. The resources became visionary boundary objects (Kubiak, Fenton-O’Creevy, et al., 2014). One of these values was the importance of celebrating the cultural heritage of young people and centring contemporary artists from similar backgrounds (chapter 9). During the social movements of the pandemic (Pleyers, 2020), both sectors have had to reflect and make changes to ensure that their work addresses present inequities, such as the representation of global majority artists for a school population that is increasingly from global majority backgrounds (Tereshchenko et al., 2020).

Cultural organisations are well-placed to support teachers in diversifying their curriculums. In interviews, teachers highlighted that many of the resources available, such as Twinkl, were weighted towards white European male artists. Moreover, teachers questioned the relevance of certain organisations for their young people; several teachers mentioned wanting to avoid attending specific organisations or participating in projects (all examples were large national organisations) because of concerns that they would not be relevant to their young people (chapter 6). Teachers often gave examples of working with local

organisations or artists they considered relevant and relatable to their young people and their communities. Although cultural organisations, including Tate, are addressing this problem and teachers appreciated Tate's work of sharing global majority artists, teachers need to be explicitly told that Tate, a large art museum, shares inclusive values and aims to centre children's own cultural backgrounds (which happened in HMS). Additionally, the perception that large national organisations are less relevant for diverse children and young people is unlikely to be a separate issue from the lack of global majority teachers who engage with the programme. However, further research would be needed to confirm this.

Nevertheless, although HMS was successful in this and other regards, the resources' potential as objects of change and transformation was limited. None of the teachers' descriptions of what they did to facilitate the project suggested they took on an artist identity or taught differently from how they usually did. The resources were not interpreted as objects of difference as had been hoped for – they were not 'bridges' to gallery education; in these encounters, teachers remained members of their own CoPs. To move beyond their own CoP, teachers would have benefited from further articulating the expected approach and 'participating' with the offer, for example, some interactivity, such as a welcome session, where they could ask questions.

In the other large project in this research, ARP, the 'bridge' that was introduced was insufficient to scaffold the teachers' experiences but also limited the changes that could happen because the GECOP were missing knowledge as to what the schools and teachers needed and already had in place. In CPD sessions, teachers were expected to immerse themselves in artist practice. In ARP, due to recognising that teachers found it hard to then incorporate the practice encountered in CPDs into classroom practice, a Reflection Session was introduced, which was developed iteratively in the project. However, rather than facilitating learning from the CPD, the final Reflection Session in the study centred around teachers listing barriers to bringing the practice into their classrooms (detailed in chapter 10). Much time was spent reflecting on and distinguishing the difference between practices, a form of *identification* as described by Akkerman and Bakker (2011). The Reflection Session format was still developing. This research suggests further connections to the classroom in the form of brokers or support (scaffolding) may be necessary as the experiences provided

by the gallery education team would be better able to recognise and address these barriers at the outset.

The gallery educators' role was vital in Reflection Sessions. When working with artists, the gallery education team understood their role was supporting teachers to understand the underlying approach of the artists, a kind of brokering practice between the artist practice and the teachers. They used questions and prompts to support the teachers to think beyond replicating the activities the artist(s) used (chapter 10). The gallery education team were critical in helping teachers identify artists' approaches and supporting them to reflect on their own practice and experience with art. Although this happened before the pandemic, the further acknowledgement of this role was a significant shift for the team and put more attention on the team's own beliefs about pedagogy.

However, in the interview in February 2022, the team still referred to the 'triangle' of audience, artist and art (chapter 4) that did not include their role in the learning experience. This omission indicates that it may be helpful for the gallery education team to position themselves within the learning experience as their role is important.

I suggest that the gallery education team would better be able to build connections with schools by further engaging with them. They could engage with schools and simultaneously maintain their practice's difference; this would give teachers a 'way in'. For instance, the team could have explored alternatives to curriculum linked outcomes to indicate what they would like the teachers or children to have thought about or explored. They could use a word other than 'outcome' for this, for example, intentions or aspirations. Although the GECOP did not embrace using outcomes, there were often clear outcomes that they wanted teachers and their children to take from engaging; for example, in HMS (chapter 9), they could have introduced the following aims for children (which I have written from my observations of the HMS project team meetings and seeing the resources):

The resource should enable children:

- to know that their own cultural background is worthy of being considered as inspiration for art;

- to know that artists come from different backgrounds, for example, global majority backgrounds, and use their cultural experiences to make art;
- to create art inspired by their own cultural background.

The gallery education team were concerned that a pre-shared 'outcome' would restrict what could happen, e.g., 'All participants will produce a piece of artwork in a particular style'. Perhaps the outcomes I developed during the research process would be ones that the gallery education team would agree with. They may be quite different outcomes to those used by teachers in lessons. However, they may have helped with teachers' expectations of the engagement without compromising what the gallery education team offered.

The relationship to school practice and how this shaped boundary encounters had implications for who was able to benefit from being in the space. Throughout the study period, the gallery education team were concerned with, and working to change, who attended boundary encounters; they wanted to connect with generalist primary teachers (and teachers from global majority backgrounds). However, most teachers who engaged were art leads - or at least art-interested (and from White British backgrounds). They were also typically women. This was also true of participants in this research.

By the end of the research period, the team had established a new project in partnership with a Professor of Education with a specialism in equity and 'race' issues to explore broadening the audience to include more teachers from global majority backgrounds. This new project built on prior work with this Professor, including another collaborative PhD project. The initiative was supported by broader organisational strategies to develop anti-racist practice.³⁷ However, there was less of an evident strategy on how the programme would engage generalist primary teachers and address their difficulty accessing the opportunities available through Tate. Anecdotal evidence suggested that school visits continued to include a majority of secondary audiences.

The gallery education team encountered a paradox concerning primary teachers. During the research period, it became clear that the art leads were not necessarily the best people to

³⁷ <https://www.tate.org.uk/about-us/our-commitment-race-equality>

be in the boundary encounters to generate change in the wider school. At the same time, they were the staff members who felt most comfortable in these boundary encounters; their knowledge of art was greatest, and therefore, they could take more from them. The teachers interested in art marked themselves as different from colleagues in their ability to access resources from Tate (and other cultural organisations) - art leads were usually 'on board' already. This research has indicated that generalist primary teachers may need further scaffolding and support to access what is on offer.

Most children in primary schools are taught by a generalist rather than a specialist art teacher. The generalist primary teacher is expected to be an expert in over 11 subjects. These subjects all have different knowledge and pedagogical approaches associated with them. There has been some debate on how subjects are taught by a generalist in primary schools (Rhys-Evans, 2020; Tidd, 2019), and whether it is a successful model. The role of subject leads has been seen to support teachers across the school to engage with the range of subjects (Ofsted, 2009). Although there is increasing attention on Foundation Subjects because of Ofsted's (2019) requirement to teach a 'broad and balanced' curriculum (e.g., Waters & Banks, 2022), numeracy and literacy are dominant as they are the focus of accountability measures. This study suggested that primary teachers feel they are only experts in some subjects they teach (chapter 6). In interviews, the teachers described supporting colleagues with art in their schools either in a formal or non-formal role. However, there is no requirement for schools to hire people with any expertise in the subject, which is a challenge when planning curricula or supporting other staff.

Primary teachers occupy a particular position, different from that of secondary teachers, in relation to their membership of CoPs and, therefore, may need distinct support. Primary teachers experience multi-membership (Kubiak, Cameron, et al., 2014) of different CoPs relating to different subjects and the wider school (chapter 6). Although teachers in this study did give examples of brokering the cultural offer to other staff (Thomson & Hall, 2018), particularly in creating 'cultural/arts hubs' during the pandemic, in interviews and boundary encounters, the teachers more frequently brokered the school practice to the boundary encounter. This perhaps highlights the teachers' assumption that there is a lack of knowledgeability (Omidvar & Kislov, 2013) of primary school practice amongst gallery educators and the cultural sector (and the researcher). This makes primary teachers a

different audience from secondary where their dominant CoP is art and design, and they are likely to have at least an undergraduate qualification. Primary schools had a dominant pedagogical approach, more associated with the core subjects. The dominant pedagogical approach influenced how teachers in this study taught and talked about art. Alongside this, the curriculum in art and design emphasises skills and progression (DfE, 2013), and even art leads are likely to have had little training in the subject (NSEAD, 2016; The All-Party Parliamentary Group for Art, 2023). Therefore, the gallery education team's pandemic programme challenged the primary teachers. This also had implications for the learning teachers could take from engaging with the gallery education programme.

The gallery education team aimed for transformational learning (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011) to take place for teachers. Although this was rarely achieved, it is important to note that transformative learning is rare in any boundary encounter (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011). The case study of HMS made clear that a boundary object struggles to change a CoP independently. In the pandemic, many organisations (including Tate) turned to digital resources (boundary objects) as a way to continue working with the audience. These have many advantages, including being a cost-effective way of reaching a large audience, being accessible, cheaper than a visit and being reusable. However, this study suggests that because the boundary objects are likely to be interpreted locally (i.e., within the CoPs) (Star, 2010), they are not objects of change per se. Similarly, the boundary encounters' in ARP were limited by predominantly one-way interaction, curtailing the learning that could occur (Wenger, 1998). However, at least one teacher did experience transformational learning (chapter 10).

Even though the learning teachers took from engaging with the programme was limited, the experiences did have intrinsic value to the teachers who engaged. Even teachers who commented about not understanding the experience's relevance or being unable to take learning into the classroom remarked that they really enjoyed it; for example, it was described as 'headspace'. This expression of value points to the importance of moments of difference in teachers' day-to-day where they can connect to other teachers, reflect, and be in different spaces. These benefits relate to physiological, psychological and social wellbeing (Fancourt & Finn, 2019).

Although the government has produced a wellbeing charter for school staff (DfE, 2022a), it remains something understood as not as important for teachers as other opportunities and/or commitments (DfE, 2016), and, therefore, hard for teachers to justify the need for such experiences to school leaders. Nonetheless, as professionals in stressful jobs where the wellbeing impacts are recognised and seem to have connections to teacher retention (National Education Union, 2021), there may be a place for these artful experiences with or without teachers being able to take learning into classrooms. The gallery education team noted the practice's connections to broader social and emotional skills in the desire to reach beyond the subject of art and design to PSHE in HMS. However, these desires were not fully articulated to teacher participants and (therefore) not consistently recognised by teachers. The gallery education team referred to teachers being able to support their young people in PSHE rather than direct benefits for the teachers themselves. I suggest the gallery education team could further articulate this wellbeing benefit for teachers.

CODA

This chapter has shown that although the period was one in which the gallery education team reflected on their practice, particularly its relation to schools, by the end of the study, the practice had returned to something recognisable from before the pandemic with a few minor shifts. The team reasserted the difference of the practice as essential, and, throughout the study, the core of the community of practice was resistant to changing the pedagogical approach, which was a decision supported by strong beliefs. The chapter has demonstrated that although teachers' transformative learning from the boundary encounter was limited, they reported engagement to have wellbeing benefits, which the team could build on. In order to better cater for the primary teacher audience, their multi-membership of communities of practice needs to be considered.

Chapter 12 - Conclusion: Gallery education emerging from the pandemic

This thesis has documented how the pandemic created a push and pull on the practice of a gallery education team as it sought to respond to meet teachers' needs. The pandemic disrupted the day-to-day running of the programme at the art museums, closing the galleries and, even when they opened, limiting the number of people that could be together in the space; this forced the gallery education team to re-think practice and how it can work at a distance. Simultaneously, as the pandemic and the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement shook gallery education and the wider art museum, the period became one of reflection. It was felt as a reckoning as the practice was found to reinforce inequities.

The pandemic was demanding and disruptive for many people, including gallery educators. The gallery educators had to deal with issues that all of society had to deal with, such as the risk of illness, lack of childcare, reduced social contact, as well as having to radically change their programme and face an uncertain future with decreased funding. During these difficult times, it was generous of the team to participate in a research project and to allow me the access I had; I not only observed the moments when things went well but times when the team were challenged, which they used as learning opportunities. The team embrace reflective practice.

The team also responded to a challenging context in primary schools. I am grateful to the teachers who participated in this study for sparing their time. Teachers were under significant pressure. Although teachers often want to take time to engage with cultural offers and reflect on themselves as professionals, this is demanding as the day-to-day of keeping things up and running takes priority.

In this conclusion, I summarise the findings from the study before locating them in the literature. I then use the findings to suggest recommendations for the gallery education team and offer prompts for learning teams in the cultural sector. I include limitations of the study and areas for future research. The conclusion ends with a reflection on why this research is essential.

Answering the research question

During a remote ethnographic study, I responded to the research question:

How does a Gallery Education Programme change to support teachers with art during a pandemic?

This study found that:

- the pandemic enforced a fundamental change in practice for gallery educators by removing the gallery space. They were left with digital tools as the principal means to connect to schools;
- gallery education was based on immersive, discursive and responsive experiences which were difficult to replicate digitally;
- the pandemic was a period of reflection which was accompanied by social movements and a broader period of reckoning in the cultural sector;
- on entering the pandemic, primary teachers valued art; although they often lacked the resource and training to support their teaching;
- cultural organisations were important for primary teachers to support children's wellbeing and enable moments of connection during the pandemic. However, time to engage with art decreased during the period;
- within the GECOP, different team members held distinct positions concerning the relationship to school practice; those on the periphery imagined a radical shift in practice that responded directly to teachers, whereas those at the core felt strongly about maintaining fundamental values of gallery education practice;
- teachers were central to how the programme changed. However, school practice challenged gallery education's values and ways of doing things. Sometimes, these values and ways of doing things were more important to the gallery educators than directly offering what teachers requested;
- rather than seek to change the fundamental values of their practice, the team explored ways to 'bridge' their practice to schools;
- 'bridging' included employing language from schools in the digital resource Hear My Story. This 'bridging', and its shared values, meant it was successful. However, it was not an object of change;

- ‘Reflection Sessions’ supported primary teachers to explore learning from the CPD. The differences between practices were reflected on; some sessions resulted in only identifying the barriers to this nondirective practice in schools;
- ‘Bridging’ also included collaborative work. However, the team’s understanding of collaborative practice was sometimes incompatible with the teachers’ lack of time, as well as the gallery educators’ own resistance to engaging with elements of school practice and their perception of the different expertise held by each group;
- teachers had a range of responses to the experiences offered, which informed the GECOP. The overwhelming benefit for teachers related to wellbeing and connecting to colleagues;
- even though the team aimed to change to support all primary teachers with art, teachers with more experience and knowledge of art felt more comfortable in the spaces, highlighting the challenge of an ‘art offer’ for generalist primary teachers;
- by the end of the study, the gallery education practice, having gone through a period of change, returned to something recognisable from before the pandemic.

Therefore, as a result of the pandemic, gallery educators found themselves navigating a new social context for their practice with digital tools as their only means to connect. The context increased the importance of connecting and responding to primary teachers to help the gallery education team understand primary schools and act in this changed reality. This was a reflective and practical process. However, in this uncertain time, the values and difference of gallery education became important to safeguard and maintain to ensure young people can have nondirective experiences with art to learn about themselves and others. The gallery education programme largely ‘returned to normal’ when emerging from the pandemic.

The contribution of the study to the literatures

The research makes contributions to the literature on communities of practice (CoP) responding to crisis (1), the impact of the pandemic on the cultural sector (2) and the literature on the relationship between arts practices and schools (3).

1. Communities of practice in a crisis

The thesis is a study of how a CoP may navigate a crisis. The social connection enabled by a CoP may support people through a crisis (Bolisani et al., 2021). Differently, my research found that maintaining the GECOP was challenging during the pandemic and required additional effort from the senior members of the team. Several of the senior team members described maintaining the CoP as becoming their predominant workload. It appears they did this successfully; in fact, several junior team members reported feeling more connected to the gallery education team during this period. Other literature on CoPs does recognise the emotional workload involved, for example, in the brokering role (Kubiak, Fenton-O'Creevy, et al., 2014). However, I am unaware of literature that recognises the emotional workload in maintaining a CoP through a crisis.

A CoP can be a way to develop new practice to respond to a crisis (Bolisani et al., 2021); however, in this case, the continuity of the novel approach did not continue. The broader context of 'returning to normal' may partly be responsible for this, as well as factors detailed in chapter 11.

2. The pandemic for the cultural sector

The research adds to the broader literature on how the pandemic challenged the cultural sector (ICOM, 2021; Walmsley et al., 2022). Research has identified that larger organisations were better positioned to respond to the pandemic (Kidd et al., 2021). My research showed that although being part of a large organisation was a protective factor, the gallery education team had almost no access to the digital teams that were better equipped to manage the move online. It is unlikely all teams in a large organisation would benefit from a limited digital infrastructure; in Tate, income-generating activities were prioritised. The pandemic had a different impact on different activities within the art museums.

The gallery education team were challenged by the BLM movement and wanted to find ways to improve the situation; this is in line with other groups and individuals in these positions (Crooke, 2020; Downey, 2020; Jacobs, Finneran, & Quintanilla D'Acosta, 2020; Kantawala, 2021). As in other areas, they did not resolve these issues; they were still in flux. This research has shown the importance of the cultural sector's work addressing inequity for teachers and their young people.

3. Relationship between arts practice and schools

The research also makes four contributions to knowledge about the relationship between arts practice and schools:

- a. The gallery education team have a particular relationship with schools. The relationship differed from the one often suggested to museums as it did not directly engage with the curriculum (Arts Council England, 2016; Black, 2012). Therefore, the encounter between the two groups sought to test the boundaries of each practice and where they could come together. It has already been found that teachers and gallery educators may hold misconceptions about each other (Herne, 2006); however, this went further than different approaches as gallery educators resisted engaging with certain aspects of school practice. Gallery educators' values, such as positioning teachers as democratic professionals (Sachs, 2016), were incompatible with some dominant ways of doing things in schools. Challenging a dominant way of doing things in schools is complex, and the gallery educators were, understandably, not in a position to do this.
- b. Through the research period, the gallery education team tried different ways of navigating the relationship between their own approach and that of primary schools, which often corresponded to the literature. This research found that teachers involved in the project longer benefited more, which aligns with other evidence (Hall & Thomson, 2021; Kenny & Morrissey, 2020). Discussion is often cited as a way to ease these relationships (Galton, 2010). However, this was only sometimes the case in this study. Discussions in the Arts Reach Project (ARP) sometimes struggled to move beyond the barriers to something productive. Discussion may not lead anywhere if neither party is willing or able to compromise.
- c. The study also contributed to the literature on art and school partnerships and collaborative practice, highlighting that it is not only challenging but also whether teachers have enough time to participate fully. I have established that a genuinely collaborative experience was highly complex, with power dynamics created by unequal allocation of time, resource and budgets (Durose et al., 2011). Given the pressures on teachers' time and other reports of this type of work (R. Adams, 2014; B. Andrews, 2011; Chemi, 2019; Gregory & March, 2020; Griffiths & Woolf, 2009;

Hall et al., 2007; Harding, 2005a; Liu, 2007; Snook & Buck, 2014), it seems it is an issue not just related to the gallery education team, but applicable across the sector.

- d. Finally, the study added to evidence that primary teachers require more support with the subject of art and design (B. Cooper, 2018; The All-Party Parliamentary Group for Art, 2023). This study confirmed that it is difficult for primary teachers to encounter art practice – something acknowledged by the literature (Craft et al., 2012; Harding, 2005a; Herne, 2006; Thomson et al., 2006). This difficulty related to art leads and those in generalist positions. The little initial and ongoing training teachers receive means they are not confident teaching the subject (B. Cooper, 2018; Thomson & Vainker, 2022). There were two barriers to the gallery education practice meeting this need; firstly, what was on offer did not respond to priorities in school (i.e., showing progress, teaching drawing). Secondly, the programme did not reach teachers who were not already art-interested. These teachers are the ones that are most in need of the offer.

As a collaborative doctorate, it is crucial that the research contribute specifically to the knowledge and practice of the host organisation.

The significance of the research

This section is divided into three sub-sections. It starts with the implications for the gallery education team (1). Although this study has been exclusively with one learning team at a cultural organisation, it has implications for others carrying out similar roles, which are addressed in sub-section 2. The final sub-section (3) addresses the implications for schools.

1. Significance for the gallery education team

The research suggested that there are numerous benefits of the gallery education team's programme for schools, teachers and young people. Teachers valued the programme. The resources were useful to provide moments of difference, connection and a way for children and young people to process the events of the pandemic. Beyond the pandemic, the team provided important professional development that enabled teachers to develop their practice and reflect on their professional roles. The opportunities to do this within primary schools were generally limited. However, at times, there were small improvements that

would have allowed more teachers, particularly from non-arts backgrounds, to engage with the programme.

From the study, I have produced suggestions for the gallery education team who managed the schools programme at Tate. I have separated these into three categories: within the team, the digital offer and working with primary schools.

Within the team:

- The team would benefit from more time to reflect on the changed context in the art museum and schools following the pandemic;
- The team would benefit from a model to conceptualise change in the programme. The model of CoPs (as continually changing learning communities) may be helpful;
- This research found that the team often took a collaborative approach to developing programmes (for example, HMS in chapter 5). However, there were areas that collaboration across the whole team was not invited, such as the pedagogical approach. Either the reasons why this is the case should be communicated to the whole team, or the senior team should seek ways to enable collaboration;
- The triangle model of artist, art and audience should be revisited to include the gallery educators;

Like many other cultural organisations, the gallery education team will continue to use digital tools (Kidd et al., 2021). Given the findings of this research, there are several issues they should consider when developing the digital offer:

- What makes a digital offer for schools and teachers from Tate unique? How does it work with the other established offers for this audience?
- Given that this research found the digital resource (HMS) was not an object of change, they should explore the purpose of digital resources;
- If online CPD were to continue, there would need to be further work to ensure that online CPD was of value to teachers. This research found that the discursive practice was hard to facilitate online, and teachers preferred being in the gallery.

The final area of change arising from this study concerns the relationship between the gallery education team and primary teachers. The gallery education team could benefit from:

- Engaging further in what happens in schools to better understand the realities of teachers;
- Seeking to better communicate the ethos and approach of their programme to schools in language that teachers understand;
- Re-examining what teachers are expected to 'take' from CPD, i.e., activities, pedagogical approaches, wellbeing benefits, reflection on teaching practice;
- Make spaces where gallery educators and teachers can question and learn from each other.

2. Significance for the cultural sector

Although I recognise that Tate occupies a specific position in the cultural sector's landscape of practice (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2014), the research has implications for learning teams working with schools in the wider cultural sector.

For teachers, the cultural sector needed to continue to offer resources during the pandemic. The research suggested an important role for cultural organisations in schools. The resources connected schools to the broader world, creating moments of affinity amongst the community and moments of difference in a challenging period. The cultural sector needs to recognise this as a continual responsibility and allocate funding accordingly.

Through authentic collaborative practice with schools, the cultural sector can reach a broad sector of society, which is of benefit to cultural organisations looking to broaden their audiences. Although the teachers who participated in this study lacked the time to fully collaborate with the gallery education team, they benefitted from long-term relationships with the gallery education programme. Boundary encounters were most successful when both teachers and the gallery education team shared their ways of doing things and the underlying beliefs that informed practice. Both groups were able to learn. Through this process trust was developed. Although teachers' and gallery educators' lack of time was a hindrance to collaborative practice, working in this way brings significant benefits and means that the cultural sector is better able to respond to the changing needs of schools.

An additional benefit that cultural organisations can provide for schools is support in addressing the issues raised by the Black Lives Matter movement. Teachers appreciated the resources on global majority artists that were shared in the Hear My Story project. Teachers and the gallery educators felt it was important to celebrate the cultural backgrounds of young people. Teachers also benefited from reflecting on things like unconscious bias. Other cultural organisations should continue to consider questions of representation and how the cultural experiences of young people are valued in their resources.

At the heart of this research study was the relationship between the learning team at an art museum and schools and what it was expected to be. The literature is keen to suggest that the cultural sector responds directly to schools' requests (Arts Council England, 2016; Black, 2012). However, the education sector is increasingly moving to a model of education where teachers follow scripts or lesson plans (Abrams, 2017; Hazell, 2017), perhaps created at a multi-academy trust level (G. Barton, 2022; Parker, 2022a), rather than teachers using their own professional judgement to plan and lead learning that is relevant for their students. It is important to note that there are other trends in education (e.g., Waters & Banks, 2022). I have described this as an example of two different conceptions of professionalism, managerial and democratic (Sachs, 2016). The cultural sector might resist managerial ways of working. However, this is undoubtedly challenging.

The research establishes that there are numerous assumptions underlying the practice of cultural learning. Therefore, working from the research results, I have created prompts designed for learning practitioners working with schools in the cultural sector. These are not intended to have a correct answer but to encourage practitioners to take time to reflect.

- How are beliefs and assumptions about your practice reflected on?
- What is the role of teacher feedback in the programme?
- What do you understand the teacher's role to be in your programme?
- Can a project be collaborative? Are there values or practice that are uncompromisable? How will this be managed? How are the power and resource differences managed?
- Who are the teachers participating in programmes, and why is this important?

- Who are the schools you work with? What are the schools' existing art offers? Are there other schools that may benefit more?
- What are the differences between working with primary and secondary teachers?
- What is the role of SEND teachers in the programme? What do they gain?

3. Significance for schools

Given the research's relationship to teachers, this research has fewer recommendations for schools and teachers.

However, even working with a convenience sample of art-interested teachers who all described schools where the arts are supported, it was surprising how limited the spaces and time were for art-related CPD or discussion. The research supported other findings about art in schools and adds to the calls to ensure that teachers receive more professional development and more resources (Tambling & Bacon, 2023; The All-Party Parliamentary Group for Art, 2023) to support them in providing a broad and balanced curriculum that all students are entitled to (Ofsted, 2023).

Reflection on the research limitations

All research has limitations, and although there are lessons for future practice I have drawn from this study, it is not certain that there will ever be another 'pandemic' in the same way. Another similar incident now would be more familiar to society in general. The unprecedented nature of the pandemic may make the question of how a gallery education team responded in a pandemic redundant. However, I suggest the research results remain relevant because of the continuing financial pressures. Additionally, as many of the gallery education team believed, it offered an opportunity to stop, reflect, and think about practice that would not have happened otherwise.

A limitation of the research is the unique position of the teacher participants. The teachers who participated in the research were all art-interested primary teachers at schools that were, on the whole, supportive of the arts. Although the teachers described what colleagues with less experience would do or feel, this is not the same as directly speaking to them.

There are also limitations to the methodology I used. In chapter 1, I describe a disruption to the original research design that resulted in my decision to change the approach to a

remote ethnographic study. Given the funding pressures, I did not have time to build relationships with a new organisation; however, a case study approach across several cultural organisations would have been useful, given that the work of Tate in this area is so unique.

Future areas of research

This research project has generated several possible areas for future research.

My analysis showed that there would be benefit in further research on schools' visits to galleries, including what teachers find helpful about them, but more importantly, children's experiences of them. It would be useful if there was a comparative study between large, national organisations and more local ones. For example, teachers chose to participate in Year 3 because Tate was involved (Tate Schools and Teachers Team, 2020), but did this matter to the children? Or was there more value in the images shown in places familiar to them, like a small focus group suggested (Benson, 2020)?

This research only had two participants from a special school who suggested that what happens in special schools regarding art teaching and learning practice and relationships with arts organisations differs from mainstream schools. Special school teachers also indicated they were taking on 'consultant' roles for the cultural sector. It would be helpful to examine whether this is the case across other special schools. Sim's (2019) research has found that youth workers often do free consultancy work for the cultural sector. Neither youth workers nor special school teachers are financially reimbursed for this work. It potentially raises a skill set and knowledge missing in the cultural sector.

Finally, extended ethnographies in schools with teachers to explore art teaching and learning would benefit the education and cultural sectors. The research demonstrated that ideas about what happens in classrooms are different from the realities of how teachers teach. With the introduction of the Ofsted subject review and recognition of different ways of teaching art (Ofsted, 2023), it may be pertinent to research how young people experience these and the other benefits and skills developed from each approach. This may help teachers justify when using a particular method or better plan for progression.

The importance of gallery education

To conclude, I want to emphasise why this research, and, therefore, gallery education, is important. The findings from this research are essential as there is continued pressure on the cultural sector (Easton & Di Novo, 2023). Increased financial pressure on cultural organisations could prevent them from providing resources or prioritising school audiences. Not only are schools mainly unable to pay for experiences, but they are also potentially difficult to work with, short on time and require particular experiences. However, a family programme, for example, is unlikely to reach the range of children who attend through a school programme. Many families will need help to afford travel to attend organisations like Tate, even if they live reasonably locally. This is apart from whether they would feel welcome or not or whether they have time. There continues to be inequity in young people's access to cultural organisations (DCMS, 2020b), and working with schools remains the best way to reach diverse children and young people.

In schools, increased time and funding pressures are already making visits to cultural organisations difficult (The Sutton Trust, 2023) or participating in projects challenging. Teachers have insufficient training in certain subjects, and there is a lack of political prioritisation of the arts (Tambling & Bacon, 2023). Therefore, engaging with cultural organisations' expertise offers a potential remedy.

Moreover, teachers overwhelmingly enjoyed being in the galleries. This benefit must be recognised as important for the children they teach, as well as for teacher retention, which continues to challenge the sector (M. Martin, 2023; National Education Union, 2021). Within the highly challenging period of the pandemic, teachers still wanted to engage with cultural organisations, and they were important to them and the young people they taught. On reopening, although it is challenging for teachers to take children on trips, Tate was booked up. Having access to art museums is vital for schools.

Therefore, having a schools learning offer is essential for Tate and something it should continue to prioritise.

Appendices

Appendix 1 – examples of field notes

Audience Action Plan Meeting – 25/05/2021 at 3:30pm on Teams

Present: Abigail, Evelyn, Mel, Frankie, Charlie, Jessie, Jackie, Bella

Helen, Jodie, Cara and Rachel [senior team members] were not in this meeting

Mel started by proposing that this meeting was split into sub-groups to talk to specific issues. These included mapping/timelining, research (including what other CPD there is, what schools need and want, racism in schools) and recruitment practices to the programmes. However, this did not happen and the conversation took place within the larger group. It touched on a lot of things, but was quite scattered.

Bella and Abigail had not been involved in this work so asked for an update on what had happened so far. Mel said that she was not that clear what the goals were. There was the mention of using the Problem Solving Framework from the Race Equity Taskforce. Jessie noted that their conversation last time had focused on how to gather demographic information from teachers.

...

This meeting was a different vibe without some of the more senior staff present. I think it showed that perhaps the rest of the team are not always following everything and I was glad to hear Mel had not understood what the TEST was as I really had not and had assumed I'd missed some meeting. Perhaps this conversation had happened elsewhere just not with the whole group.

Field notes from CPD, November 10th 2021, Tate Modern

We were told that this activity would be timed, suggesting that perhaps we were running a bit behind time. We were split into two groups to talk about some questions to do with the spaces of schools and learning environments. I was in a group with two teachers from mainstream and two from special schools, this led to what I felt like was a productive environment.

Questions were around agency in the space. This led to a discussion about how in special schools children were much more involved in decisions and were consulted. We talked about the limitations of particular buildings, e.g. Victorian ones and what they might allow for. We also talked about ownership of spaces and looking after them. In both schools parents had been involved in supporting with outdoor spaces. I write down notes, sometimes it is easy to get the points, other times more difficult.

Appendix 2 – interview questions for gallery educators

Can you explain your role(s).

Related to the pandemic:

What was your experience of closing the gallery in March 2020?

Assistant curators and curators: Have there been changes to your role in the last year? What have they been?

Schools booking assistants (who were furloughed until recently): Coming back, can you identify things that have shifted/changed in your role? Do you know why that might be?

Thinking about the last year, what have been the big changes to the programme?

Assistant curators and curators: Can you say any more about how pedagogy has changed/stayed the same?

Assistant curators and curators: How has the programme changed when working in digital?

Have you been aware of changes in schools? How? Have you responded to these?

How has the Black Lives Matter movement impacted the team and the wider organisation?

Is there anything else you'd like to add about the last year and a bit?

General questions

What do you see as the role of gallery education? Has this changed since the pandemic?

I know in the literature there is very much a suggestion that cultural education should become more 'schooly' to attract teachers and audiences, on the other hand Anna Cutler has written about Tate holding what is different about it, how do you feel your current work fits into this continuum?

Follow up - Does there need to be a relationship to the curriculum? Why? Why not?

What do you see the role of visits to the galleries for schools to be?

How do teachers inform your work? How do you work with teachers?

How do you understand the bridging role of the team?

Schools bookings assistants: How do you feel your role relates to bridging what the programme is and offers to teachers?

Do you have anything else to add?

Questions for February 2022 interview with curators

Do you feel that the role of physically being with art has changed? If so, how?

Has the role of the digital shifted/changed? How?

When I started with Year 3 it felt like there were changes happening to the programme, around working with generalist teachers, there were elements of that project that were different to what had happened before, HMS continued some of these ways of working that sought to really talk to what was happening in schools. How do you feel that this is/is not continuing in the programme?

Regarding the pilot project, Arts Reach, have there been any surprises or unexpected things that have been learnt in the development of it?

Reflecting over the past, coming up to, 2 years, and how the programme has developed, is there one particular change/continuance that has stood out to you?

Do you feel that the programme's role for schools has changed?

Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix 3 – interview questions for primary teachers

All teachers:

Arts at the school

What is your role in your school? What does that involve?

Did you study art? Specialist training?

How would you describe the role of arts in your schools? Barriers? Enablers?

Does the school have any arts related CPD? For whom? How much? What is it?

Art during the pandemic

Can you tell me about how you've been teaching art in the pandemic period? Have there been any barriers? Any things that have made it easier?

Do you have any examples of the type of thing you've been doing?

Have you engaged with any programmes run by cultural organisations? Which ones? Why did you choose this one? How did you use them/did you adapt them?

From cultural organisations: What types of things have been helpful? What has not been so helpful? What type of things do you need?

What do you see the role of cultural organisations being in this period whilst physical buildings are closed?

How has Covid impacted your arts provision?

School and cultural partnerships

What role do you have in supporting cultural partnerships in the school?

How many partnerships with cultural organisations do you currently have at the school?

Is this different or the same as prior to the pandemic?

How do you decide to enter into a partnership or project?

Are there any things that you think might be a barrier to success for a partnership?

What role do you feel partnerships play for the children and in the school?

Is there anything more you want from cultural partnerships?

Involvement with Tate programme

If they have been involved with a Tate programme, ask how they found it.

Questions for teachers who had used the Hear My Story digital resource:

Why did you choose to use the resource?

What was your experience with HMS? Shared around the school? What did you use/what was useful? Why?

Did you go on to use other packs? Why? Why not? If you did, how did you adapt them?

Questions for teachers involved in the Arts Reach Project

What made you want to get involved in this project?

Are you currently in any partnerships with arts organisations? What do they bring to the school?

For those who attended the CPD:

How did you find the sessions? If easier, choose one experience to describe.

What did you like about it?

Was there anything that you brought back to the classroom? Why? How?

Is there anything that could be put in place to help you take learning from the CPD into the classroom? (mention reflection sessions)

Appendix 4 – data analysis ‘inbetween writing’

This is an example of ‘inbetween writing’ (Coles & Thomson, 2016) that I completed on emerging themes in the data. The writing was not meant to be a finished piece but a tool for further analysis and reflection.

Why is it hard for teachers to ‘translate’ what Tate offer back to the classroom?

Particularly for Tate, the lack of listed outcomes seemed to cause issues. Certainly for the artist workshops, this was something mentioned as difficult for teachers. The reasons for it were not entirely understood. This was something that work had started on prior to the pandemic, and something that the Bookings Assistants and assistant curators saw as important to address. In a conversation with a teacher about this, he found the unknown aspect of the experience exciting, however, he mentions both colleagues and pupils who found this difficult. This is not something that is common in the sector. This teacher however linked it to the field of art.

Another teacher mentioned that she found the CPD hard to engage with as there was no skills focus. The lack of outcome made it hard to grasp, ‘it wasn’t concrete in a way’ (097). This lack of clarity was also expressed by a teacher who engaged with HMS. On behalf of colleagues, she said that she found it hard to know what they were meant to grab onto, they didn’t know the talking points. Another teacher said that her colleague who had attended the CPD had told her that she didn’t know what she got from attending (112), using the words, ‘I’m not sure what the conclusion is’.

Appendix 5 – analysis questions for interview data

Below are the list of questions that I asked of the interview data to assist me to work across the data set. I summarised participants answers to these in a table.

For the gallery educators:

How has digital impacted what they are doing?

How has the gallery closure impacted what they are doing?

How has the programme responded to young people?

How have teachers impacted what they are doing?

How has the programme responded to what's happening in schools?

How has the institution changed?

What is the relationship between the programme and the curriculum? Is it changing?

What have been the influences of other programmes?

How has BLM changed the programme?

How has the practice changed?

For teachers:

Who are they? Professional / personal background relating to art(s)

What do they think art is?

What is the school's approach to art?

How is it taught?

How did they teach during Covid?

Did they use resources from cultural organisations during the pandemic? Why? Why not?

Do they attend CPD from cultural organisations? Why? Why not?

Do they work in partnership with any cultural organisations? What is the project?

Teachers' experience with Tate programmes:

- HMS
- Year 3
- ARP
- Common Projects
- Other

Appendix 6 – landscape of practice of the cultural sector

To give a sense of the landscape of practice and to help situate Tate’s work, I have included a description of some of the programmes of arts and cultural organisations from desk research in table appendix 6-1.

Table Appendix 6-1 - showing a range of offers of art organisations for primary schools

Organisation	Information
South London Gallery ³⁸	A medium-sized gallery in South London. They offer free artist-led workshops for state maintained primary schools, which respond to the exhibitions as well as self-led visits. There are also several digital resources which include information about different artists and prompts of activities that can be done in the classroom. They do not make curriculum references.
The Drawing Room	<i>Rock Paper Scissors</i> ³⁹ is a programme led by the Drawing Room that has various strands, aiming to work with children and their families in formal and informal learning contexts. The project partners with primary schools and the organisation works collaboratively with teachers to develop the projects. This includes a series of workshops in schools led by artists.
Freelands Foundation	A small gallery with an artist-teacher network, ARTISTEACHER. ⁴⁰ This is a network that provides evening or twilight sessions (online and in-person) with talks and activities from a range of academics as well as (artist) teachers. Sessions are free and are not particular to any phase.
Primary Arts Networks	Across London there are several Primary Arts Networks, which are normally borough based. These can be associated with a cultural organisation. Within the group resources are shared, there may be training or talks from relevant people.
National Gallery	The <i>Take One Picture</i> programme ⁴¹ is aimed at primary schools. Teachers are offered CPD to support them to develop a cross-curricular response to an artwork from the collection. Schools are then able to submit their work for an exhibition in the National Gallery.

³⁸ <https://www.southlondongallery.org/schools/>

³⁹ <https://rockpaperscissors.drawingroom.org.uk/>

⁴⁰ <https://freelandsfoundation.co.uk/teacher/artistteacher-network>

⁴¹ <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/learning/take-one-picture>

AccessArt ⁴²	A paid membership organisation which provides resources. Some are skill based and some respond to a theme. They have recently developed a primary curriculum with schemes of work and host CPD for teachers. There is a cost to signing up, which can be done as an individual or as a school.
London South Art Hub ⁴³	The hub has lessons led by a teacher and interviews with contemporary artists. The lessons normally reference an artist or art movement and they are produced by primary teachers as part of a Multi-Academy Trust.
A New Direction	A New Direction (AND) ⁴⁴ is London's bridge organisation and provide resources and CPD, particularly relating to Artsmark. They also partnered with Tate on the Year 3 project.
Consultants	There are also several independent consultants offering primary arts training. These include the Primary Art Class ⁴⁵ and SP ACD ⁴⁶ .

⁴² <https://www.accessart.org.uk/>

⁴³ <https://www.londonsoutharthub.org/>

⁴⁴ <https://www.anewdirection.org.uk/>

⁴⁵ <https://theprimaryartclass.com>

⁴⁶ <https://www.ticketsource.co.uk/whats-on/online/online/all-primary-art-craft-design-cpd-sessions/e-kvtmlz>

Appendix 7 – description of gallery education team’s programme pre-pandemic
The table is not meant to be an exhaustive list of all the team’s activity but focuses on the strands and projects referenced during the research.

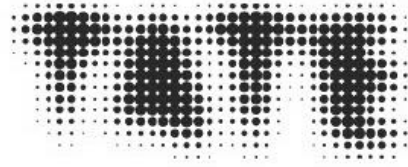
Table Appendix 7-1 - showing the gallery education team’s programme prior to the pandemic

Programme	Dates	Information
Self-led visits	Ongoing, paused, restarted June 2021	The most numerous engagement from schools came through self-led visits. The team administrated these visits and had a dedicated sub-team that were the main point of contact for teachers, either via email or phone.
Resources	Ongoing, put online during the pandemic	For self-led visits, schools were given the opportunity to use a series of resources developed by the team with artists. Rather than giving extra information about specific artworks or artists, these encourage different ways of interacting and looking at art.
Artist-led workshops	Ongoing, paused March 2020, restarted September 2022	A series of free, non-phase specific artist led workshops that took place in the gallery. Artists were encouraged to use their own practice to shape these.
CPD	Ongoing (open CPD paused during the pandemic)	A series of CPD sessions for teachers from all phases and sectors. These were on the whole one-off encounters, although a teacher could book to attend more than one. There was a cost attached to them. They were led by one or two artists.
Summer School	Ongoing, stopped during pandemic	The Summer School was a weeklong course framed by artist practice for teachers and educators. It was led by one or more artists. It was open for teachers from all phases and settings both nationally and internationally.
Steve McQueen’s Year 3	2018-2021	Steve McQueen’s Year 3 refers to both an artwork by Steve McQueen and a learning programme, further information is included in the thesis (p.106)

Alternative Provision Project	Paused during the pandemic	A long-term project with an alternative provision. The team developed relationships with staff, CPD led by an artist took place in the school, artists worked with the school and the young people were invited to the gallery space.
Common projects	Ongoing, stopped during the pandemic	A programme that ran annually throughout the academic year. It worked with a group of ten-fifteen teachers (all phases and settings) who regularly met alongside artists and gallery educators. It was a space for exchange of ideas and practice.
Assembly	On the opening of the Blavatnik building (2016)	Schools were invited to 'takeover' Tate Modern when the Blavatnik building first opened. This involved participating in activities.

Appendix 8 – an example of the Hear My Story Resource

Having trouble viewing this email? [Click here](#) to view it in browser.



HEAR MY STORY DIGITAL CREATIVE PACK 1

WHAT MAKES YOU, YOU?

'It matters what stories make worlds, what worlds
make stories.'

(Donna J. Haraway)



Joy Labinjo, *Talking into the night*, 2019

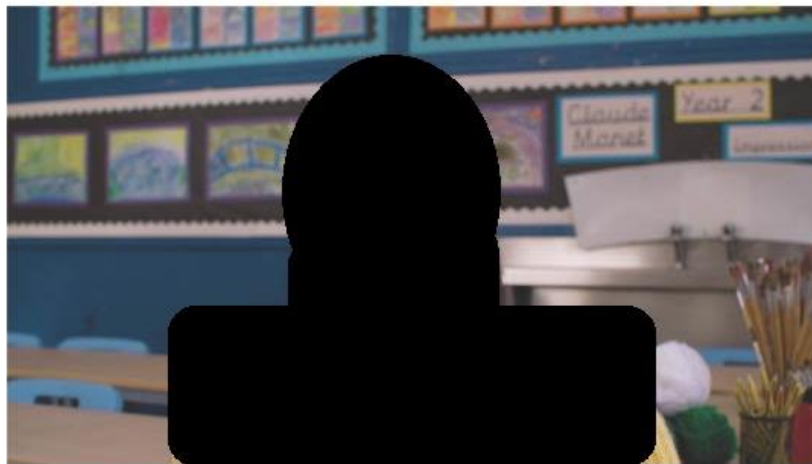
Hello and welcome to your first *Hear My Story* digital creative

pack. Designed to centre young people at this particularly challenging time, the content in this pack will encourage students to think of themselves – their lived experiences, cultures, histories, ideas and questions – as the perfect starting point for looking at art and making stories.

It matters whose stories get told, it matters whose stories we hear. Students across the whole school are invited to take part in the project. As the lead contact, you are receiving this pack to use yourself and to share with teachers whose classes are taking part.

This pack contains a video you can use to introduce the project to your colleagues and students, a detailed easy to follow printable version of the project's first activity, and a series of artwork links focusing on artists both in and outside of Tate's collection.

INTRODUCTORY FILM



We are excited to be collaborating with [REDACTED], an artist, art teacher and founder of [REDACTED]. An advocate for art in education, [REDACTED] is committed to promoting and facilitating thinking and action around themes of diversity and curriculum reform.

■■■■ has produced a video introducing the project and inviting your students to research themselves, using their own lives, families, histories, and identities as inspiration to tell their story.

Use the links below to watch each part of the video. We recommend pausing to reflect on the questions and prompts throughout Part 2 to discuss in the classroom.

[Watch Part 1 - For teachers](#)

[Watch Part 2 - For students](#)

ACTIVITY: RESEARCH *YOU!*



This first activity, set by ■■■■ invites your students to become researchers of their own lives. This would work well as a homework activity, perhaps over the upcoming Christmas break.

The activity invites students to work with their parents and carers to gather together a range of creative content that begins to tell their story. The story of what makes them, them.

Support your students by allowing time to explore the activity in the classroom together as a group and encourage them to consider which practical strategies they might use in order to research themselves.

There is no right or wrong way to do this activity, so encourage your students to follow their instincts and enjoy themselves.

Explore the activity

ARTWORKS

Here is a selection of artists for you to use as inspiration to support the first activity. The artists show how looking at different objects, places and people for inspiration can be a great way to start making art. Depending on how much time you have to spend on the project this term, you could:

- Watch them yourself and share with colleagues.
- Show them to your students in the classroom.
- Use them to kick start further research into the artists.



Chila Kumari Singh Burman

[Find out more](#)



Njideka Akunyili Crosby

[Find out more](#)



Joy Labinjo

Sarah Kwan

[Find out more](#)

[Find out more](#)

Read the quote below aloud to your students and consider together what this may mean for them in their own lives.

'I always thought that paintings had to be something kind of big and significant. Like a specific moment or about something spectacular. And then I discovered the Black British artists that were around during the 1980s and are still around now. They were just making work about everyday scenes, growing up in their family homes. And I looked at their work and felt warmth because this was something that was familiar to me.' *(Joy Labinjo)*

WHAT HAPPENS NEXT?

Invite your students to bring back what they have gathered to school. You will receive your next digital creative pack early in the Spring term with prompts, activities and inspiration for how to reflect on and develop the content your students have gathered.

SHARE WITH US ON TWITTER

Share your students' work and connect with other participating schools across London through [Twitter](#) by using the project hashtag [#TateHearMyStory](#)

ANY QUESTIONS?

Email us at: year3@tate.org.uk

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