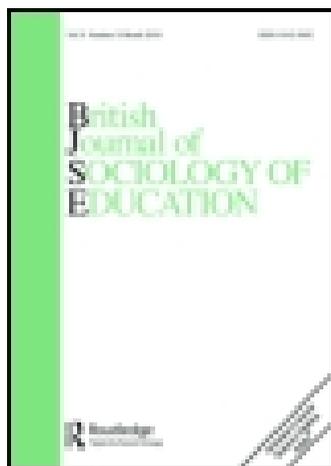


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Teaching like an artist: the pedagogic identities and practices of artists in schools

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This article reports findings from an ethnographic study of the arts curriculum and pedagogy in a British primary school. The policy context for the study is the school's involvement in promoting creative partnerships between teachers and artists. The pedagogies of three different artist-led projects are analysed, using a Bernsteinian framework, and are characterised in relation to notions of 'competence' and 'performance' pedagogies. These characterisations are then used to consider the impact of the artists' pedagogies on teachers in the school, and the extent to which the different pedagogies promote inclusion. Broad conclusions are drawn about the relative difficulty of adopting competence pedagogies in the current educational culture of British schools; more specific conclusions are drawn about the importance of time, text, discourse and interpretation in arts pedagogies.

Introduction

In recent years in the United Kingdom there has been a policy focus in education on engaging a wider range of adults to work with young people (Department for Education and Skills, 1998, 2001, 2003). The government's 'flagship cultural education policy' *Creative Partnerships*, introduced in 2002, promotes partnerships between artists and teachers, cultural institutions and schools. *Creative Partnerships* provides funding for practitioners of various art forms to work on projects in school. The aim is 'to give school children ... and their teachers the opportunity to explore their creativity by working on sustained projects with creative professionals'.¹ This policy builds on a trend, already well established through the national and regional Arts Councils and through the Museums, Libraries and Archives agencies, to promote the work of different kinds of artists in schools and to stage live events and community initiatives, often tied in to national campaigns or competitions, through schools.

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Our interest in this paper is in the pedagogic questions raised by these policy initiatives: how the artists teach, how and whether these ways of teaching differ from teachers' pedagogies, and the impact of the artists' involvement on the development of arts pedagogy in schools more generally. We begin by briefly describing the research context and then discuss our theoretical orientation.

Situating the research

Our project began as a pilot in 2003 and was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council² from September 2004. The aim of the research is to understand more about promoting social and educational inclusion through the creative arts. It is an ethnographic study of a primary school, here called Holly Tree School, in the suburbs of an English city. The school has 360+ children on roll, one-half of whom live on local council estates. A higher than average percentage of children qualifies for free school meals (24%). The school has a reputation as very successful and an inspection report that supports this reputation. It has a strong commitment to work in the arts and a history of involvement in creative arts initiatives.

Our research involved extensive fieldwork, interviews with teachers, support staff, artists, *Creative Partnerships* staff and parents. We interviewed children, both individually and in focus groups. We collected data on video and with still photographs, as well as through field notes and audio recordings. We analysed pupils' artwork and other project outcomes, attended performances and exhibitions and debated our emerging findings with a reference group drawn from the staff, the arts liaison worker and the governing body.

The work reported in this paper relates to three arts initiatives that took place in 2004/05:

- (a) *Portraiture Project*. This involved a part-time artist in residence working for one day a week in school on a series of large ($80 \times 100 \text{ cm}^2$) self-portraits with the whole cohort of year five pupils (aged 9 and 10). The portraits were developed slowly, over the school year, with the artist demonstrating techniques and sustained use being made of personal sketchbooks, in which many of the children practised and developed ideas at home. The work was supported by discussion about a variety of reproductions of portraits. The children's final portraits were created using oil-based and watercolour paints, collage, drawing and printed pattern. The portraits were framed and prominently exhibited during an Arts Week in which the school was open to the public.
- (b) *Writers' Workshop Project*. Two professional writers (a dramatist and a poet) ran a twice-weekly series of workshops for all year five pupils over a five-week period. The theme was autobiographical writing. The groups produced a composite text of vignettes and poems linked through the idea of a soap opera set in the school community. The selection and editing were done by a panel of children and the writers. The aim was to publish the work as a short book but, in the event, the school decided not to go ahead with publication (for further discussion of the

issues raised in this project, see Thomson *et al.*, 2006; for discussion of the wider policy issues related to creativity, see Hall & Thomson, 2005, 2007).

- (c) *Dance and Percussion (Samba) Project*. A musician and a dancer worked with percussion instruments to produce music and dance with year six pupils. The project was developed over eight weekly workshops. The focus was on samba dance and rhythms; all the children involved both played the instruments and helped devise the dance. The project concluded with performances for the whole school.

Using Bernstein's pedagogic theory

Bernstein has had a significant impact in the sociology of education. We found 24 articles in the *British Journal of Sociology of Education* published since 1999 (including a special issue [volume 23, number 4]) that have used concepts drawn from Bernstein; there was also an article by Bernstein (1999), a book review, an interview and an obituary. A number of these articles dealt with questions of knowledge and identity (for example, Moore & Muller, 2002; Beck, 2002; Menchik, 2004), some with the implications of Bernstein's theorisations (for example, Edwards, 2002; Hasan, 2002), some applied them to pedagogical issues (for example, Moss, 2002; Singh, 2002) and current policy (for example, Beck & Young, 2005), while a few worked his ideas in relation to gender (Arnot, 2002; Evans *et al.*, 2004) and class (Nash, 2001; Power & Whitty, 2002). In this corpus we found only two articles that applied Bernstein's theory to groups associated with schooling—families (Neves & Morais, 2005) and community workers (Singh, 2002)—whose pedagogies might be expected to be different and/or complementary to those of teachers. The present article makes a contribution to this last category of work in that it deals with artists working in partnership with schools.

Our theoretical framework is drawn from Bernstein's later work (Bernstein, 1996); in particular, we use the notions of 'competence' and 'performance' pedagogies. Bernstein argues that the 'social logic' of competence theories is a view of the subject as active, creative and self-regulating. Because an inherent competence is assumed, there is 'an in-built procedural democracy' (Bernstein, 1996, p. 43), a sceptical view of hierarchical relations, a focus on the present tense and what is presented (rather than on what is missing). Competence pedagogies therefore tend to focus on the learner and what the learner has achieved. Control is implicit or 'invisible'; that is, it tends to inhere in personalised forms of communication and an assumption of self-regulation. Learners are likely to have a greater degree of control over what they learn, the pace and sequencing of lessons and the spaces in which they occur.

Bernstein contrasts this with a performance model of pedagogic practice and context that 'places the emphasis upon a specific output of the acquirer [learner], upon a particular text the acquirer is expected to construct and upon the specialised skills necessary to the production of this specific output, text or product' (1996, p. 44) Performance pedagogies tend to rely on 'visible' practice:

... I called the practice *visible* when the hierarchical relations between teacher and pupils, the rules of the organisation (sequence, pace) and the criteria were explicit and so known to the pupils. In the case of *invisible* pedagogic practice the hierarchical rules, the rules of organisation and criteria were implicit and so not known to the pupils ... In the case of invisible pedagogic practice it is as if the pupil is the author of the practice and even the authority, whereas in the case of the visible practices it is clearly the teacher who is author and authority. (Bernstein, 1996, pp. 109–110)

Performance models therefore focus particularly on the text produced by the learner; the emphasis in the teacher's evaluation is on what is missing and how the outcomes can be improved; control is explicit through the teacher's regulation of space, time and discourse.

Presenting the pedagogies crudely, in terms of simple dualisms, suggests that performance and competence models are alternatives rather than tendencies at particular points in time or in particular teachers' pedagogic repertoires. Clearly, competence is often demonstrated by performance and performance is underpinned by competences. Effective teachers are likely to move between modes. Our point, therefore, is not to typecast the artists' teaching but to identify pedagogical tendencies and use this identification to understand more about the impact of creative partnership policies on educational practice. The promotion of partnerships has become a significant element in public policy internationally (Osborne, 2000) and, as Seddon *et al.* point out, 'in many cases, these partnerships are promoted by governments as a means of achieving social goals' (2004, p. 127). The goals propelling current *Creative Partnerships* policy in England are to 'animate the national curriculum ... and to enrich school life by making best use of the UK's creative wealth'.³ The policy is described as 'a tool for change' that 'over time will contribute to whole school change, unlocking creativity in everyone involved'. The educational problem is articulated clearly: '*Creative Partnerships* responds in part to the widely-held view that creativity has been squeezed out of teaching through the focus on the 3Rs'. To achieve these goals, the artistic partnerships must offer distinctive and sustainable ways of working in schools with teachers.

Our method has been to apply Bernstein's analytical framework to the data collected on each of the arts projects detailed above. There are six categories in Bernstein's pedagogic model:

- space, time and discourse,
- evaluation orientation,
- control,
- pedagogic text,
- autonomy, and
- economy.

These six categories were considered separately in relation to each of the arts initiatives and then in combination with one another, with the aim of characterising the pedagogies of the various projects. Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing were important to the analysis. Classification 'constructs the nature of social space'

(Bernstein, 1996, p. 12); it refers to relations between categories. Classification establishes the voice, the what; it is 'the means by which power relations are transformed into specialised discourses' (Bernstein, 1996, p. xvii). Framing 'refers to the controls on communications in local, interactional pedagogic relations' (Bernstein, 1996, p. 12); it establishes the message, the how. Framing is defined as 'the means whereby principles of control are transformed into specialised regulations of interactional discursive practices (pedagogical relations) which attempt to relay a given distribution of power' (Bernstein, 1996, p. xvii). Both the instructional and the regulative discourse of a lesson (expectations about conduct, character, manner, hierarchical relations in the pedagogic relationship, for example) contribute to the framing.

We characterise the different artists' pedagogies and then consider whether there was any evidence that the teachers in the school were influenced by the artists' approaches.

Artists' pedagogies

Portraiture Project

In the Portraiture Project, space and time were strongly classified (separated and bounded) in school. The art area was the hub from which the classrooms radiated; a steady stream of pupil and teacher traffic passed through and could observe what was going on without unduly disrupting proceedings. The sessions were highly visible and eagerly anticipated by many pupils. They occurred on Thursdays throughout the year, lasted for a full morning or afternoon, and were attended by groups of up to 10 children on a strict rota basis. Space and time were also strongly framed within the lessons; that is, in Bernstein's terms, the artist retained a high degree of control over the selection, organisation, pacing and timing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship. The lessons were segmented and very carefully sequenced. Homework, using sketchbooks, was built in to the sequence; it operated cumulatively as a record of the children's research and practice, and encouraged them to bring images from home into the classroom. The overall teaching sequence was finely staged to develop skills and attitudes; the importance of the sequence to the artist's pedagogy became particularly apparent in discussions of planning:

They [artist and teaching assistant] discuss the problem they experience of being tempted to jump the gun a little with the children; starting on the exhibition work before their skills and confidence have been nurtured enough is an easy mistake to make... (Fieldnote, 14 October 2004)

[Artist] explains that she doesn't feel that this group is ready to start with the paint; she says that if she starts them too soon on it they may get discouraged. (Fieldnote, 21 October 2004)

The lessons were oriented towards the future, particularly the final exhibition. Use of space was also strongly framed in lessons: the artist required the pupils to adopt particular postures (e.g. to experiment with standing up to draw), to regulate their gaze, particularly while she was demonstrating a technique, and to move in sequence

around the group to appreciate one another's work. The art area had some characteristics of a thoroughfare but it was also a focal point in which pupils were very visibly concentrating hard for prolonged periods of time on highly individuated pieces of work.

The discourse of the lessons was strongly framed in terms of the specialised skills and language of art. The school and the pupils recognised art as a distinctive activity, marked out by space, resources and the presence of the artist and teaching assistant. The Portraiture Project occupied the established, singular place reserved for art in the 'collection code' curriculum (strongly classified with a hierarchical knowledge structure). The realisation rules for pupils (i.e. how they might acquire the pedagogic code and participate in the lesson) were not difficult to assimilate: they related to keeping to the sequence and keeping up with the pace, effort and engagement.

The orientation towards evaluation was to identify what was missing or wrong, although this was gently and encouragingly done. A great deal of the discourse was evaluative: as well as the portraits, sketches and artwork, recognition of instruction, individual effort, appreciation of others' work, engagement, posture, gaze, use of equipment and the wearing of aprons were all liable to be evaluated. The pedagogy here, then, was highly visible: control was maintained through the explicit ordering and structuring of time, space and discourse, and minor acts of deviance were rare and deftly deflected. The pedagogic text of these lessons was the learners' performance, which was to be displayed in the summer-term public exhibition. The professionalism of the artist inhered in her explicit pedagogic practice (particularly her demonstrations, which greatly impressed the children), her ability to evaluate progress and coach for better performance, and her ability to judge the quality of the outcomes. As a part-time worker on a temporary contract the artist had relatively low autonomy, but her subject had status in the school curriculum. She operated efficiently as a specialist in a specialist area, to some extent sharing her knowledge with the teaching assistant but almost never with the teachers in the school.

In summary, then, the Portraiture Project operated with a performance pedagogy, promoting individual pupil achievement. The knowledge being taught was strongly classified as school related, academic, highly cultural; both the instructional and regulatory discourses were strongly framed. The artist was admired as an expert by pupils and teachers; the project resulted in individual works produced in supportive and encouraging circumstances. The artist's highly visible pedagogy influenced the teaching assistant she worked with, but appeared to have little influence on other teachers.

Writers' Workshop Project

The Writers' Workshop Project was strongly classified in terms of time and space: each writer worked in a classroom with approximately 20 children for an identified school session on a weekly basis. The writer⁴ resisted this strong classification: he wanted to work with the teachers rather than alone ('Most of the time I was left there on my own without another teacher being present') and with a consistent group of

pupils ('it was tricky because sometimes we wouldn't get the same children in the same group—they were moving them around ...'). Within the workshop sessions, space and time were weakly framed: the writer wanted the children to work collaboratively in self-chosen, fluid groups; he started his sessions with a series of exercises, but there was no obvious sequencing of activities towards a final outcome. He set homework (collecting family stories) but made it voluntary.

Pupils were expected to be self-regulating; in the absence of explicit sequencing structures or tight time boundaries, control was through personalised forms focused on intentions, dispositions and relationships. Since no prior relationship existed between the writer and the children, the group size was relatively large, the group membership changed and the class teachers did not lend their own authority, pedagogic control was difficult:

I think it was freeing them [the teachers] up ... I mean I could have put my foot down because they know that a teacher should have been present.

... I do kind of fire people up a little bit. (Interview, 15 March 2005)

The recognition rules in this situation were relatively difficult for the pupils to acquire: they were not necessarily clear about the distinctiveness of the project or its relation to the end product, and they had a degree of license in their movements and working practices that was unusual to the students. Realisation rules related to participation, collaboration, exploration of home issues in school, experimentation, choice of topic and form. Again, these were not necessarily familiar to the children as ways they were expected to participate in lessons. The writer did not consider the project to be successful or enjoyable, for him or for the pupils ('I think, to be honest, most of them [pupils] didn't really enjoy it').

Among the teachers, the project was understood to be part of the subject English, a high-status 'singular' with a hierarchical knowledge structure. In the collection code curriculum, creative writing was usually an individual activity, informed by secretarial considerations and influenced by a particular view of genre instantiated in the National Literacy Strategy (Department for Education and Skills, 1997). The writer, on the other hand, rejected the kinds of formal genre boundaries set out in the National Literacy Strategy as required learning about how to write. He was interested in an integrated approach to the curriculum: he wanted the children to learn more about themselves by writing fiction, and he approached composition through multi-modal appreciation of text and visual modes.

I wanted to find ways to get the children to write creatively and to write about themselves but not write about themselves—to find ways through which they could bypass that so they weren't just writing the normal autobiographical stuff ...

... I was just choosing models that they would like to write about or which would free their imagination. So as soon as we started talking about families and soap operas and then finding ways of describing...just something they would understand. How to write descriptively, so that they have a visual language ... children have a much more visual language these days than a written language. So I was just trying to tap into that. (Interview, 15 March 2005)

In his evaluations, the writer identified what was present in the learners' work, its authenticity to experience, its novelty, wit and mode of expression. The pedagogic text was the collaboration; the writer was looking for clarity of voice, energy, movement across genre boundaries, writing produced from visual imaging and drama—he was not aiming to identify individual effort or achievement. He recognised that this was sometimes difficult for the pupils:

Partly the thing about the portraiture project was that you had your own piece of work and you work on it and you work on it. But with this—working collaboratively—it can be tricky because you haven't got your thing that you are developing. (Interview, 15 March 2005)

The writer saw merit in the work because it revealed new perspectives on the children's lives and development: the 'text' of the sessions related to the present, not a future event.

I thought the work was good insofar as it sheds some interesting light on the pupils and how they view their lives ... all these families were created with these different characters which were obviously really interesting and obviously reflecting both their lives but also how much their views were dictated or filtered through television. (Interview, 15 March 2005)

The professionalism of the teacher/writer in this 'invisible' pedagogy related to facilitation of the process, editing the composite work and, very significantly, to his ability to read *through* the text produced to understand the development of the learner's competence. In this competence pedagogy, the broader meaning of a learner's signs is available to the teacher rather than to the learners themselves.

But both the teaching and the text produced were controversial with the other teachers in the school; they were uncomfortable with its content and not inclined to trust its authenticity to the children's lives.

Writer: And I think that what was really interesting was that, in the end, the teachers thought that the children couldn't have come up with it and that I must have led them down that path. They didn't print it because they thought I'd—it was a bit too weird and, you know, it was full of alcoholic mothers, and ...

Interviewer: ... I suppose that was quite difficult for the staff?

Writer: Well exactly. They're, like, 10, 11 and it's like, blimey! It's not really doing what—I think what they wanted was a nice project that gave a good portrait of the school and the pupils. And that came out as, kind of, quite dark. But really imaginative and, I think, really interesting work. (Interview, 15 March 2005)

The writer was unable to access teachers' support or interest in his methods and approach; he had no control over the decision about whether to publish the final text, and generally had little autonomy, despite the fact that the work was linked to a high-status curriculum area. His skills were not therefore particularly visible to the teachers in terms of process or outcomes. The writer's expertise was less novel to the teachers than the artist's since they all had some training and experience in teaching creative writing. No time was given prior to the project to discussion of the process:

Ideally what should have happened is myself and [poet] and the teachers and Creative Partnerships should have met and we should have spoken about the working practice ...

and I could have talked about my working practice and why I approached it in this way. I wasn't trying to denigrate the school or the area, but to just try and really get into the kids' lives—it was supposed to be autobiographical. (Interview, 15 March 2005)

After the project, no time was devoted to discussion or joint analysis of the text produced. Those teachers who saw the final collaborative text found it problematic and limited its circulation; the writer admired many aspects of the children's work and resented the teachers' responses to it. But the communication of these responses was covert rather than professionally debated.

In summary, then, the Writers' Workshop Project operated with a competence pedagogy, emphasising the present and the process, focusing on what the pupils brought to the session and on what they learned together. There was no rank ordering of achievement and little that would have been identifiable as an individual contribution. In school terms, the project was strongly classified as Literacy/English; in the artist's eyes the boundaries were more blurred and the project had an arts and socio-cultural framing and very little to do with 'literacy'. Further to this, and significantly for the school, the artist operated with a weak classification between home and school knowledge, starting from the assumption that the public exploration of socio-cultural issues and forms from the children's out-of-school experiences were legitimate areas for school work. Disjunctions between the artist's and the teachers' perspectives were not explored and the teachers were not in a position to be influenced by the artist's pedagogy. The gap between them was exacerbated in the teachers' eyes by the writer's weak framing of instructional and regulatory discourses, which were features of the 'invisible' pedagogy that were central to his way of working but difficult for the children to understand in the circumstances.

Samba Project

In the Samba Project, space and time were strongly classified: there were set sessions in the hall and in a classroom and, to some extent, time and space provided the subject matter of the lessons, which were about movement through available spaces and coordination of bodies. Control was maintained through the explicit ordering of time and space. Deviance was highly visible. The sessions were sequenced to build towards a final result; the overall teaching sequence was staged to accord with the acquisition and development of skills and attitudes. The pedagogy was future-oriented towards personal and group performance, in the sense of acquiring the skills and of performing publicly for the rest of the school. The discourse of the sessions was weakly framed in terms of the school curriculum: this was regionalised knowledge, a mixture of music, dance and PE. In sessions the discourse was strongly framed in terms of technical language, skills and expression through movement and sound. The recognition rules were clear: it was a distinctive activity, marked out by specialised equipment and demarcated space, time and personnel. Individual pupils worked within a highly regulated cooperative framework. Realisation rules related to keeping to the sequence and keeping up with the pace, collaboration but also individual performance, engagement and joining in.

The orientation in the evaluation was towards what was present in the learner's work: the expression, the effort and the engagement. Much of it was collective evaluation, some was individual. The pedagogic text (i.e. what was available to be evaluated) was cooperation, energy, movement, rhythm and engagement—the musical and dance performance. The professionalism of the artists inhered in their explicit pedagogic practice (especially demonstrating); their ability to evaluate in order to coach for better performance, and their ability to judge the results. The project leaders had a reasonable level of pedagogic autonomy. They were subordinate to external regulation in that there was a contracted number of sessions and a performance deadline; their work was marginal but linked to the mainstream curriculum. On the other hand, their work was also highly visible and they were specialists operating in their area of expertise, using explicit transmissive approaches. The instructional discourse was generally framed in technical rather than artistic terms. Teachers in the school were keen to learn from the artists; one teacher shadowed the project throughout, and the school invested in a set of percussion instruments with the intention of developing the work with other groups of children.

In some senses, then, the Samba Project was informed by a performance pedagogy: the teaching was highly visible; control was through the regulation of space, time and, to a lesser extent, discourse; and there was an orientation towards the final public performance as the text being produced. Yet there was also a strong orientation towards the expressive and towards inhabiting the present moment of engagement with the music and dance. Evaluation was focused entirely on what the children were able to do, not on what was missing or wrong. The 'social logic' of the pedagogy was a recognition of the children as competent, active, creative and self-regulating.

In interview, the Samba Project leader had a very clear analysis of these tensions. He knew what he wanted to attain in his work in school, and it had very little to do with producing a honed public performance:

I think everyone is born naturally creative and I think it is squashed out of them by society as they get older. And I think the extent to which it is squashed out of them depends on the environment in which they live, the relationships they have with their parents and their peers. And I see my role ... as trying to help them get back that sense of joyfulness. To try and get kids back to that state is my role. (Interview, 14 March 2005)

However, in his 12-year experience, schools tended to value product and performance over process:

It's very unusual to be asked into a school on a week by week basis to develop a piece of work that has some kind of creative talent in it. Because often what we are asked to do in an educational context isn't creative—or, it's creative in the sense that it is art, but it's instruction and didactic delivering. It's about bringing a product into a school and kind of teaching the school how to use that product ... Creative Partnerships is, on the face of it, more process orientated ... But when you go into a school and they see thousands of pounds of arts money being thrown at them, and the artist there doing all kinds of exciting things, they want something to put on because most schools think that way. They want something to show the parents and have video documentation of. (Interview, 14 March 2005)

He therefore explicitly ‘horse-traded’ to include a performance that was suitable but was also limited in scope, so that he could work with the competence pedagogy to which he was philosophically committed.

When we did the project at [another school], which was the sort of previous essay at this project, we didn’t really allow for much of a performance at all. And it was a source of disappointment to the school that the performance was under-rehearsed and under-produced. So when we went into [Holly Tree School] this was something that we decided we had to tackle at the planning stage.

... you are always compromised but in this instance the time was sufficient for us to do all the horse trading at the beginning ... You have to be a bit more smart about the way you approach a project if you want to come up with something that maybe challenges or stretches the kids. (Interview, 14 March 2005)

The ‘fit’ of performance and competence pedagogies

The evidence from the Holly Tree School study suggests that arts activities with marked performance pedagogies fit most easily into current primary school culture. It suggests that individual and cooperative pupil work (in which pupils work together but their individual contribution can be identified) fits more easily into school cultures than collaborative work, which is produced and needs to be judged as a collective effort. This is unsurprising in a national school culture strongly oriented towards individual outcomes and the rank ordering of performance. At the level of the individual school and teacher, there is no particular reason to believe that there is ideological or philosophical commitment to performance over competence pedagogies, but the accountability culture is pervasive, undermines trust in teacher professionalism and encourages a sense that there should be a tangible product or outcome from educational endeavour. Indeed, Kress and his colleagues, in a recent investigation into the teaching of English in London schools, argue that the ‘stringent regimes of performativity’ in all Anglophone countries, in which the constant raising of ‘achievement’ is measured in terms of examination results, creates a paradox in which ‘the denial of students’ potential has become a design feature of educational policy’ (Kress *et al.*, 2005, p. 172). They argue that, in a culture of accountability and blame, it becomes a high-risk strategy to adopt longer term goals for learning or define success differently; for example, in terms of the realisation of individual potential, rather than in examination results. For the teacher, then, whose success at work is increasingly linked to pupil performance data, the tendency is to minimise risk by setting ‘an assumed safe goal for each student’ and ensuring that the school’s targets are achieved (Kress *et al.*, 2005, p. 171).

The artists differed in their pedagogical philosophies. The writer and musician occupied similar ground in their shared commitment to competence pedagogies, collaboration and self-expression, although they handled the school-level politics very differently. The portrait artist was very focused on teaching new skills and getting the final product right. All of the artists felt that there were clear distinctions to be drawn between the artist’s and teacher’s roles.

I'm not there to deliver a curriculum. I'm not really there to abide by any particular policies that the school has and I don't think it's reasonable to expect visiting artists to do that ...

They all felt freer than the teachers.

I see a lot of teachers who have been demotivated by the curriculum because they are essentially creative people who are interested in what children want to know.

Nevertheless, of the artists who espoused competence pedagogies, one found that his project ran into difficulties and the other felt the need to manage the situation skilfully and compromise his educational aims.

What, then, are the wider implications of this dominant performance pedagogy, for the arts in schools and for the aspiration of promoting partnerships and cultural inclusion? An important implication relates to pedagogic discourse. Performance pedagogies are particularly suited to activities with a strong instructional discourse, for example teaching technical language or techniques. This was illustrated in the Portraiture Project. Activities that are exploratory or speculative and employ primarily expressive, or even therapeutic, discourses sit less comfortably within this mode of teaching. They also sit uncomfortably with the time frames of performance pedagogies, which tend to be future-oriented, segmented and sequential, paced to be cumulative. In more exploratory or expressive work, the rhythms are likely to be more recursive and the units of time might need to be longer and more open-ended. In performance pedagogies, the instructional discourse tends to refer back to the activity or task, rather than focusing out on to the world the children inhabit. In this sense, the activities are more circumscribed by the school than activities that engage more expressive discourses. They build strongly classified school knowledge rather than personal, local, intuitive or emotional knowledge.

This strongly classified school knowledge is, of course, an important part of the function of schooling and we are not arguing against its importance in a balanced school curriculum. We are mindful of Delpit's (1996) critique of woolly commitments to progressivism that work against children acquiring the cultural capital that counts for school success and life opportunities. But the artists are being brought into school to augment what is being offered and to encourage pupils who feel alienated or uninterested in school to think that it has something to offer them. The artists at Holly Tree School certainly acted as role models for the children; they were creative and engaged adults who made a living in the cultural sector. The projects helped children identify and develop talents and interests. These are forms of inclusive practice. But the musician's aim of trying to help the children capture a 'joyfulness' through the music and dance or the writer's aim of helping the children 'to write about themselves but not write about themselves' are also fundamentally about the inclusion of recognition, of self-expression and of using the arts to build your own identity.

At Holly Tree School, instrumental pedagogic knowledge—of how to teach a technique or make use of technology—was the kind of knowledge that was most readily passed on from artists to teachers. Apart from the shadowing of the Samba Project, teachers' opportunities to learn from the artists happened informally, if at all. There was no formal two-way exchange of knowledge, as though the teachers had

nothing to offer pedagogically to the artists. There was an assumption that theoretical perspectives, the framing of activities and their purposes did not need to be shared and debated. The orientation towards performance outcomes probably exacerbated the sense that there was no time for such discussions.

This lack of shared time has significant wider implications. In Bernstein's terms, these implications relate to the 'pedagogic text' of the teaching session. In a performance pedagogy, the text is essentially what has been produced or performed. During the production of the work, the pedagogy is future-oriented—towards the outcome (what you will be able to achieve)—but it is orientated towards the past once the outcome is completed and assessed (what you did last time). Competence pedagogy, on the other hand, is present-oriented and future-oriented. The pedagogic text is the development of the learner's competence; the product or performance is important for what it can reveal about the learner's development. Competence pedagogy is present-oriented because it is fundamentally concerned with the learner's current understandings; at the assessment stage it is future-oriented because the evaluation is formative, focused towards ongoing development. Competence pedagogies therefore rest upon the professionalism of the teacher to 'read' the work in a way that the learner cannot do for him or herself.

In the case of the Holly Tree School arts projects, acknowledgement of this would have meant employing the professional skills of the artists or the teachers (but, ideally, both) to analyse what the products of the projects might have revealed about the children who had participated in them. The pedagogic texts would not have been the pictures, books or performances themselves but the children's development, sensibilities, states of mind, lives outside school, cultural and social knowledge. The artists and teachers had different ways of reading this information from the products of the sessions, based on their different professional skills and experiences, and they might have benefited greatly from joint reading of the work, shared analysis and pooling of thinking about the children they were teaching. The potential benefits to the children themselves are obvious; they include the acknowledged academic and artistic benefits of formative assessment (Black *et al.*, 2003, 2004), and the possibility of increased understanding of any barriers to their progress or inclusion in school.

If artists working in schools on short-term projects are committed to competence pedagogies with 'invisible' practices, where control relies upon personalised forms and pupil self-regulation, they need the support of teachers who know the children and have a sustained relationship with them. This relies on teachers and artists being willing to work together as partners, to respect one another's expertise and to give time to exploring theoretical standpoints and analysing pupils' work. Some teachers will need to reject the idea of 'proving yourself' with classes through overt methods of control; some artists will need to be better at appreciating teachers' creativity.

Increasingly, the model of the arts in UK primary schools is a quasi-economic one: commissioned projects are bought in, to produce a performance or an outcome. Where sustainability is considered, it is about replicability of the project's processes, so that it can be repeated at different times with different children, possibly without the extra expense of buying in the artists. On one important level, arts activities in

schools are about interior decoration, surface-level demonstrations of welcome and inclusion, contributing to a school ethos, learning techniques, creating events that celebrate occasions and bring together different elements of the school community. But they can also be about establishing ways of expressing yourself in different forms, exploring different perspectives on the world, appreciating the art and crafts of a range of cultures, expressing different identities for yourself. Pedagogies that support this kind of learning will need to focus primarily on who the children are, what they can do and what they want to express.

Notes

1. *Creative Partnerships* website: http://www.culture.gov.uk/arts/arts_education/creative_partnerships (accessed 29 October 2005).
2. ESRC: RES-000-22-0834, 'Promoting Social and Educational Inclusion through the Creative Arts'.
3. *Creative Partnerships* website: <http://www.creative-partnerships.com/aboutcp/cpphilosophy> (accessed 21 March 2006).
4. We were only able to interview the writer who led this project.

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