The Logic of Evaluation in the Arts: Exploring artists' responses to measurement within a publicly funded arts organisation

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Contents

4

6

Table of Figures

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Abstract

Measurement and evaluation in the publicly funded arts sector is a contested area. On the one hand measurement is constantly demanded by funders to justify the value of art projects, on the other hand, there is a lack of consensus on how it should be done and whether effective evaluation is even possible in the arts. In this context, there is widespread resistance to practices of evaluation within the sector. Previous Cultural Policy research has focussed on what cultural value is, and whether it is desirable, or even possible, to measure value at all in the arts. In contrast, there is relatively little research into the experience of those at the heart of the measurement: the arts practitioners working in settings where evaluation is required and how evaluation regimes affect their practices. There is a similar lack of research into the role of the organisation as an intermediary within the interpretation of value and measurement.

Using a longitudinal, ethnographic case study research, the thesis examines how artists and other workers in a cultural organization, respond to expectations of evaluation and shape their practices as a result of those expectations. The thesis adapts the institutional logics perspective frame, creating a sector specific frame to explore how logics of the family, state, corporation, community, religion, profession and market all operate within evaluation. Seen through this lens, the artists' responses to evaluation are shown to be a response to intersecting and clashing logics. This approach gives a richer understanding of artists' responses, and also offers a new frame for considering other challenges within the sector. Using this understanding, I develop an alternative approach to arts evaluation, based on evaluation as a practice, not an output, and taking into account the multiple logics in action and arising from artists' own valuation practices.

Chapter One: Introduction

How did I get here?

Like my 'career' as an evaluation practitioner, my PhD career came upon me in a series of serendipitous events. I'd not been planning to embark on a PhD in 2010 when it was first suggested by my supervisor-to-be. I'd been working in and out of academia for 15 years by then, most recently as a senior research fellow at the University of Liverpool, but alongside this academic research had kept working closely with organisations, groups and individuals in the wider community, with a view to sharing learning and doing work I found interesting. I was convinced there was no way I would get funding to do a PhD, but agreed to apply as I knew what cultural capital the qualification, and potential publications linked to it, would give me if I chose to re-enter academia. More important was the interest and offer of Kath Wood, then Director of Firstsite contemporary art gallery. A cluster of timely circumstances led to me gaining the funding: my supervisor's good contacts with Kath Wood; the key moment of the long-awaited opening of Firstsite's purpose built gallery (due in 2011 after 15 years of fund-raising, planning and building); and the inauguration of the Economic and Social Research Council funded Doctoral Training Centre at the university looking for collaborative studentships in the social sciences. What was proposed was not a theoretical approach, based either in libraries or through fleeting visits to a distanced 'field', but a collaborative piece of work with, and within, a challenging new endeavour which offered the opportunity to explore and test questions I had been asking for the previous few years. Kath wanted my involvement because of my practice experience in working with large arts organisations in Liverpool on evidencing the value of art for social change and culture-led regeneration. Firstsite, though controversial, had these ambitions for

Colchester. The story and study in this thesis is not the one that either Kath or myself – or I am sure my supervisor Steffen Böhm – thought I'd be presenting. It is, nevertheless, very much in the tradition of my research practice of 'keeping my foot in both camps', and seeking to share learning between academia and practice in a two-way exchange that changes me as a practitioner-researcher at the same time.

My work as a practitioner had varied from running research projects in universities, to acting as a research advisor to various organisations in the UK and Europe, to small scale evaluations with various community, public and third sector organisations. From 2005, the work moved from being generally around social and urban change (including health, youth, social work, environment and regeneration) to a focus on research on the impact of the arts and culture, including, but not limited to, social impact and culture-led regeneration. This included running the five-year research programme on Liverpool's 2008 European Capital of Culture (ECOC) (Garcia, Melville and Cox, 2010), advising other bidding and successful ECOCs and UK Cities of Culture, and taking part in advisory panels on the development of new directions in cultural impact measurement, but also working with arts organisations and artist collectives on their own evaluations. Throughout this work, I became increasingly interested in the permeation of evaluation throughout the sector, and often found myself at the centre of the process, supporting organisations to respond to demands for evaluation or helping them understand their data and how they could use it. From my first involvement, I noticed the contradiction around evaluation in the arts and culture: despite being 'full of creative people,' the cultural sector had a very 'uncreative' approach to evaluation. As a consequence, I found myself cast back into a world of forms and 'box-ticking'. Evaluations were carried out, monitoring data

was collected, but it was all done in strict isolation from the creativity and meaning-making which is the work of artists and arts organisations. I saw research and evaluation happening all the time, every day: in making decisions about what to programme; when and how to market it; how to adapt moment by moment to ensure the best participative experience; how to develop one's own practice; and in sharing with peers at all levels, from artist groups and networks to director meetings and development projects. Despite this, evaluation, in particular, was seen as a negative term and concept, and remained the preserve of obligation. In an attempt to do meaningful work, and to avoid the dreaded fate of simply producing evaluation reports to be nodded at, weighed and left on a shelf (Morariu and Emery, 2013), I began to adapt my practice. I refused to produce a major final report, but would instead work with organisations – if necessary helping them produce their own report, but ideally to work together to use evaluation approaches to draw out their own existing reflection and learning practices, to share reflection and to agree on change.

This work, along with the discussions underway in the 'cultural value debate' (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008; O'Brien, 2010; Bakhshi, 2012; Donovan, 2013) which I was invited to join in various guises (sometimes academic, sometimes practice), had left me with many questions. In our focus on trying to evidence the value of culture, what are we leaving out? Who are we leaving out? Why is it so hard to answer the central question: what is the value of culture? Why is evaluation in the arts so poor, and so hated? What is the role of the evaluator in all of these? What should *I* personally and professionally do about this?

When I received funding and embarked on this PhD, I brought all this experience and all these challenges to the process. I had an advantage from the start over other

students embarking on fieldwork, as I had a confidence in dealing with complex arts organisations and used this and my reputation to push for decisions and information when things got difficult at Firstsite. I also brought my commitment to effecting change as an integral part of the research process, which proved a challenge to myself when this wasn't possible, as well as a challenge and (hopefully) a benefit to everyone else. I also brought my life, with all its complexity and competing demands, and I've spent the last six years balancing work, study, family and my own needs. This is an unashamedly personal thesis. I used these strengths and challenges in the fieldwork and the analysis, thus it is written largely in the first person and my character permeates throughout.

Below I introduce the reader to Firstsite's Experimental Communities programme, and outline the relevant contexts of UK publicly funded arts organisations, socially-engaged art and the requirement for evaluation in the arts.

'£25 million well-spent?' Or the 'most expensive public toilet in the world'?

Figure 1: Firstsite (photo: Firstsite)

Firstsite is a visual arts gallery based in Colchester, Essex with a mission to make contemporary art relevant to everyone. It offers an integrated programme of work

including projects, exhibitions and publications by established and emerging artists,

as well as extensive learning opportunities and artists' support initiatives.17 years in

the planning, opening three years late and £10 million over budget, Firstsite has been

controversial in Colchester, and at times nationally from its early days. It certainly

provokes interest and comments when it is mentioned locally. The glorious, unlikely

golden building was the dream of founding director Kath Wood who spent 17 years

developing the work – at first shown in other local galleries and spaces, and Rafael

Viñoly, the Uruguayan architect, who is responsible for some of the more unusual

aspects: sloping walls, situation slightly away from the main thoroughfare of

Colchester, floating without foundations and with an original Roman mosaic visible

through the floor in the central space. Its development years were fraught with

controversy and argument among local authority funders, and the local MP and press

were particularly vociferous against it (Calnan, 2011; Kennedy, 2011; Merrick,

2012).

> 'There were moments, I must admit,' Kath Wood, the director for the
> last 17 years since before the building was even a glimmer in an eye,
> never mind a hole in the ground. 'At one point my mother sent me a
> postcard of Big Ben to keep my heart up – that took even longer to
> complete' (Kennedy, 2011, p. 1).

Over time, Firstsite has become an accepted part of the town, but its look, use and

cost were and remain highly contentious in the local area, including having left

difficult relations with both the press and the borough council (Merrick, 2012;

Brading, 2013). The public toilet comment in the title above about refers to 'research'

done by a local campaigner who claimed everyone he saw entering the gallery was

only going in to use the toilet (News Agencies, 2014). This description entered

national consciousness, for example being used by someone in a workshop I attended

in Warwick, as an example of all that was wrong with modern galleries.
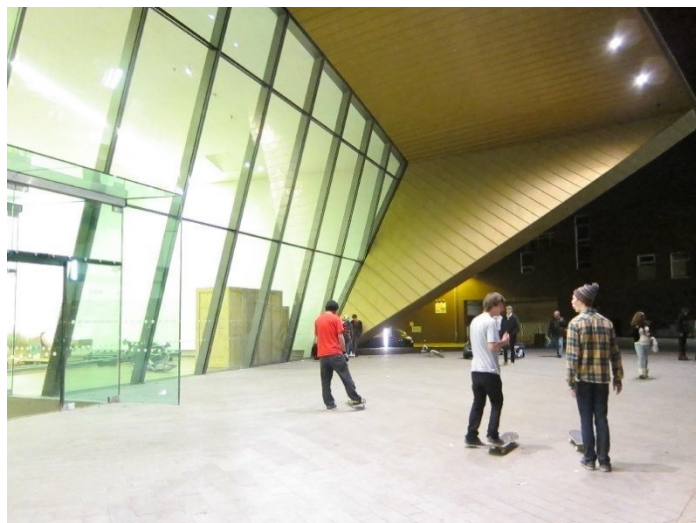
Figure 2: Skateboarders outside Firstsite (photo: Paulo Barra)

Particularly controversial locally was the use of the outside space by young people who liked the space and furniture it offers for skateboarding. This became a matter of dispute: between press (speaking 'for the public'), the young people, and Firstsite staff – who were variously seen as on the 'other side' by all parties. Another issue, linked to the public toilet comment, was the view that the gallery wasn't used by or useful to 'the people of Colchester', with visitor figures always contested and questions raised about the mix of people attending exhibitions.

Added to these elements that made running Firstsite difficult was the business model which aimed for 45% earned income (Kennedy, 2011) – extremely high for a visual arts organisation offering free entry to exhibitions[1]. This model meant that exhibitions and participative art practice had to 'vie' for space with commercial lettings, including a regular one to an evangelical church, and the promotion of Firstsite as a conference and wedding venue.

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[1] National averages for this are hard to come by but research undertaken in Liverpool (see Melville, 2010 for summary) placed the figure around 11% for visual arts organisations, and only 20% for all large organisations, which includes performing arts venues which can sell tickets. Including the large London based institutions that can charge a lot for entry and souvenirs, the England average was 52% in 2013/14 (Neelands, Easton and Robles, 2015)

Colchester's Sitting Room

While the commercial team were expected to deliver on earned income (and as far as is publicly known, it has never reached the target), the responsibility for changing the image of Firstsite as distant and disconnected from the local population was firmly placed on the Learning Team. Most publicly funded arts organisations have a learning team or equivalent,[2] but Firstsite's team in 2011 was particularly unusual in terms of size, status and practice. It was relatively large for an arts organisation of that size and comprised 10 members of staff (all but one part time so equating to about 6 FTE) along with several volunteers giving a considerable time input. They worked with schools, families and other visitors to the gallery, and specifically worked directly with communities around Colchester and the surrounding area. Kath Wood saw the Learning Team as a particularly important part of the organisation, and the appointment of Judith Merritt, who was viewed as one of the best arts education practitioners in the country, and was treated with great respect by Kath, gave a status to the team which was unusual, though not unheard of, in my experience. The practice approach was even more unusual. Judith promoted the use of socially-engaged arts as the core practice within the team, giving a more political angle than would be usual within a large organisation. Often learning teams focus on work in schools and encouraging people to visit the gallery. A socially engaged practice is about using art for social change and works beyond the gallery as well as within. An unusual element of Firstsite's Learning Team which fitted with this philosophy was the decision to employ practising artists on part-time contracts to work *as artists* with

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[2] These are variously titled: Engagement, Education, Partnerships etc but with basically the same remit – engagement with the local community.

and within the organisation. There were five of these 'Associate Artists' (Associate Artists) who worked half time at Firstsite and carried out their own practice for the rest of the time. They had two-year contracts, and the cohort with whom I worked was the first full cohort (following a pilot a year before), with contracts running from Sept 2011 to Sept 2013. The scheme was set up so that artists could have a background in any art form (not limited to visual art) and were supported both to develop their practice and to develop Firstsite through a research project carried out over the two years. These artists: Jacqueline Davies, Lawrence Bradby, Mandy Roberts, Elaine Tribley and Jevan Watkins Jones, along with Beth Hull from the Learning Team became my study participants and co-researchers over the two years of their employment at Firstsite and afterwards.

The Learning Team had a long term aim of slowly developing meaningful relationships with local communities using socially engaged arts practice, the work was summed up within a philosophy of making Firstsite into 'Colchester's Sitting Room' – a place all could use and feel comfortable in, which was initially developed through the Paul Hamlyn Foundation funded 'Experimental Communities' Programme which is the setting for my study.

Great Art and Culture for Everyone

This work is set within the context of the publicly funded arts sector in the UK, and England in particular, as this sector is largely defined through its relationship with the national arts councils, which operate differently in the four devolved nations. The arts sector in England includes plenty of arts companies, charities, organisations and artists who do not receive public funding but operate through commercial sales or donations. Nevertheless, I specifically chose to focus on those for whom public

funding is a part of their income mix, because of the effect this has on the different logics they are subject to as a result of this funding and the associated requirements. A large part of public funding in the arts sector comes via Arts Council England (ACE), a governmental arms-length organisation, which from 2015-18 is investing £1.1bn of national government funding and a further £700m of National Lottery funding in the arts, culture, museums and libraries in England.[3] The other major source of public funding to the sector in England is local government funding which in 2013/14 totalled £1.5bn across English local authorities[4] (Neelands, Easton and Robles, 2015). The 'core' of the Arts Council's delivery is to its National Portfolio Organisations (NPOs) which receive core operating funding for three years; and these are supposed to take a role in developing the local economy. Annual ACE investment in the 831 NPOs for 2018-22 is £71.4m, which includes funding for Firstsite, which regained 'NPO status' in 2017, after publicly losing it in 2015 (ACE put in interim year on year funding, in an unusual move only applied to one other organisation in that period).

ACE also delivers a range of other funding to support partnership building, 'resilience', growth and emergency support for organisations deemed in need, and 'Grants for the Arts' which in Apr-Aug 2017 gave out over 1,800 grants of £10,000-100,000 totalling over £32.2m to a range of organisations and artists. This fund is widely accessed by artists and organisations working in socially-engaged arts.

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[3] Source: Arts Council England website: www.artscouncil.org.uk [accessed 24/9/17]
[4] This figure includes county, city, borough, district and even parish council funding

ACE and local authority funding is reducing annually under austerity; for example in 2013/14 public subsidy made up only 35% of average NPO income, compared to 43% in 2008/09 (Neelands, Easton and Robles, 2015). This reduction, and the subsequent need to look for other funding streams (with earned and major donations being the focus) has led ACE to focus funding and discussion around 'resilience' and 'evidence' in its discussions with the sector. It has also influenced ACE and its 'parent' Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in their search for the evidence for the value of art in order to make a case to the Treasury for reductions to be minimised.

A final set of relevant contributors to the publicly funded arts sector, both in terms of finance and in research and ideas, are a few major trusts and foundations. These have often been set up by an individual or family, and either fund one or two institutions (for example the Roald Dahl family foundation funds the Roald Dahl Museum and Story Centre in Great Missenden where he lived), or more influentially fund work across the sector which supports the foundation or trust's aims and can be applied for. The Paul Hamlyn Foundation (PHF), set up from the legacy of the printer Paul Hamlyn, is one of the more influential in the sector, having funded the 'Artworks: Developing Participatory Practice Programme' from 2011-15. This programme, a mix of research and practice co-funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, gave space for reflection, sharing, and learning for participatory artists. PHF is recognised as a thoughtful funder, with trustees keen to ensure the funding makes a difference and staff happy to be flexible over timescales and outputs, providing change happens in a reflective environment. By funding work such as Artworks, and

Experimental Communities, PHF have effectively shaped learning and introduced a more flexible approach to evaluation in the arts sector.

As with the state funding, trusts and foundations tend to include a logic of supporting the public good in terms of their reasons and approaches to funding. As explained above with respect to PHF, and also true for Roald Dahl, trusts can take a more flexible line on this as they aren't answering to alternative departments (Treasury in the case of ACE/DCMS, the rest of the local authority in the case of local councils) and indirectly the voters. But they still tend to include social aims in their work as a result of how they were set up.

Simultaneously in Dialogue: Socially Engaged Arts and Artists

Being an artist, and particularly being a socially-engaged artist was one of the key bases of identity for Firstsite's Associate Artists as they interacted with and acted within this study. The definition of 'the artist' is either very simple - someone who makes art (which is more or less what the Associate Artists gave as a definition to me when asked) - or very complex requiring engagement with theories and categories of what art is (and isn't). When, after first getting involved in the arts, I reached frustration point at the lack of definitions in the sector (for artforms, for arts, for artists), I rang ACE and asked the person on the phone 'what is ACE's definition of an artist?', I was told: "We define an artist as someone who makes more than 50% of their income from art *or* someone who calls themselves an artist" (from personal phone call, 2005).[5] There is something wonderful as well as frustrating about this

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[5] I went on to ask 'How do you define dance?' which caused him to start to explain patiently the concept of moving your body around to music, so it was a particularly surreal conversation for both of us.

definition which sums up the way ACE, and other influential players in the sector deal with definition and data: the contrast of very specific and measurable answer with the totally self-defined and unmeasurable one, either and both of which are valid. Artists themselves are very engaged in the debate around 'being an artist' (Thornton, 2008, 2015; Craig-Martin, 2015), and in general the definitions lie in the intersection of identity and practice: an artist is someone who makes art and who says they are an artist. For the purposes of this study I use this definition, mainly focussing on what people call themselves, but also reflecting the centrality of practice in my approach, commenting on what practices the artists had.

A further element lying in this definitional space at the intersection of identity and practice for artists is 'the gallery' – which in addition to its purported role as a place of consumption of art, also plays a part in the validation and definition of the artist as being able to show at a gallery is one of the markers of success for an artist, but also the type of show given, and the type of gallery shown at also situates the artists' work. Firstsite in this case also adds a further dimension to this, as it is more of a place of production of art, than of consumption or 'showing' for the Associate Artists. Firstsite's situation as a critically well-regarded contemporary visual art gallery added nuance to the artists' self-definition as an artist.

The artists in my study are all participatory or socially-engaged artists. This is a matter of aims and methods within their practice. In terms of aims, I explain socially-engaged art further below, but initially focus on practice. In participatory or socially-engaged arts, the participant is not a recipient of a finished art-work: the art lies in the action and interaction – ideally in the co-production of the art between artist and participant. This art can take any 'art-form' as traditionally defined. I know socially-

engaged artists who use drawing, literature, sculpture, writing, acting, dancing, singing, public static and carnival arts, as well as situational constructions. I know many who work between traditional artforms. Arts Council England has strict artform classification for funding and support and this includes 'combined arts' which is probably where a lot of participative or socially-engaged practitioners officially lie.[6] None of the Firstsite artists uniquely focused on using 'their artform' in the Experimental Communities work, although it did affect their practice. All of them within our first conversation mentioned their approach as participative or socially-engaged art, depending on their background and language, and emphasised their relationships with the participants in the work.

'Socially-engaged art', or 'participative art', or formerly 'community art' has a long history in terms of practice and use. Its academic study is more recent, and the growth of use of the term 'socially-engaged art' represents a greater confidence among practitioners that this as a valid, reflecting and peer reviewed artform. In the past, it tended to be seen as less valid, of lower quality artistically, and often as a side-line to run alongside 'real art' as a form of education (Hope, 2011a; Lowe, 2012).

Recent research and practice discussions (Kester, 2004; Hull, 2007; Lowe, 2014; ArtWorks, 2015) situate it not just as a cross-disciplinary practice, but as an independent discipline. Hope (2011b) traces the history of participatory and socially engaged arts, noting the central concern of the need to argue for its position as art – to funders and to peers, against an instrumental interpretation of its value. Socially

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[6] See Arts Council England website: www.artscouncil.org [accessed 24/9/17] for mention, but not definition, of a range of artforms.

engaged art was a huge beneficiary of the New Labour funding of the arts boom from the late 1990s, which brought challenge as well as benefit as increasingly socially engaged artists were brought into the organisations and institutions they'd originally critiqued. They were expected to deliver increasingly specific outcomes through art – whether in terms of social outcomes, or in 'audience development' – an implicit assumption that 'hard to reach' audiences come across socially engaged art in their communities then 'move on' (and up) to traditional art within institutional settings (Hope, 2011a).

Hope also raises the issue of the artists' singular vision and voice both in the need to recognise a sharing of authorial voice and thus ownership of the artwork produced, and the level of sharing of authorship which can or should be achieved when an artist works with a (non-artistic community) group to produce a piece of art. The acceptable level of shared authorship through participation or co-creation required to make it socially-engaged is the subject of debate with Hull (2007) contrasting Anthony Gormley's 'Domain Field' (2004) with Lacy's 'The Roof is on Fire' (1993-4). She characterises 'Domain Field' as:

> a text book model of Community Art: engaging the locals in the making process, demystification of art and provision of skills development and employment, with the artist being able to present a clear physical end result of the project for approval of the commissioning agency, thus not involving anyone in the conceptual development process (Hull, 2007, p. 6).

In contrast, in 'The Roof is on Fire' (1993-4) Suzanne Lacy is:

> simultaneously in dialogue – a two way conversation, both verbal and non-verbal - with: the context – racial prejudice (the youths in an area of California where racial prejudice against them is rife, through other youths, the media, and society at large); the audience – the users of the 'artwork' (the audience of the work is the same as the audience of the press and indeed the press itself. In addition the youths are the audience

> of their situation though the process of defining what constitutes this situation); and the artwork –a model for dialogue that embodies the socially interactive model itself (a rearranging of the physical elements used in the creation and sustaining of prejudice in such a way to break down this prejudice by defamiliarisation of the links between these recognizable physical elements). Lacy is in dialogue, interacting with all of these elements, simultaneously bouncing off them and influencing them (Hull, 2007, p. 17).

The multiple actors in the artwork - artist, participants, audience, context - iteratively co-create the artwork itself, leading to a transfer of power within the art from the artist alone to the co-creators (Kester, 2004; Lowe, 2012; Schrag, 2015). In addition, there is an explicit engagement with the political reality in which the artwork is created – in Lacy's case youth protest in Oakland, for others community regeneration projects, health or perceptions of youth violence (Hope, 2011b; Raw, 2013; Schrag, 2015) which isn't required within traditional art.

Another issue within the field of socially engaged art, specific to measurement, is the question of product or artefact, wherein resides the value: what is the object to be measured? Kester's (2004) definition of "dialogic" art as necessitating a shift in our understanding of what art is—away from the visual and sensory (which are individual experiences) and toward "discursive exchange and negotiation" - means he challenges us to treat communication as an aesthetic form. An approach used within the Experimental Communities project and developed as an evaluation approach in Chapter Seven of this thesis.

The definition and limits of socially-engaged art is an active debate, which goes beyond the remit of this study and which touches on history, definition and interpretations, artist identity and implications for power (Kester, 2004; Hull, 2007; for further discussion see Hope, 2011a; Raw, 2013; Schrag, 2015; Tiller, 2017).

Different Associate Artists had very different levels of awareness and comfort with this debate, from reading and using the vocabulary and literature within design, reflection and write up, to knowing of its existence but not particularly engaging with it at the academic level it tends to be presented at. Thus, the level of critique and ambition which Hull or Lowe would aspire to wasn't part of everyday conversation within Firstsite. However, in this thesis I have used the terms 'socially-engaged art' and 'socially engaged artist' for all the artists involved, and loosely for the sector or sub-sector in which the work sits. This isn't to imply that the work sits at Hull's far end of the scale (2007), with participants acting as co-authors, but to acknowledge that by using the term socially-engaged art in the Learning Team's work, Judith and the Associate Artists were making a political statement about the aim of co-creation and the political nature of the work.

What works and why: Defining Evaluation in the Arts

Evaluation in the arts is the object of study for this work, and thus a little context on the current reality in the sector is useful. For publicly funded arts organisations, the requirement for evaluation largely comes from the funder and is built into funding agreements. This isn't always the case and as discussed below, a range of evaluations are carried out in the sector, but the process that the word 'evaluation' immediately evokes is a set of actions and outputs required within the funding arrangement. Thus, I start with the definitions of evaluation given by the two major funders of the Experimental Communities programme: Paul Hamlyn Foundation as project funder, and Arts Council England as a major funder of Firstsite in which the project sits.

Arts Council England provides a lot of well used guidance on evaluation in the form

of 'good practice' guides and reviews: for example, its self-evaluation framework,

"has been used by thousands of arts organisations and practitioners as a framework to

reflect on their projects and draw out valuable lessons." (Estelle Morris in foreword to

Woolf, 2004b). The self-evaluation framework defines evaluation (including both

purpose and approach) as:

> Evaluation involves gathering evidence before, during and after a
> project and using it to make judgements about what happened. The
> evidence should prove what happened and why, and what effect it had.
> The evidence can also help you to improve what you are doing during
> the project and what you do next time. (Woolf, 2004a, p. 1)

While Paul Hamlyn Foundation's guide states that:

> Evaluation is about gathering evidence to measure the value and quality
> of your project, so that you can show:
>
> what works and why it has worked;
>
> what hasn't worked and why;
>
> what has been done for those taking part;
>
> what difference it has made to individuals, groups, the wider
> community;
>
> what has been learned by staff and volunteers;
>
> how the money has been put to good use;
>
> what you would do differently next time.
>
> Evaluation involves more than just describing what happened. It's a
> way of collecting evidence and analysing it so that you can demonstrate
> to others whether your project met or exceeded your expectations. The
> best evaluation sets out to be as honest as possible. Showing that you
> recognise, and have learned from, any mistakes is a good quality
> (Thompson, 2006, p. 14).

Taking a wider definition, programme evaluation is generally understood to be:

"making a programme work and assessing how far it has worked, to 'improve' or to

'prove'" (Stern, 2014, p. 159).

Evaluation in the arts is largely reflective of the wider practice of evaluation. The

academic discipline of evaluation, arose from a professional practice, which itself

arose from an everyday act (Mertens and Wilson, 2012). To some degree, this

explains the imprecision and lack of critique of the meaning-making implicit in

evaluating in and of itself within the arts – evaluation remains largely the realm of

practitioners and professional evaluators, while cultural policy academics still focus

on 'impact research'. Thus Trochim's definition of the profession of evaluation is

perhaps the most relevant to the arts sector's practice and use of evaluation, being:

> …a profession that uses formal methodologies to provide useful
> empirical evidence about public entities (such as programs, products,
> performance) in decision-making contexts that are inherently political
> and involve multiple often-conflicting stakeholders, where resources
> are seldom sufficient, and where time-pressures are salient. (Trochim,
> 1990, cited in Mertens and Wilson, 2012, p. 5)

These elements are all relevant to evaluation in arts and arts policy and recur as

themes in discussions of the challenges of evaluation from within that practitioner

literature (Hope, 2011a; Astbury *et al.*, 2015; Raw and Robson, 2017).

The missing element in this is a sense of value and values: the role of an evaluator in

assessing and thus creating value within the interrelationship of themselves and the

programme or organisation being evaluated (the 'evaluand'). As Neirotti sums up:

> To evaluate implies forming a judgment where the object being
> evaluated is placed on a continuum: for example, more/less; a lot/a
> little; near/far; good/bad; adequate/inadequate; achieved/unachieved. In
> every evaluation there is a referent (a model, a situation, an expected or
> desired condition of what is being evaluated) and a referred object (the

> object to be evaluated). The challenge is to calculate the gap between
> the reality and the horizon aimed at, and to explain the reasons for the
> gap (Neirotti, 2012, p. 8).

He, like Trochim, situates evaluation clearly within the context of public policy, recognising policy as a political endeavour and setting out a hypothesis that a given action will lead to a hoped-for end. Uncritically carrying out 'an evaluation' in this setting situates the evaluator as experimenter: testing whether this hypothesis can be accepted or rejected.

This is probably the current situation of evaluation in practice in the arts sector, although as with the discussions on socially-engaged art, the seeds of a move to a wider debate between practitioners, policy-makers and academics on evaluation are beginning to be visible within my informal interactions with colleagues and funders. Despite this potential hope for a more complex understanding in the future, the current state of play in the arts and culture is that organisations are tasked to 'do evaluations'. They use guidance from the funder, and potentially also other funders they also have, or from the external evaluator (in most cases an evaluation consultant/consultancy although there are increasing numbers of academics and management consultants carrying out evaluations in the sector). The work is done by and/or with the artists/programme deliverers, and tends to offer formative evaluation and feedback to the programme and/or organisation, as well as a summative report which assesses the programme against its aims, or specific impact areas if the evaluation was chosen to focus on those. The (lack of) use of these reports is a running joke in the evaluation field with references to 'dusty shelves' where reports are filed, and this is undoubtedly recognised by funders. For example, both of the funders I asked for number of evaluations commissioned per year, not only gave me

numbers (as requested), but made a point of telling me how they deal with the

evaluations and emphasised how (and that) they are used.[7]

This is not to imply that useful and change-effecting evaluation does not take place in

the arts. There is widespread use of action research (Whitehead and McNiff, 2006) by

artists, particularly within the socially-engaged arts sector as well as the critical view

of the quality of the art – judged occasionally in economic terms, but usually in terms

of either peer or audience experience, and the artists own self-evaluation practices.

Thus, currently in the arts, the assumption would be that the 'evaluation' is a process

producing a report that it is used mainly for the exploration of whether a programme

has met its aims (Mertens & Wilson 2012). It is also usually focussed on 'outcomes

for participants', which tend to be social (or socio-economic) in nature, although they

are increasingly including a wider aesthetic or experiential element.

This thesis explores and challenges the perception of these: the limited view of

'evaluation', and the range of other evaluative practices going on within the sector, as

different entities having no connection in aim or practice. Thus where a simple

definition is needed, I take a process-focussed definition of evaluation, following

Stern, of evaluation as being a process of "making [something] work and assessing

how far it has worked, to 'improve' or to 'prove'" (Stern, 2014, p. 159).

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[7] Response to requests from two funders as to how many evaluations are carried out and written up under their funding per year. The answer in both cases was over 100.

Critically acting and reflecting

This thesis is based on a two and a half-year critical action research study (Sykes and Treleaven, 2009), using methods and approaches of autoethnography (Doloriert and Sambrook, 2012; Marechal, 2012) and drawing on my prior and ongoing experience as an evaluation practitioner (Drake, 2011). From Sept 2011- March 2014, I worked alongside the Associate Artists of Firstsite as the evaluation 'Critical Friend' for Experimental Communities, spending an average of two days a week with them during this time. The interaction included running 'sharing and reflection workshops', giving ongoing support in '1-2-1' sessions with each artist, along with training and support in evaluation practice, analysis and writing. I also attended meetings and the various celebration events and exhibitions, and maintained regular contact including informal discussions and support in person and by phone and email. This work was partly consultancy, as I was paid as the evaluation Critical Friend, but the PhD research ran through it and meant I could expand the amount of time inputted hugely. During this work, and to a greater extent following completion of the funded part of their Experimental Communities work, I worked with the artists as co-researchers within the critical action research tradition, to reflect on and understand the learning.

Drawing on Thornton et al's (2012) formalised framework which maps out the institutional logics operating in society - the taken-for-granted norms that we use to make sense of our situation, the assumptions and values about how to behave, how to interact with others, and what constitutes reality (Thornton, 2004) - I developed a framework adapted to the publicly funded arts sector and socially engaged artists. I used this to interrogate and reframe my fieldwork findings, organised through a series of 'jarring moments', high points (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 1995) of clash and

conflict around evaluation noted through my emotional responses to the situation.

Through this approach, I was able to show that what had originally seemed loosely

categorisable as artists responding to management demands for evaluation, either

through neglecting or exiting the situation (by petty misdemeanours and passive

resistance), or through use of voice (such as objections, challenge and reframing of

the problem and request) (Farrell and Rusbult, 1992), instead can be viewed as artists

and management enacting, interacting with and mobilising a complicated set of logics

arising from their positions within professional, market, corporate, state, family,

community and curatorial logics.

Using the insights gained from this analysis, and the deeper understanding of

evaluation gained by framing it as a process (rather than an outcome), alternative

approaches to evaluation in the arts emerged. These were co-created through dialogue

with the artists and built within and from the artists' own emic evaluative practices.

Throughout the thesis, I reflect on and record my role and response to the setting, the

clashes and my relationship with the artists. I finish with a reflection on the role of the

evaluator within this alternative approach to evaluation.

A new approach to the Cultural Policy debate on value

Debates around "… assessing how far [something] has worked, to 'improve' or to

'prove'" (Stern, 2014, p. 159), in the Cultural Policy literature have looped around the

question of what working would mean, what the outcome of arts and culture is, and

the extent to which that can be measured for 20 years within the cultural value debate

(Matarasso, 1997; Merli, 2002; Selwood, 2002a; Belfiore and Bennett, 2008;

Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016; O'Brien *et al.*, 2016). The effect has been to keep the

focus on the outcomes of cultural evaluation: the existence and measurement of

cultural value, or other value arising from culture, with less recognition of the effects

and implications of doing evaluation, and its interaction with setting and practice.

Arts organisations are the locus of an enormous requirement to evaluate, measure and

monitor, which is recognised to be at times an insupportable burden (Davies and

Heath, 2014; Raw and Robson, 2017). Drawing on research from performance

measurement, what is also relevant is Otley's maxim:

> performance measurement and management actually matters. People do
> respond to performance measures, generally in fairly predictable ways.
> What gets measured generally gets done. And what is not measured
> may suffer in comparison. (Otley, 2003, p. 319)

Developing from this thinking: the type of practice of evaluation within the arts does

matter: not just in terms of being a waste of time, or producing irritation, but in terms

of its effect on practice. Poorly thought through evaluation requirements which focus

on the easily measurable above the important, will inevitably lead to poor practice,

with a focus on doing what is measurable not what is important.

In addition, cultural policy research can tend to blur the consideration of where and

how policy is enacted, focusing on policy-makers and regulation, and value creation

at an individual or programme level. Turning to research in organisation studies

allows for a consideration of how the situation of evaluation practice within arts

organisations makes a difference, the existence of multiple sets of evaluation in action

(Chiaravalloti and Piber, 2011), the interaction of management action and employee

response (Hirschman, 1970; Rusbult, Zembrodt and Gunn, 1982; Farrell and Rusbult,

1992; Ackroyd and Thompson, 1999; Fleming and Spicer, 2007), and the enacting

and mobilisation of a range of institutional logics by artists and management

(Thornton, 2004; Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005; Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury,

2012) in response to evaluation. Cultural policy as an area of study has always drawn

from a wide range of literatures defined as it is by its object of interest, not its disciplinary stance. Continuing this tradition, this thesis draws on these ideas and research around the process and effects of evaluation and performance management, as well as interactions within organisations, to inform the debate within cultural policy research.

About this thesis

In Chapter Two, I review current cultural policy literature around evaluation and cultural value measurement, outlining the cultural value debate (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016) and showing that its focus is on defining and challenging the concept of cultural value (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008; O'Brien, 2010; Walmsley, 2012b) and on developing methods to evidence this value (O'Brien, 2012; Walmsley, 2012a; Carnwath and Brown, 2014). However there is less research on the process of evaluation and how it is practiced within arts settings (Bragg, Wood and Barton, 2013; Davies and Heath, 2014; Wood, 2014), how it affects artists' practice and specifically in the experience (and potential) of artists within this process (Raw and Robson, 2017).

Arts policy research has tended to ignore or under-analyse the 'organisation' in the process, seeing it as either non-existent (artists as direct recipients of 'arts policy') or as monolithic – as an actor in its own right – whether as a disempowered recipient itself, or as a 'problem'. The institutional logics perspective literature (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005; Greenwood *et al.*, 2011; Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012) provides a useful lens through which to view the organisation differently, recognising the multiple and conflicting logics in operation which affect, and are affected by, the artists and management.

From this review, I developed three research questions:

- What are the logics of evaluation in the arts organisation?

- How do artists respond to and engage with evaluation within and through the multiplicity of these logics?

- How could recognising the logics at play, and starting with artists' values and practice to design measurement affect the efficacy and value of that measurement?

In Chapter Three I explain the methodology I adopted in the study. I explain how starting with the situation of the object of study being the process of evaluation, the use of a mix of critical action research approach (Sykes and Treleaven, 2009) and autoethnographic fieldwork (Doloriert and Sambrook, 2012; Marechal, 2012) particularly worked for the Experimental Communities evaluation which was the setting of the research. I discuss how I drew on my own practitioner experience (Drake, 2011), along with a co-researcher relationship with the Associate Artists at the heart of the research (Sykes and Treleaven, 2009). I explain how I approached the analysis and writing of this thesis within critical action research and ethnographic traditions, recognising the authorial voice and value of the artists involved and including their words verbatim, as well as my intermediate thoughts and conclusions in the writing style (Ragland, 2006; Crang and Cook, 2007).

In Chapter Four I outline the process, thinking and results of an adaptation of the logics framework proposed within the Institutional Logics Perspective (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012) to the specific realities of the UK publicly funded arts sector and socially engaged artist profession, and to Firstsite in particular. This work

draws on research on the artistic profession (Bain, 2005), and the impact of the state on arts practice and artists (Hull, 2007; Hope, 2011a), as well as my extensive practitioner experience and the fieldwork within Firstsite. I show the potential value, as well as limitations of the Institutional Logics framework, particularly valuing its recognition of the multiple logics in action within evaluation. Its structured approach allows its use as a tool for gaining a new perspective on what is taking place in the sector. Finally, I present the adapted institutional logics framework, summarising the logics of each institutional order based on their sources of legitimacy, authority and identity, its bases of norms, attention and strategy and its informal control mechanisms.

My findings from two years of fieldwork were of the artists responding to a variety of different obligations and influence, particularly within the obligation and potential of measurement and evaluation. These are explored through the lens of the adapted logics framework in two chapters based on the exit-voice-loyalty-neglect (EVLN) organisational response models (Rusbult, Zembrodt and Gunn, 1982; Farrell and Rusbult, 1992; Naus, van Iterson and Roe, 2007) adapted from Hirschman (1970). Looking at Exit and Neglect responses (Chapter Five) and Voice responses (Chapter Six). The use of the logics to reassess 'jarring moments' during the fieldwork, allowed a more complex analysis of initially appeared to be a fairly simple management-requirement – artist-response dyad. This enabled me to map out the range of logics which were acting on and being mobilised by the artists and management in the situation. I show that what initially appear to be 'simply' petty misbehaviours and passive responses: classic examples of partial 'exit' and 'neglect' strategies, are actually behaviours and attitudes arising from a clash between

management's corporate logic, and a more transactional market logic mobilised by the artists in response. What initially was categorised as voice responses from artists to management requirements, actually involved a complex interplay of logics with Firstsite mobilising curatorial and state logics to support their corporate logic aims, while artists used not only their professional logic, but also community logics to challenge these.

Throughout the thesis, my main focus is on the evaluating done by the artists themselves, situating them at the centre of the study and using the frame of logics to unpick and highlight some of these and understand the reasons for the contradictions. I situate this valuing within a series of interactions - between artists and 'participants', artists and their peers, artists and their 'inner voice', artists and external evaluators/evaluation mentors and most importantly artists and their employers the arts organisations (or specific staff members thereof). Using these insights, in Chapter Seven, I outline proposals around new approaches to evaluation arising from my work with the artists themselves which takes into account their recognition of evaluation as part of their practice. These new approaches situate the process, not the outcomes, of evaluation at the centre of the method and relocate evaluation as less a bureaucratic addition to artistic practice and more an embedded part of the practice itself.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

This study considers how the requirement to evaluate and measure impact, and the practice of that measurement, specifically within an organisational setting, affect the practices of artists. As such, it draws from a number of fields of academic research, as well as from a great deal of policy research carried out in the cultural sector. This chapter reviews previous research in evaluation and the measurement of impact in the arts and culture. This finds that there is relatively little research published on the way in which socially-engaged artists and arts organisations interact with the issues of measurement and evaluation. Looking to other disciplines, ideas from organisation studies can be useful to the cultural policy field in considering how organisations and their employees interact, particularly within the imposition of valuation models and performance systems. Through this reflection I develop a set of research questions to explore evaluation and measurement in the arts in a new way, taking into account the role of institutions and organisations as multiple agents in the definition, imposition and performance of evaluation.

As outlined in Chapter One, arts organisations regularly carry out evaluations and try to evidence the impact of their work on participants and audiences and on society more generally. The requirement to do this measurement, and in particular what methods and evidence and what impact to measure, is often indirect, arising from an implicit sense within the sector that evidence is needed. Even when it is direct, this can be a requirement from a funder who themselves have an understanding of the need to evidence their impact, but don't usually fully articulate what this is or how it could, or should, be done. These evaluation requirements are then passed onto the

practitioners working on the project - often artists, but also evaluation consultants and arts intermediaries - via a complex set of translations allowing for different interpretations. These artists and arts intermediaries have their own understanding of valuing and what counts as impact, as well as a set of relationships with both the organisation employing them and the audience/participants with whom they work. This situation means that in any application of evaluation, a complex set of logics are at play: the overall requirement to measure; the way the organisation understands what to measure and what constitutes good measurement; how the internal organisational communication works; how artists understand the requirement to measure and what constitutes good measurement; how this fits with their practice.

To explore this dilemma further I first explore how the rationale of the need to measure is framed within the academic and particularly policy debate. This debate is currently concentrated around what is known as the 'Cultural Value Debate' as the latest incarnation of the discussion of the need to show the wider public value of the arts, beyond simply delivering art (Bakhshi, 2012; Stevenson, 2013a; Belfiore, 2014; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016). Within the UK (as with most other settings), the debate around measurement has entirely arisen in an instrumental manner, as a result of the need to justify public spending on arts and culture in what is effectively a competition with other public spend (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008). The debate has tended to focus on the wish or need (itself a matter of debate) to understand and encapsulate 'cultural value' – the additional value that culture brings, over and above the economic, social and personal value gained by cultural participation. The debate around measurement in this setting has tended to focus on whether and how to measure cultural value and what the implications philosophically are of measuring cultural value (Walmsley, 2012b; Belfiore, 2014; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016).

There is a focus on methodologies, methods and tools to either challenge measurement or the very ability to measure, or to further develop the quality and specificity of that measurement (Stanziola, 2008; O'Brien, 2010; Walmsley, 2012a; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016). There is less discussion on what the practical implications are of measuring. The object of study in this area tends to be at the macro-level – the overall 'value of culture' to the state, but often arises from studies focussing on individuals and organisations (Carnwath and Brown, 2014; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016). Discussion on value and organisations tends to focus on their role in creating 'intrinsic' value, and implications of measuring this (Brown and Novak, 2007; Stanziola, 2008). Organisations (and at times the sector as a whole) are largely viewed as unitary beings, responding as a single entity to the requirements upon them (Stanziola, 2008, 2012; Selwood, 2010). There is also a tendency of this literature to reify 'value' and focus on 'finding it'. Considering 'valuing' or 'evaluating' as the object of study (Harvie and Milburn, 2010) provides an alternative approach which avoids getting lost in this impossible definitional morass.

Secondly I move onto reviewing the literature on what evaluation is carried out in the arts, outlining the quantity of evaluation undertaken, and in addition an array of research reviews, often commissioned by Arts Council England or other funders (Reeves, 2002; Galloway, 2008; Bunting, Hutton and King, 2010; Carnwath and Brown, 2014). These reviews note the wide range of approaches to measurement and evaluation used and the range of impacts researched and evidenced, as well as the inconsistency of approach, meaning that no one evaluation approach is widely accepted as 'correct', even within one impact area. I also find that the evaluation undertaken tend to focus either at project or at sector level, with less evaluation at

organisation level, or on the impact of the organisation. There is also little research on the impact of evaluation on the participants involved.

The finding from this literature review is that there is little consideration of the implications of measurement for practice in the arts. Further, that there is little consideration of the multiple roles, influences and logics within arts organisations, which make them a locus of interpretation of the rationale to measure, and its implementation.

Thus, I turn to consider two other areas of literature which do address these issues. The role of the organisation as a locus of the translation of meaning and logics is discussed widely within management studies. In the third section, I discuss how the application of one of the current ideas in this area - the institutional logics perspective (Thornton et al. 2012) - to the practice of measurement in the arts can add to the understanding of how arts impact measurement is understood and carried out in practice.

The interaction of measurement and practice is well-understood within the performance measurement literature, and management accounting more generally. The final review section considers how these ideas have been applied within arts management, and where there is potential for them to further add to the analysis.

Why and what should we evaluate? – towards 'Cultural Value'

The cultural policy environment, situated within the work of policy-makers, researchers and consultant-practitioners, and specifically its expression of the social impact of the arts and culture is what has given rise to the obligation to measure and evaluate. As artists tend to construct evaluation as an externally imposed requirement,

this becomes an important logic operating within the artist's process of valuing and thus measuring their art. Cultural Policy discussion on the logics behind measurement, evaluation and value is currently being played out in the 'Cultural Value debate' (O'Brien, 2014; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016) and below I use this as a frame to understand the development of approaches to discussing and measuring social impact within cultural policy.

The definition of and derivation of cultural value is the subject of endless debate, giving rise to no simple answers. Cultural value is variously described through what it isn't, for example as: "value that cannot be captured within the framework of mainstream, neo-classical economics" (Carnwath and Brown, 2014, p. 8), or what many things it is, for example Holden's proposal of cultural value as an interdependent triangle of instrumental (arising from social and economic policy uses of culture), institutional (public value of institutions deriving from the trust or esteem of their users) and intrinsic value (associated with ideas of aesthetic excellence and individual enjoyment), which together make up cultural value (Holden, 2004, 2006).

Within this study, I consider the phrase 'cultural value' as an object of study, rather than attempting to find or define the value of culture, or cultural value. Furthermore, I focus on the valuing of culture, in the form of evaluation. That is, I consider cultural value in so far as it is sought, and of interest in that people are interested in it, not particularly in and of itself. As such, this review covers how the concepts of impacts and value of the arts and culture have been discussed within a framework of measurement and measurable effects, rather than the evolving understanding of what constitutes cultural value. Under this heading I include discussion on the wider impacts of the arts, the economic, social and well-being impacts of the arts, and the

value of the arts. All of which, along with the experiential effect of culture form part of the AHRC 'Cultural Value Project', (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016) the publication of which was much awaited and its full implications not yet felt. For this reason, the term 'cultural value' will be used for this area, although it wasn't the most commonly used term until recently. What I review is the way in which the wider effects and impacts of culture have been discussed, whether they are in the economic (job creation, tourism), social (urban renewal, social inclusion, education, health) or personal spheres (self-confidence, well-being, political awareness, aesthetic and enjoyment). I discuss them insofar as they are constructed as being measurable: not 'values' in some abstract sense of principles/ethics held, but as if they exist and carry some weight. Often this isn't accepted by the writers concerned, but there is an implication there.

Pace Belfiore and Bennett's (2008) exploration of the multi-millennial discourse over the value of culture, the modern debate on the impacts, value(s) and outcomes of culture and cultural projects can be dated back to the 1980s and needs to be understood in relation to government funding and policies as government is the major funder of the arts in the UK (and indeed most of the world) and although it is not as simple as 'he who pays the piper calls the tune' any attempt to ignore this reality leads to a skewed view. Under the Thatcher government of 1979 onwards, the New Public Management approach, sought to modernise public sector managerial techniques, using ideas from the private sector which included target setting, output monitoring and performance audit (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2014; O'Brien, 2014). This requirement for monitoring continued into the evidence-based policy agenda (Belfiore and Bennett, 2007b, 2008; Levitt, 2008; O'Brien, 2014), and in 1997 the New Labour government both significantly increased spending on the arts and

entered the debate themselves, overtly expecting culture to lead to regeneration, creative economy, crime reduction, promotion of life-long learning; self-development and the definition of Britishness (Holden, 2004; Belfiore and Bennett, 2008). From then on, successive governments have actively joined the debates, and funded according to their views – expressed (though often critiqued) as 'evidence based policy'. As a result, the most influential arts policy discussions are conducted initially in the interface between policy, practice and academe, and many influential texts aren't written up as academic pieces for many years (if at all).

The cultural sector and its advocates (at times quite explicitly) responded accordingly:

> This was a time when central government spending was levelling off. Arguments based on their intrinsic merits and educational value were losing their potency and freshness, and the economic dimension seemed to provide fresh justification for public spending on the arts. (Myerscough, 1988, p. 2).

The Policy Studies Institute led the way with attempts to measure the impact of culture from the early 1980s, through a series of economic impact studies of the Policy Studies Institute (Myerscough, 1988, 1991; O'Brien, 2010). The initial challenge to this centred on whether and how to include the social impact of the arts, alongside these economic impact studies. In 1993 the think-tank Comedia, on behalf of the Arts Council of Great Britain, began a debate on the social impact of the arts. This culminated in the still influential report 'Use or Ornament: The social impact of participation in the arts' which argued for the social impact of the arts, as well as proposing a method for measuring them (Matarasso, 1997). This text galvanised the next stage of the debate, which now entered the academic cultural policy world in the form of a series of critiques of how both Matarasso's and Myerscough's approaches

failed to engage with the 'real purpose of the arts' (Belfiore, 2002; Merli, 2002;

Selwood, 2002b) Selwood (2002a) also began a critique of the robustness and validity

of the measures and tools used to measure this impact, arguing that they were

politically defined. This began a continuing debate on whether and how to actually

measure the impacts of culture (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008; O'Brien, 2010; Crossick

and Kaszynska, 2016).

The term 'cultural value' then began to develop, with the most common uses coming

from two routes. The economist David Throsby began to discuss 'cultural value' as

something including, but not entirely defined by economic value:

> a thorough economic evaluation of the market and non-market benefits
> of an item of heritage will tell us a great deal about the cultural value of
> the item, because in general the more highly people value things for
> cultural reasons the more they will be willing to pay for them.
> Nevertheless it may not tell the whole story, because there are some
> aspects of cultural value that cannot realistically be rendered in
> monetary terms. (Throsby, 2006: 42, cited in O'Brien, 2010, p. 21).

In 2003, working with the cultural consultancy Comedia, Holden began a debate

involving cultural leaders as well as academics and commentators (Donovan, 2013).

This drew on Throsby (2001), as well as Selwood (2002), Belfiore (2002), Mirza

(2002), and referenced the language of 'Public Value' the newly emerging proposed

framework for decision-making in government policy. Public Value

> … provides a yardstick for assessing activities produced or supported
> by government (including services funded by government but provided
> by other bodies such as private firms and non-profits). Public Value
> provides a broader measure than is conventionally used within the New
> Public Management literature, covering outcomes, the means used to
> deliver them as well as trust and legitimacy. (Holden, 2004, p. 41).

The conclusions were that in an environment where there was a strong bias towards

the quantifiable, the 'intrinsic' value of culture would be undervalued. In 2004 the

then Secretary of Culture, Tessa Jowell, herself questioned the efficacy of the instrumental approach but issued a challenge to the sector: "How, in going beyond targets, can we best capture the value of culture?" (Jowell, 2004, cited in Holden, 2004, p. 9). Holden responded to this challenge in 'Capturing cultural value' (2004) which introduced the idea of 'cultural value' as having three components: intrinsic, instrumental and institutional. Intrinsic values are "the set of values that relate to the subjective experience of culture intellectually, emotionally and spiritually" (Holden, 2006, p. 14). Instrumental values "relate to the ancillary effects of culture, where culture is used to achieve a social or economic purpose" (Holden, 2006, p. 16). Institutional value "relates to the processes and techniques that organisations adopt in how they work to create value for the public" (Holden, 2006, p. 17). This contribution marked an increasing tendency to focus on a dichotomised 'intrinsic vs instrumental' value of culture debate (Donovan, 2013; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2014, 2016; O'Brien, 2014). Responses were to come up with alternative frameworks based variously on experiential measures (Brown and Novak, 2007), peer review (McMaster, 2008) and narrative approaches (e.g. UKFC and EH studies cited in O'Brien, 2010) to capture this 'intrinsic value'. As well to continue to improve and develop new ways of capturing the 'instrumental value' (Dolan and White, 2007; Galloway, 2008, 2009; Bakhshi, Freeman and Hitchen, 2009; Bakhshi and Throsby, 2010; Dolan *et al.*, 2011; Clift, 2012); or to challenge the very possibility of measuring cultural value and argue that the 'cult of the measurable' reduced the 'value' of arts and cultural activities to instrumental criteria (Belfiore and Bennett, 2007b; Böhm and Land, 2009). It was in this climate that the DCMS decided to commission and work on two projects – the CASE (Culture and Sport Evidence Base)

programme, DCMS-AHRC-ESRC collaborative project on 'Measuring Cultural Value'.

Responding to the 'Capability Reviews' of 2005, in which the value of evidence was impressed onto government departments from the centre, the DCMS in particular was tasked to build its capacity to manage and promulgate its research (Cooper, 2012, p. 283). The DCMS and the four English arms-length cultural bodies - Arts Council England, English Heritage, Museums Libraries and Archives and Sport England - agreed to combine their research budgets and spent £1.8 million on a 3-year joint programme of interdisciplinary research to support policy development. The work was constructed on an understanding that the "research should provide a common way of analysing the world so as to provide a common framework for fair comparison" (Cooper, 2012, pp. 283–4).

CASE comprised a broad academic and grey literature review and a database of all published research on cultural impact. It also developed new research applying a method recognised by the Treasury Green Book, social well-being analysis, which equivalences the 'well-being' impact of different activities (for example arts attendance, sports participation) with income increase. This method isn't widely used in the sector (Carnwath & Brown 2014), though it has been the subject or inspiration of some studies (Fujiwara, Kudrna and Dolan, 2014; Fujiwara and Mackerron, 2015). However the impact of this adherence to Green Book protocol was profound. As Adam Cooper – the DCMS Head of Research at the time and the lead officer on CASE explains:

> CASE was also an opportunity for DCMS and partner bodies to provide a coherent intellectual leadership to the cultural policy research sector. As well as doing high quality research ourselves, we wanted to

stimulate and support the wider research sector to do more in cultural
policy research (Cooper, 2012, p. 286).

The Measuring Cultural Value programme of the DCMS, along with the Economic

and Social Research Council (ESRC) and the Arts and Humanities Research Council

(AHRC), built on the challenge of economists associated with culture that it was

possible to use established economic techniques to ascertain the 'intrinsic' values of

culture. (Bakhshi, Freeman and Hitchen, 2009; O'Brien, 2010). It aimed to

understand the best methods for measuring the value of culture, in the context of

government decision-making, and funded academic secondments of six months each.

The first secondment in 2010 was held by Dave O'Brien, a cultural policy scholar

with a political science background, the second in 2012 was held by Claire Donovan,

a measurement scholar with a philosophy background. The phase one report,

'Measuring the Value of Culture: A Report to the Department of Culture, Media and

Sport', firmly engages with culture's

conundrum of proving its value in a way that can be understood by
decision-makers". It concludes that "the cultural sector will need to use
the tools and concepts of economics to fully state their benefits in the
prevailing language of policy appraisal and evaluation (O'Brien, 2010,
p. 4).

The phase two report, 'A holistic approach to valuing our culture' (Donovan, 2013)

points out the limitations of an entirely economics based approach – both in terms of

the current state of the tools available (Bakhshi, 2012), and the ability (in terms of

finance and other resources) of many cultural organisations to carry these studies out

(Donovan, 2013). In addition, Donovan questions whether the tools and concepts of

economics can ever fully state the benefits of culture. The report's recommendations

are that the "DCMS adopt a holistic approach to valuing our culture, recognising a

combination of economic and non-economic approaches are valid, depending on context" (Donovan, 2013, p. 16).

This series of government agency promoted attempts to capture cultural value for four years were delivered mainly through the AHRC Cultural Value Project which ran from 2012-16. It included funding for academic research to understand the full value of culture, taking into account all previous critiques of this sort of work. In particular it specifically rejected the idea (often a hidden assumption in studies) that there is a simple variable that when it is found, and when measures for it are devised, will allow us to ascertain 'cultural value' (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2014, 2016).

Following on from and linking heavily with the cultural value debate and considerations of **why** to measure, there has been a discussion on what the implications are of using particular methodologies, or of measuring at all. Following the first few attempts from the sector to 'value' the impacts of culture (Myerscough, 1988; Matarasso, 1997), arguments were made that both these differing approaches failed to engage with the 'real purpose of the arts' (Belfiore, 2002; Merli, 2002; Selwood, 2002b, 2006). This has been a coherent theme through the debate (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008), with the critique that

> [e]xcessively preoccupied with measuring the registers of cultural value – be they participation figures, economic impacts or educational outcomes – many accounts have disfigured the phenomena they had been devised to capture, losing sight of what they might have been developed to measure in the first place: the actual experience of art and culture (Crossick & Kaszynska 2014, p.120).

There is a prevailing argument, which is summarised clearly by Walmsley's (2012b) view that the current valuation in the arts and culture arises from a neo-liberal (and instrumental) conception of value expressed by successive governments, and of the

sector's defensive response to it. He proposes a consideration of neo-institutional conceptions of value/values and valuing (Arvidsson, 2009) and the measures that might arise from these, which would arise from the sector's own conception of value and its intrinsic valuing. Linked to this he does propose measures, emphasising the need to consider methods that measure what the artists are attempting to achieve – linked usually to audience experience (Walmsley, 2012b). As such he joins a growing trend (Brown and Novak, 2007; Brown and Novak-Leonard, 2013) in proposing ways to measure the 'intrinsic experience' of the audience. The tendency for these measures to exclude organisational specificity is critiqued by Chiaravalloti and Piber (2011). A further contribution to considering how the methodology itself affects the measurement gained is Stanziola's concern that cultural impact research is suffering because it is mainly happening within the sector, and not in academia (Stanziola, 2012). As such, Stanziola fears, this affects the methodology considerably as it would tend to promote a search for impacts and outcomes over considerations of approach and critique (Stanziola, 2012).

Other academic and policy research literature on the measurement of cultural value focusses on how to improve measurement: the object of study and the tools used. With respect to the object of study (the sort of impact to be measured), there was an early focus on economic impact (derived initially through additional visitor spend and direct economic benefits) (Myerscough, 1988, 1991), which quickly moved to a consideration of social impacts (Matarasso 1997) and then into health, well-being and all of human existence (Galloway, 2008; Carnwath and Brown, 2014; Fujiwara and Mackerron, 2015). Running alongside this, and more recently, came the attempt to capture the 'intrinsic' impacts of arts and culture – experiential effects on audience

and participants (Walmsley, 2012a; Brown and Novak-Leonard, 2013). There is also the need and requirement to evaluate programmes, to measure how well they fit with their aims, that is, not researching the impact of culture as a whole, but the impact of this particular programme, and in this particular way. This area is much less discussed in the cultural policy literature, despite it contributing by far the most studies to the policy and practice (grey) literature (see below for some discussion on this).

Discussions as to how to improve measurement tend to focus on the instruments used. This includes attempts to bring in tools from economics (Throsby, 2001, 2012; Bakhshi, Freeman and Hitchen, 2009; Bakhshi and Throsby, 2010; Towse, 2011; Bakhshi, 2012), marketing analysis and management studies (Brown & Novak-Leonard 2013; Walmsley 2012a) as well as discussions on the need to critique the quality of the data used (Selwood 2002; Selwood 2006). It also includes to practical considerations as to how to 'sell' the findings, resulting in O'Brien's plea that the sector aligns its measures with the Treasury Green Book (O'Brien 2010) and resulting in several studies using a Subjective Well-Being approach (Dolan and White, 2007; Marsh, MacKay, Morton, Parry, *et al.*, 2010; Fujiwara, Kudrna and Dolan, 2014; Fujiwara and Mackerron, 2015). An ongoing critique of these (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016)has been their narrow focus on to one aspect of impact, whether economic, social or experiential. The latest iteration of this approach focussing on gaining better understanding of value through development of better tools is Quality Metrics, piloted in Manchester (Bunting and Knell, 2014b) which attempts to combine instrumental and intrinsic measures. Arts Council England is currently discussing making use of it a funding condition although its use of the Culture Counts tool is a matter of legal challenge (Hill, 2017). The tool captures artist, peer and

public feedback on the quality of arts and cultural events, and compiles them into a 'metric' (Knell and Whitaker, 2016). The project's focus on methodology is explicit as it is "designed to help us learn as much as possible about the process of measuring quality, over and above the value of collecting data at the designated events" (Bunting & Knell 2014, p.58), and as such it does to some degree discuss the process of that data collection (and the framework in which it sits). The framework for the metrics came from a shared process between several Manchester arts and cultural organisations, and the findings include mention that the "active involvement of arts and cultural sector is fundamental to the creation of a credible and robust metric framework."(Bunting & Knell 2014, p.3), and an implication that the findings might and indeed, should, affect the practice of programming, however, with our focus, there is no discussion on how the process of the work affected the organisations concerned.

Carol Bacchi's (2009) interpretive method for analysing policy:

> ... focuses on both the meaning-making of policy formulation, and the 'conceptual logics' that lend those meanings validity. In doing so, the aim is to problematise the problematisations (Bacchi, 2009) that the policy is supposedly addressing (Stevenson, 2013c, p. 78).

Applying this approach, it becomes clear that the 'problem' around which these debates identify and coalesce is: How do we justify government spend on culture given the policy reality?

In terms of cultural value, the mainstream of the 'problem' discussion is constructed around allocating government spend, whether from the sector's or policy-maker's perspective. Speaking for the sector, Holden argues that:

> Having lost both a critical language, and also the Arnoldian, and indeed
> Fabian, idea that Culture improves People, how can we find a way of
> justifying state spending on the arts, museums, libraries and historic
> buildings? Can the idea of 'intrinsic value' be articulated in a new way
> that avoids the taint of either patrician judgement or mystification and
> yet allows us to take account of factors beyond the easily quantifiable?
> (Holden, 2004, p. 26).

While Adam Cooper adds a touchingly phrased plea from a policy-maker point of
view for help in making the case:

> Ministers and policy officials have to balance a range of issues, not
> least of which is the how much public money should be invested in
> Area X?
>
> In some parts of government, the balancing of decisions is informed by
> clear information about the impact on public life. Taxes are raised or
> cut, benefits are halved or doubled, investments go up or down based
> on relatively clear links between the inputs (e.g., number of nurses in a
> hospital) and the outputs (the rate of patient recovery). Although on
> closer inspection it is evident that even under these circumstances there
> is a high degree of uncertainty about the nature of the relationships used
> to justify action, at least there is a serious and sustained attempt to
> identify sensible relationships, and to use what we know to improve the
> decisions made and outcomes realised (Cooper, 2012, pp. 281–282).

The CASE programme, and the approach taken to the 'Measuring Cultural Value'
project by Dave O'Brien explicitly addressed this problem:

> CASE is a serious attempt to build an argument for cultural investment
> on the Treasury's own terms. Rather than ignore or attempt to bypass
> that process, it tackles it head on. And that is exactly what CASE is
> doing in its newest wave of research, turning attention from the
> 'demand for culture' (i.e., engagement and participation) to 'supply of
> culture' (CASE, 2011) – showing how a truly strategic programme of
> research can remain both relevant to current policy preferences while
> addressing systematically the full range of evidence needs for this area
> of policy (Cooper, 2012, pp. 289–290).

O'Brien frames this as cultural policy needing to respond to public management
developments, in particular, the New Public Management, 'evidence based policy'
and into the 'Public Value' movement of the 2000s:

> ..particularly as public management has adopted numeric techniques such as cost-benefit analysis. In this view of government activity, any policy has to undergo some form of assessment of its efficiency and effectiveness, and requires the costs and benefits associated with it to be compared with each other using a common standard or metric, which is money (as costs are usually in monetary terms) (O'Brien, 2014, p. 11).

Seen within this frame, the increase of funding for culture under the New Labour government of 1997-2010, along with the reframing of cultural participation as a tool for social inclusion, urban regeneration, crime reduction and a range of other outcomes, simply added to the pressure for data (Selwood, 2002b). Given this articulation, the problem is constructed to be that there is insufficient evidence and/or it is framed in an unsatisfactory way to satisfy the Treasury's decision-making approach.

This is the underlying message of much of the historic debate, albeit with the emphasis alternating between 'not enough evidence' and 'not the right sort of evidence', From Myerscough's (1988) attempt to justify the economic impact of the arts using established economic impact frameworks, through to Comedia's work on measuring the social impact of the arts (Matarasso, 1997). Holden and Hewison's conceptualisations of intrinsic value and institutional value (Holden, 2004, 2006; Hewison, 2006) fit within this frame as they attempt to develop a new approach to understanding the value of culture – in order to inform policy-making, although without offering a concrete approach to measuring it. Thus, the reason to measure remains to effect policy change and enhance/maintain funding.

Throsby's work (Bakhshi and Throsby, 2010; Throsby, 2012) brought the economists and economic modelling as a solution back into the debate. This work formed the basis of more recent attempts by economists and others to argue that use of economic

methods can enable measurement of some of the 'intrinsic' elements of cultural value (Bakhshi, Freeman and Hitchen, 2009; Bakhshi and Throsby, 2010; O'Brien, 2010; Bakhshi, 2012; Throsby, 2012). The approaches coming up with other ways of articulating and arguing the case for cultural value, for example Brown and Novak's work on capturing the benefits to audiences of cultural engagement (Brown and Novak, 2007; Brown and Novak-Leonard, 2013) or the CASE sponsored and other work on the Subjective Wellbeing outcomes of cultural engagement (Dolan and White, 2007; Marsh, MacKay, Morton, Parry, *et al.*, 2010; Dolan *et al.*, 2011; Marsh and Bertranou, 2012) fall into this category of constructing the 'problem' as being lack of good measures.

My approach to avoiding this endless debate is to focus not on the 'value' itself, which assumes both that it exists as a definable thing, but also that it could be found and metricised, but to recognise, with Harvie, that values arise from the process of valuing (Harvie and Milburn, 2010), and "[i]n this sense value, as anthropologist David Graeber suggests, is a way of 'evaluat[ing] ... not things, but actions'" (Graeber, 2005:18 cited in Harvie and Milburn, 2010, p. 633). Measuring cultural value in this approach focuses on the 'measuring', or 'evaluating' element, recognising that the value itself lies in a set of actions, thus the interaction of evaluation and practice - measuring and doing the art – becomes even more important.

How should we evaluate? – reviews of the practice of measurement in the arts

Linked to the growing public value then cultural value discourses, the various government and semi-governmental bodies in the arts and culture have commissioned a series of reviews to gather, and later assess, the evidence base for the value of

culture. The main 'value' they focus on to some degree shows the range of justifications used for the public value of culture. Within the last 15 years reports have shown the evidence of culture's contribution to regeneration (Evans, 2000; Evans and Shaw, 2004); social exclusion outcomes (Jermyn, 2001; Reeves, 2002); economic outcomes (CEBR, 2013) health and well-being (McLean and Woodhouse, 2011; Fujiwara, Kudrna and Dolan, 2014) and reviews covering all impacts - albeit within the area of interest of the review commissioner (Reeves, 2002; Galloway, 2008; Bunting, Hutton and King, 2010; Tripney *et al.*, 2010; see for example Arts Council England, 2014). These reviews all share a similar approach - a review of the (mostly non-academic or 'grey') literature on the impact/value of the arts, usually arising from a series of individual studies of events/project. Some take a more systematic review approach, but all share the same finding that it is clear the arts and culture do contribute to the public good in non-cultural ways (social inclusion, health, economic impact and so on.) but that the evidence isn't good enough. Usually it is felt to be too anecdotal and insufficiently generalisable. It is also generally agreed there is no lack of evidence, in fact there is a:

> … somewhat bewildering array of scientific studies, evaluations and policy papers advancing various conceptual frameworks and terminology for describing the value and impacts of arts and culture (Carnwath & Brown 2014, p.7).

This view is backed up by informal research I conducted. I asked research officers from various arts or arts related funders to give me a sense of the number of evaluation reports they (or their funded projects) commissioned or wrote.[8]

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[8] One research manager said "At Youth Music we have about 350 grants active at any time, and each one has to outline their approach to evaluation at application stage. They then submit an interim report and an evaluation report at the end of the grant period. We process around 200 reports each year across

The latest iteration of the DCMS/Arts Council funded review of the 'state of the art' in evidence on the impact of the arts and culture is from US based consultancy Wolf Brown (Carnwath and Brown, 2014). The review mainly focusses on grey literature - practice research and policy - although a number of academic articles are covered too. The review focusses on the micro- and meso- scale covering evidence on:

> 1) how individuals benefit from attending and participating in cultural programmes and activities; and
>
> 2) the creative capacities of arts and cultural organisations to bring forth impactful programmes (Carnwath and Brown, 2014, p. 7).

The macro scale – the impact of arts and culture on society – is mentioned but excluded due to considerations of scale.

The review's division by methodology, shows the breadth of methods used:

- Biometric research (used to assess physiological and psychometric responses);

- Post-event surveying (short term effects that specific cultural events have on participants – usually assessed in terms of levels of engagement/captivation, emotional connection, learning/intellectual stimulation, aesthetic growth/creative stimulation, social connectedness/belonging);

- Qualitative post-event research (respondents express themselves in their own terms, categories derived inductively);

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the team (each report is read and coded in Nvivo so we generate a 'learning bank'). In addition to the report template around a third of grantees also produce stand alone evaluation reports which they send to us (probably about 60-70 stand-alone reports annually – this includes 'annual reviews' of organisations where we fund the majority of their provision). We encourage all grantees to share any reports or outputs that are produced with other interested parties, not least other organisations who may learn from some of the findings." (from personal correspondence with Research Director, 15/1/15 – included to give a sense of the scale of the data with just one funder)

- Retrospective identification of impactful events and longitudinal impacts (using qualitative approaches, several recurring themes identified: similar to categories used in post-event surveying above);

- Evaluation from a marketing perspective (a long history of empirical studies of arts and cultural consumption);

- At an organisational level, numerous researchers explored 'artistic excellence' - attempting to deconstruct it to elements that can be assessed or quantified, studies of what organisational conditions make for a high-quality programme,

Overall, they identify a lack of research on individual impact that can impact policy and specific gaps around how to calculate what's needed to get long term effects. In terms of organisational research, there is mention of the need for an understanding of process as well as outcome. Core elements of an organisation's creative capacity (as emerging as a consensus in the literature) are:

> Critical feedback and commitment to continuous improvement – the extent to which an organisation welcomes critical feedback from programme participants and incorporates this information into its thinking about programming (Bailey 2009a, Lord et al 2012) and

> Community relevance – the capacity of an organisation to diagnose its constituents' needs, interests and aspirations, and to reflect this information through its unique institutional lens and respond authentically (Bunting and Knell 2014, Brown et al 2014, Bunting 2010, Bailey 2009a) (Carnwath & Brown 2014, p.22).

Across the whole review, as in the earlier reviews, there is little mention of the 'experience' of evaluation within the organisation or to those delivering it. Or, beyond the comments above, about critical feedback and responding to the consequent impact of the practice of measurement itself on artistic practice. This isn't surprising as it was beyond the brief of the study, but is reflective of most work in the area. Furthermore,

although there is consideration of the organisation as an effector of impact – and its internal style and approach as affecting this. In general, these studies view organisations in a 'black box' fashion, and don't consider how the implementation of data collection and impact assessment and the learning from the findings translate through and within the organisation.

The preceding two reviews - of the discussion around what cultural value is, and the range of current approaches to evaluation in the arts - highlight a focus in the cultural policy literature on the *why and what* of the value studied, and associated philosophical issues around valuing it, and the *how* of technically measuring it. Next I turn to a wider organisation studies literature to explore research on *where* evaluation is carried out, and the effect of the organisation on the practice of evaluation.

Where does the evaluation happen? – the role of the (arts) organisation within evaluation practice

Research on arts organisations as 'organisations', or as locations of management, comes to three conclusions. First the recognition of the value of the application of general organisation studies/management studies theories to arts organisations. Second that there is a need to adapt models to fit the specificity of arts organisations. Third, the value to general organisational/management studies of studying arts organisations in particular:

> Arts organizations offer a different challenge to this body of knowledge: an important – and difficult to deal with – anomaly. In other words, in addition to substantive elements of interest, studying the management of arts organizations can address important issues at the epistemological and theoretical level as well. (In this regard, a possible area of research is on creative processes in the arts as a way of understanding and further developing creativity inside business organizations (Zan, 2006, p. 9).

Given this, it is interesting how little of the cultural value debate considers the translation of measurement requirements within the organisational setting. Recent work in the performance management literature (below) does recognise the multiple practices that make up measuring and valuing within the organisation:

> In arts organizations, the evaluation practice is rich and multifaceted. Firstly, evaluations are made by artists as an organic part of their and their colleagues' artistic work. Secondly, evaluations are made by managing staff to ensure the organization's sustainability. Thirdly, evaluations are used by funding bodies to allocate and justify subsidies (Chiaravalloti and Piber, 2011, p. 241).

However, there is relatively little consideration of the impact of these multiple actors (or evaluators) in the creation of both the measures and the measurement that is used to assess the value of the arts, and they are often ignored in the literature on cultural value (Beirne and Knight, 2004; Glinkowski, 2008). Given the recognised range of different evaluations taking place within the arts (Chiaravalloti and Piber, 2011), and the differing understandings of value and evaluation held by artists, arts intermediaries, arts managers and policy-makers and funders (Beirne and Knight, 2004; Glinkowski, 2008; Chiapello, 2014; Shukaitis and Figiel, 2014), there is a need for a model of analysis that takes into account these differences in understanding. This model would help with the analysis of how measurement requirements and logics affect practice within and through the organisation.

Organisational studies from the mid-80s offers a meso-level view – focussing on organisations, rather than society as a whole (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). At this point there was a recognition that the main influences on organisations and intra- and inter-organisational practice were the state and professions. However, the recognition that a range of different influences (political, socio-economic, cultural) were in action in the making of every decision, led to a challenge to include the role of agency

within these organisations (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991), and more specifically the role of cognition (Friedland and Alford, 1991).

Responding to the challenge of Friedland and Alford 1991, the Institutional Logics Perspective is the name given to a set of ideas developed over a series of papers published since 1992 (Townley, 1997; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Thornton, 2004; Alvarez, 2005; Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005; Greenwood *et al.*, 2010, 2011), and written up by three of the main proponents in 'The Institutional Logics Perspective: A New Approach to Culture, Structure, and Process' (Thornton et al., 2012), largely trying to incorporate the role of cognition into neo-institutional theory. They situate themselves as a new generation within neo-institutionalism, raising the issue of institutional change: "how does it come about, where does it originate, how are institutions challenged etc.?" (Morgan and Edwards, 2014, p. 934)

The core argument made by Friedland and Alford, is that:

> [t]he central institutions of the contemporary capitalist West- capitalist market, bureaucratic state, democracy, nuclear family, and Christian religion – shape individual preferences and organizational interests as well as the repertoire of behaviors by which they may attain them. These institutions are potentially contradictory and hence make multiple logics available to individuals and organizations. Individuals and organisations transform the institutional relations of society by exploiting these contradictions (Friedland and Alford, 1991, p. 232).

This recognition of the way that the logics of multiple institutions act across, on and within organisations as well as the potential for individuals and organisations to use the inherent contradictions between these logics to effect change on their own lives and organisations remains at the heart of the Institutional Logics Perspective.

Institutional logics are the

> … socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and
> material practices, including assumptions, values and beliefs, by which
> individuals and organizations provide meaning to their daily activity,
> organise time and space, and reproduce their lives and
> experiences (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. 2).

Thus, they provide 'taken-for- granted' norms that enable people to make sense of their situation, by providing "assumptions and values, usually implicit, about how to interpret organizational reality, what constitutes appropriate behavior, and how to succeed" (Thornton, 2004, p. 70).

The existence of these logics beyond the moment and the individual – that is, their placement within the institutional order, explains why varied organisations exhibit similar structures and actions:

> Thus, to understand how and why organizations exhibit similarity and
> variation in their use of such forms and practices it is necessary to trace
> the relationship between organizations and the logics that constitute
> their institutional context. (Greenwood *et al.*, 2010, p. 521)

Research within the approach has tended to focus on the implications of institutional logics on decision-making, the contradictions between one logic and another, or the shift from dominance away from one logic, to another or multiple logics (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Thornton, 2004; Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005).

Greenwood and collaborators (2010, 2011) use the Institutional Logics Perspective to consider 'institutional complexity' - organisational environments where organisations face a variety of pressures stemming from multiple institutional logics. They consider how the structural dimensions of fields and organisational attributes affect how organisations respond to institutional complexity. This is a useful model for considering how measurement and evaluation acts as and is enacted upon by "institutional complexity" as defined by Greenwood et al. They recognise that "in any

field or industry, practices prescribed by different logics will be in play. That is, organizations confront institutional complexity" (Greenwood et al. 2010, p.522). This framing echoes the recognised 'complexity' within the field of arts impact measurement, as Belfiore elegantly puts it:

> … philosophers and scholars have struggled to describe and understand the way that people respond to the arts uninterruptedly since the times of Plato. Any simple, straightforward solution to this riddle, or any impact evaluation toolkit that promises to evaluate the transformative power of any form of aesthetic experience in 'ten easy replicable steps', thus bypassing or refusing to address such complexity, is likely to be – let us be honest – bullshit (Belfiore, 2008, p. 24).

The specific value to my PhD of these ideas, is the recognition of, and the attempt to map, a series of different influences that affect individuals within organisations (Thornton et al. 2012). Organisations are usually characterised by multiple, often conflicting logics, consequently, organisational responses to their contexts are unlikely to be uniform (Greenwood et al. 2010). The upshot of this is that action taken isn't irrational, but depends on lot of different influences arising from all the layers of the system which affect the individual (person or organisation) which may have contradictory logics and value systems, and thus give the impression of lack of rational action. Thornton et al (2012) thus claim to bridge the structure-agency divide in that decisions arise from both structure and agency. Actors aren't making one decision, in one setting, but instead making lots of decisions, in many different settings, cultures and realities, thus there is a need to theorise structure and agency simultaneously.

This understanding allows us to take a second look at what might initially seem irrational decisions and actions taken within organisations and see actors as making decisions that are rational within the multiple dimensions in which they are operating.

Focussing on evaluation in the arts, the range of approaches to evaluation identified (Reeves, 2002; Bunting, Hutton and King, 2010; Newman *et al.*, 2010; Carnwath and Brown, 2014) and the range of responses from practitioners to evaluation (as discussed below in my fieldwork) can be viewed not as the confusion of 'illogical' artists, but as a series of rational responses to the range of political and sectoral dimensions of value and valuation in the sector explored within the first part of this chapter, played out through the medium of the organisation as both an agent and a location in which agents act.

Having considered why evaluation happens in the arts, what the subject of the evaluation is (or isn't), how evaluation is practiced and the implications of the fact that much evaluation takes place within organisations, there is a clear gap in the cultural policy literature on how the subjects of the evaluation respond to evaluation. In the next section I turn to organisation studies and performance management to explore research on how people respond to evaluation.

What happens when we evaluate? – the implications of measurement on practice

Taking as a start the performance management tenet: "What gets measured generally gets done. And what is not measured may suffer in comparison" (Otley, 2003, p. 319), there is a clear value to considering what this literature could bring to the study of how evaluation affects practice within arts organisations.

Within the management accounting literature, this 'problem' (the unintended impact of measurement on practice) is best seen as situated in the intersection between performance measurement and performance management. The two differ in terms of end. Performance measurement is "a specific definition of the [organisation's]

primary objectives and how to measure achievement of these objectives" and

performance management is "a specification of the processes that generate

performance and, hence, a specification of how management decisions can control

performance" (Speckbacher, 2003, p. 268). That is, performance management aims to

effect change, performance measurement does so accidentally. The aims of

measurement of arts impact are almost always framed as performance measurement

rather than performance management, seeking to measure and understand impact, not

change practice (Woolf, 2004b; Arts Council England, 2011, 2012; Jancovich, 2011;

Raw and Robson, 2017).

Many areas of arts management, cultural economics and cultural policy have

benefitted from the consideration of principles and models from the wider field of

management research (Turbide and Hoskin, 1999; Weinstein and Bukovinsky, 2009;

Towse, 2011; Lindqvist, 2012). However, these authors do recognize that this is still

an emerging area, and complex due to the need to take into account that:

> arts and cultural organizations, whether public or private, are so deeply
> embedded in the public sphere, their management challenges relate not
> only to the organization itself but also to complex political and societal
> dimensions that are studied in economics, cultural policy studies,
> political science, and related areas (Lindqvist, 2012, p. 10).

That is, the value and challenges that arise from an interdisciplinary area of study.

It is also the locus of debate as to the inherent implications of applying management

accounting techniques in arts management summed up as "We are told that this will

destroy creativity, that 'great art' is not possible if money is counted" (Chiapello 1991,

p3 cited in Turbide and Hoskin, 1999, p. 76). In a more complex interpretation, the

way in which power is tied to expert knowledge in the arts is held as a reason to

resist, or avoid the 'external' management accountancy approach (Turbide and

Hoskin, 1999, pp. 74–5; Beirne and Knight, 2004). An implication, and a further cause of this lack of trust, is that due to the fragmentation of the sector, meaning that the 'field' of arts management hasn't been able to "establish its own distinct and distinctive discourse" (Turbide and Hoskin, 1999, p. 69).

Applications of management accounting ideas to the arts include discussion on performance indicators (PIs) (Gilhespy, 1999; Evans, 2000; Towse, 2001), including specific models of performance management frameworks for the arts sector (Gilhespy, 1999; Paulus, 2003). This literature at times adds to the critique, as reference to the performance management literature emphasises that PIs are only a tool, to further policy analysis, not an end in themselves (Towse, 2001, p. 48): obvious when stated but seemingly forgotten by many policy-makers in setting targets and PIs) and Evans' (2000) use of the critiques of performance measurement for a comprehensive critique of the validity and value of performance indicators in the sector. However, most who reference the performance measurement/management literature in their work on the arts, do so with little or no specific reference to the impact on practice, focussing instead on the ethical implications (Turbide and Laurin, 2009; Chiaravalloti and Piber, 2011). Interestingly the 'text-book' description of performance indicators in the cultural sector, mentions the implications of Otley's tenet only as a final footnote – which more or less renders pointless the previous technical tone of the chapter

> 4. Once used, indicators are not merely a computation exercise, since they tend to affect the behaviour of institutions according to the incentives arising from the prediction about their possible utilization (Pignataro, 2011, p. 336).

This initial review of ideas arising from performance measurement research shows potential for useful crossover to the arts sector, given the recognition of the change

agency of evaluation and its impact on those who evaluate and are evaluated. In particular, to return to the tenet of "What gets measured gets done" (Otley, 2003, p. 319) the implications for the arts in a focus on any particular aspect of evaluation becomes an issue not just in terms of considering what gets funded, as discussed at length within the cultural value debate (Selwood, 2002b; O'Brien, 2010; Stevenson, 2013c; Belfiore, 2014), but in terms of what gets practiced at all. Within this understanding, the artists and organisations will inevitably adjust their practice towards that which is measured.

This study didn't allow time for a thorough analysis of the practices of evaluation within a performance management framework (Ferreira and Otley, 2009; Tessier and Otley, 2012) but this focus on how people respond to evaluation, rather than what funders intend by evaluation acts as the frame for Chapters Five and Six of the thesis through use of Hirschman's (1970) classic 'Exit' and 'Voice' responses, which mapped out employee responses to decline in firms and organisations (as well as those of customers and citizen's responses to decline in states). Classifying these as falling into Exit, Voice and Loyalty these groupings have been explored, used and built on extensively, including the introduction of 'Neglect' as a specific response (Rusbult, Zembrodt and Gunn, 1982; Farrell and Rusbult, 1992) to understand employee responses to management (Ackroyd and Thompson, 1999; Fleming and Spicer, 2007; Naus, van Iterson and Roe, 2007).

Conclusion

Recent cultural policy literature has focused on questions of what value is, how to measure value, and the meaning of measuring value (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008; Carnwath and Brown, 2014; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016) with less emphasis on

the effects of the requirement to measure and evaluate in the arts. There has also been a tendency to focus either on the micro level of evaluation, within a specific and vast literature arising from project evaluations, some of which are written up as academic articles (Melville, 2013), or the macro-level of policy and the sector. The role of the organisation as a locus of evaluation, and an intermediary within the act of evaluation is less researched. Literature from organisation studies and critical accounting offer a viewpoint to reassess these areas, recognising the impact of measurement on practice (Otley, 2003) and the role of the organisation as a locus of action and resistance (Ackroyd and Thompson, 1999; Fleming and Spicer, 2007). The Institutional Logics Perspective (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012) offers an approach to bring together thinking around these two gaps, considering how the logics in action within an arts organisation act on and are mobilised by the artists as actors within it.

This thesis addresses the gaps identified above to explore the following research questions:

- ***What are the logics of evaluation in the arts organisation?***

- ***How do artists respond to and engage with evaluation within and through the multiplicity of these logics?***

Then moves onto a final discussion which ties the analysis back to practice by considering:

- ***How could recognising the logics at play, and starting with artists' values and practice to design measurement affect the efficacy and value of that measurement?***

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

Review of the existing cultural policy literature identified a need for more understanding of how evaluation affects artists, in particular considering how arts organisations act as translators and adapters of evaluation requirements and practice within their role as employers of artists. This led to the development of the three research questions stated above, two arising from the identified gaps in research:

- *What are the logics of evaluation in the arts organisation?*

- *How do artists respond to and engage with evaluation within and through the multiplicity of these logics?*

And the final seeking to tie this debate back into practice concerns:

- *How could recognising the logics at play, and starting with artists' values and practice to design measurement affect the efficacy and value of that measurement?*

In this chapter I outline the approach taken to the research, showing how the focus on actions taken, 'evaluating' developed in the course of the review of the literature gave rise to the decision to build on practitioner research and critical action research (Sykes and Treleaven, 2009; Drake, 2011) and autoethnography (Marechal, 2012). This was further facilitated by the combined opportunity offered by the ESRC Collaborative PhD Studentship in partnership with Firstsite Contemporary Art Gallery in Colchester, Essex, and by a period of paid work within the setting of the Experimental Communities Programme at Firstsite – along with my previous experience as a freelance evaluator. I then describe the practicalities of the setting and

explain how the fieldwork and analysis were undertaken through a co-produced approach fitting with the method and setting. Finally, I begin to explore some of the ethical, practical and personal issues of working in this way.

The methodology so developed offers a frame for understanding the logics framework developed in Chapter Four, and the findings and analysis from the fieldwork set out in Chapters Five and Six and the discussion and development of new approaches to evaluation Chapter Seven.

Ontology and Epistemology

As explored above in the literature review, the search for 'cultural value' per se, as an implicitly reified object, or conversely the rejection of any attempt to measure cultural value as being a necessarily positivist act, has proved unhelpful or distracting in terms of the understanding of how artists engage with the very real experience of the requirement to measure the impact/value of their work. It is far more useful in this sense to consider the concept of 'evaluation' and 'evaluating' or 'measuring' (Harvie and Milburn, 2010) than be concerned about what the outcome or object being measured actually is: that is I am interested in the process of measurement, not the object of measurement, or even the possibility (or otherwise) of measurement; I leave the consideration of the possibility of external 'accurate' measurement of this 'cultural value' to others (Belfiore and Bennett, 2007a; Walmsley, 2012b; O'Brien, 2014).

Thus my object of study isn't in fact the value itself, but 'valuing' - the measurement of that value (Harvie and Milburn, 2010), and specifically the set of relations and responses to this, set within the context of 'evaluation' which is the most visible element of measurement in the arts. Within this study, 'evaluation' is itself viewed as a set of practices, a social construct, the result of a changing set of relations, decisions

and valuing practices applied to the 'problem' of how to understand the value of the arts. This use of the word practice draws attention to the simultaneity of and lack of clear boundary between the artists' 'practice' of measurement with their 'practice' of art. Taking a definition of practice which draws on Bourdieu's (1977) work allowed me to capture the full range of the artists' work, not ending up limited to discussions on where the boundaries of their lives as artists or employees or individuals came in a way that a more limited view of their 'artistic practice' could lead to.

The understanding of 'practice(s)' as actions by which 'realities' are constructed, and which are constructed by those perceived realities, makes it hard to define or settle on the 'actual' practices – if all practices take place in, respond to and co-create social reality then what is the 'real' practice underlying these (as opposed to the responding practices, the perceived practices) it doesn't make sense to look for a 'reality' behind these, and thus the draws on ideas of a performative ontology (Butler, 1988) recognising measurement (in this case) is not only socially informed itself, but in its turn creates the object of measurement, and thus attempts to find 'the value of culture' through measurement effectively end in one entering a self-referencing loop.

Within these assumptions, there is no possibility of the existence of an externally viewable 'reality', as understood within a positivist viewpoint (Bourdieu, 1977). Taking a positivist approach, or assuming that there could be some objective way to 'measure' these responses to measurement would lead into a self-referential model where I was trying to measure my measurement of others' measurement. By taking as a starting point that there were multiple logics at play within the practice of measurement within Firstsite, I needed to also assume that there would equally be

multiple logics at play around my study, and any attempt to model within these assumptions is inherently overly complex or hopelessly vague.

Thus, I take a social constructivist approach, recognising that value is socially constructed, and understanding that there is no measurable 'reality of value' at the heart of the work, the measures and metrics themselves are part of constructing a social reality: they make the social reality they purport to measure.

Within this ontological viewpoint, knowledge arises within action, within measuring. Epistemologically, the central aspect of this thesis is doing: the object of study is the action of measuring, not the object of the measurement. This focus for the research questions helps shape the methodological approaches taken: if we recognise that we shape reality by measuring it, then the corollary is that we are not seeking knowledge, but are constructing it by practicing measurement. As such, I chose to use methodologies that recognise that knowledge construction arise from practice(s), not thoughts and theories alone. This approach also recognises the value of others in the role of knowledge construction: many people are constructing this knowledge as they engage in the practices of measurement. This epistemological approach lies at the heart of action research (Reason and Bradbury, 2008) and works well with an ethnographic approach. The knowledge and understanding developed in this study will have wider implications, not through its objectivity, but through its focus on the specific, with validity assured by reflexivity not through the existence of a control group.

I also decided to focus on an in-depth study of a single case: the Experimental Communities Programme at Firstsite as a mixture of pragmatism and serendipitous fit. It pragmatically made sense in that the PhD was a collaboration

with Firstsite from the start, giving me full access to most areas of Firstsite's work, and I gained further access, and some paid time focus through my role on the programme. The use of a single case is well accepted in the social sciences (Yin, 2013), and fitted with my view that performance of practice constructed any 'reality' I might observe and I didn't assume there was an underlying 'truth' there to discover. A key issue arising from a social constructivist approach is the question of how we can justify the 'validity' of our work – or more usefully how we show we've critiqued and questioned to the extent that we can make any claim for the use of the work beyond the immediate case. In fact, through this approach, this work produces a greater understanding of issues, and the implications of these, to the arts sector, and specifically to the practice of measurement, evaluation and valuing in the arts. It also provides greater understanding of the experience and responses to measurement on practice for practitioners in arts and beyond. For example, it helps the understanding of the interrelation of reflection, action and measurement practices in education as well as the arts. In this way, I positioned 'validity' concerns following Lather as a space of constructed visibility of the practices of methodology (Lather and Smithies, 1997). In this construction, the fact that there are no agreed foundations or truths mean that the principles of "legitimation (or why we might give the work some credibility) need to be explicitly articulated, ratified and put into practice" (Drake, 2011, p. 38). Thus, the scrutiny of my methods of making meaning lay within the research methodology itself.

Given the stance of knowledge generation as arising from action, I decided to take an in-depth approach to be able to consider how measurement is performed, and how practice is performed as an interaction with measurement.

Methodology Choice

In this section I outline the main methodologies I draw on keeping discussion at an abstract level, not focusing on the implementation. In the next section I outline the setting in which the research took place. Then in 'method design' I discuss more fully how I implemented the methodology approach, including the practicalities of working in this setting.

In setting out to do research in an organisation with which I had a collaborative studentship, and specifically research based on my own work in effecting change, I needed to draw on more than one research approach in order to both gather good data, and also apply sufficient reflexivity to the process of designing research and gathering and analysing data.

There were a number of considerations to be taken in designing the data collection model: fit with the underlying ontological position of the study; fit with the setting; fit with researcher expertise and fit with methodological approach. The ontological stance of this work: that any measurement carried out itself shapes the 'social' predisposes one against the claims made for the benefits of a quantitative data collection technique. Quantitative data collection has a lot of draw-backs in terms of the depth of understanding it allows, but this is overcome by the benefits offered in generating a generalisable and valid description of reality (David and Sutton, 2004; Mertens and Wilson, 2012). Given the stance of this study that the object of study, 'evaluation' is itself socially constructed as it socially constructs, the use of quantified measures would in effect send us back around that self-referencing loop mentioned above. This approach fitted well with the artists' views, as they were universally

suspicious of both quantified measures and any attempt to claim ability to measure and capture something 'real' through evaluation. It did however cause some problems in fit with the organisational logics within Firstsite, which, in common with all publicly funded arts organisations needs to justify its 'value' and knew that quantified measures are useful in this. In terms of researcher expertise, my previous experience of a range of data collection techniques allowed me free choice and given that the main data collection technique needed to allow in depth and close data collection from people with whom I was working alongside, I decided to use observation as the main technique, supplemented with interviews, all constructed within an ethnographic approach and to do this within an action research design. However, I was also drawing on another data source: my own experience as a researcher and evaluation practitioner, and I was linking the academic research and my own practitioner research within a setting in which I had a clear 'insider' role. Thus I decided to combine ideas from critical action research (Whitehead and McNiff, 2006; Reason and Bradbury, 2008; McNiff and Whitehead, 2011), from organisational ethnography (Yanow, 2012) and the attempts to bring these together (Barab *et al.*, 2004; Sykes and Treleaven, 2009), I combined this thinking with lessons from practitioner research (Drake, 2011), and I outline the benefits and issues with all of these below.

Organisational Ethnography

Organisational Ethnography is the sub-field of ethnography which is concerned with researching/writing about people within organisations (indeed Czarniawska proposed the term 'ergonography' (2007, p. 17) to designate that the study is limited to work settings). It draws on a long history of writing detailed accounts of organisational life from the 1920s onwards, with a return to this practice in the 1970s after the

quantitative turn of the 1950s-60s. Following extensive use by theorists such as Van Maanen, Czarniawska and the synthesis of ideas in Ybema et al's collection "Organizational Ethnography" the argument for the value of this methodology for organizational studies is now widely accepted. (Ybema *et al.*, 2009)

Ethnography is the researching and writing about the everyday lives of people, using a range of sources and methods of gathering data, and interpreting the "meanings, functions, and consequences of human actions and institutional practices, and how these are implicated in local, and perhaps also wider, contexts." (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 3) Equally important is the style of writing, involving rich, verbal descriptions, explanation and theories.

Ybema et al (2009) outline seven key characteristics of organizational ethnography: the use of combined fieldwork methods over a prolonged period; the ethnographer's immersion and presence in the setting itself; drawing out tacit knowledge, hidden or overlooked dimensions and power structures; context sensitivity and actor-centred analysis; the ethnographers role in making sense of organizational actors' sense-making; the recognition and representation of multiple voices, multiple interests; and reflexivity of the ethnographers role, position and knowledge claims (Ybema *et al.*, 2009, pp. 5–9).

Ethnography is particularly valuable in studying how people make sense of their everyday lives; organisational ethnography places the focus of that on the 'everyday' of their organisational lives – in my case the 'workplace' of Firstsite, the art gallery. It works well in studies where the purpose is exploratory: understanding, finding out, sense-making, and thus was ideal for an initial approach to my initial research question: *What is the relationship between practice and evaluation in an arts*

organisation? where I had no clear ideas of what that relationship might be (and was even prepared to accept there was none, although it seemed unlikely).

However ethnography does raise challenges on an ethical level, as outlined particularly by Czarniawska (2007) who raises the non-reciprocity at the heart of ethnography – the ethnographer enters the field with a view to make sense of others' experiences, they do what for others are everyday activities: watching, noting, reflecting; but they have a "deliberate and systematic approach … What is involved ... is a significant development of the ordinary modes of making sense of the social world that we all use in our mundane lives" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 4).

This approach, of systematic study by the 'expert' ethnographer going beyond the 'ordinary modes' of sense-making used by everyone else, is important in making claims for ethnography as a 'valid' research technique, however it runs the risk of cementing (enhancing?) the ethnographers already 'privileged' position as an expert (outsider) in the field. Czarniawska's (2007) call for a 'symmetric ethnology' and her attempts to address some of these implicit issues in the relationship between the ethnographer and the field are useful adjuncts to the reflexivity element of ethnography.

Ethnography is useful as an approach in allowing the researchers to go beyond the verbal-based and participant-interpreted data collection of a traditional interview (Alvesson, 2003, 2009), which is particularly relevant in an arts setting, working with people for whom analysis is primarily carried out through kinetic, tactile and visual representation – i.e. their art practice – rather than the verbal form of a traditional interview (Barone and Eisner, 2012). However it has traditionally been used to research 'the other' – whether that means anthropologists travelling to

other continents and cultures, or sociologists studying other cultures albeit in their

own countries (Taylor, 2002). My proposed research situated clearly within the 'field'

of study, is a challenge within a traditionally framed ethnography, raising as it does

questions of detachment and subjectivity. However the possibility of having these in

any field is already critiqued within the social sciences (Crang and Cook, 2007), and

auto-ethnography "a form or method of research that involves self-observation and

reflexive investigation in the context of ethnographic field work and writing"

(Marechal, 2012, p. 44) is widely used in organisational studies (Goodall, 1994;

Allbon, 2012; Doloriert and Sambrook, 2012; Herrmann, Barnhill and Poole, 2013).

Choosing to use an autoethnographic approach allowed me to recognise and reflect on

my role and my 'self' within the research process – both in data gathering and more

importantly within data analysis and writing.

I had some initial doubts about autoethnography as a method which I would be

comfortable with as I had previously experienced accounts which seemed to focus

heavily on the researcher's experience, almost at the expense of the account of the

setting and actors in it. However, autoethnographies vary in their emphasis on the

'auto':

> there are varying degrees of self/other combinations within published
> autoethnography. Doloriert and Sambrook (2009) have conceptualised
> these auto (self)/ethno (Other) combinations in a continuum of
> autoethnographic relationships moving from a more separate
> researcher-and- researched (e.g. autopethno graphy) to that where the
> researcher-is-researched (e.g. autoXethno graphy)(Doloriert and
> Sambrook, 2012, p. 84).

Marechal, in summing up autoethnography highlights the importance of the

recognition of three understandings of 'self' – the researcher as her/himself a

representative of the setting and group, the introduction of the researchers' own

subjective experience within the study and the recognition of the 'self-hood' of the researched (Marechal, 2012, pp. 44–46). In my case, my role as a researcher, advisor and evaluation expert was different from that of the researched (the artists and other employees of Firstsite), I didn't feel there was a value in drawing from my direct experience as a member of the group in that way. However, I am an evaluator within the arts sector, and within Firstsite itself, and thus subject to the changing tides of evaluation requirements and practice. I was also a contractor of Firstsite, and needed to get information (and payment) from them and thus encountered and at times was caught up in enacting many of the logics the artists experienced (see Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 below).

In terms of my subjective experience, the use of an autoethnographic approach was extremely useful in framing and contextualising this experience, situating it not as a lapse in objectivity, but as part of the analytic process. In this way, Goodall's discussion on what is truth (Goodall, 1994, pp. 130–131) and his description of the experience of getting into a community (Goodall, 1994, pp. 19–29), albeit in a very different way to my immersion into Firstsite, were useful references for how to approach both analysing and writing about these experiences. My development of the idea of 'jarring moments' (discussed below) recognises the validity of my 'self' within the data collection and analysis process in a way common within autoethnographies (Allbon, 2012; Doloriert and Sambrook, 2012; Herrmann, Barnhill and Poole, 2013).

The third element of 'self' was the most important to me, the recognition of the "other as autonomous self (the other as both object and subject of inquiry, speaking with his or her own voice)" (Marechal, 2012, p. 44). This aligned with my determination to

overtly recognise the voice of the Associate Artists, who I felt were to some degree co-researchers in the process.

I was lucky to have the opportunity to do research as a member of an organisation through my role as 'Critical Friend' to the Experimental Communities evaluation, the research wasn't my main preoccupation for most of my time in the setting, and thus I wasn't a 'professional stranger' as per Agar (2008) or a 'participant observer' as observing wasn't the major role. In fact my approach could be better described as being an 'observing participant' (Alvesson, 2009, p. 159) within the Firstsite setting.

Critical Action Research

The overall research design needed to fit with my access and the opportunity of the setting. I was employed there to effect change in evaluation techniques, and as a researcher would have always chosen to do this through a research approach as I feel that participatory action research is the most effective way of effecting change through 'training' or 'coaching', participatory action research offers an approach that takes the researcher and 'participants' through the action research spiral of planning, acting, observing and reflecting (Sykes and Treleaven, 2009, p. 216).
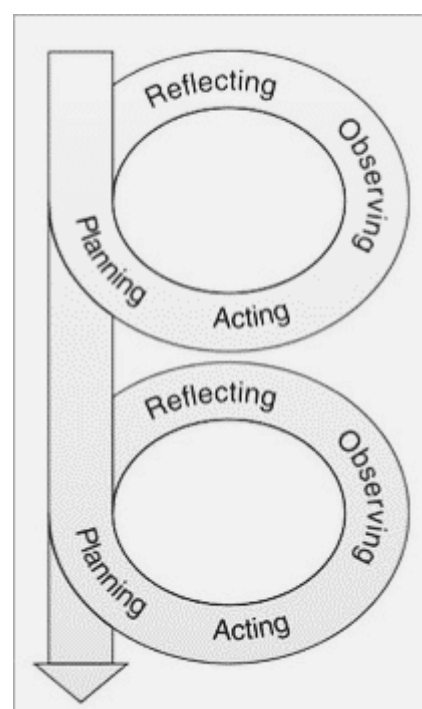
Figure 3: Action Research Cycle (Sykes & Treleaven, 200, p216)

As I began to realise that I would be using this practice within my PhD research I turned to action research to inform the methodological approach.

Action research is more than a data gathering methodology, as it is directly concerned

with how knowledge is constructed, and within the organisational studies field, Sykes

and Treleaven characterise action research as "a way of knowing" (2009, p. 215).

> Action research is a participatory, democratic process concerned
> with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human
> purposes.... It seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and
> practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical
> solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally
> the flourishing of individual persons and their communities (Reason
> and Bradbury 2001:1, cited in Reason, 2004, p. 269).

Action research also has a clear commitment to treat the researched as co-producers

of knowledge, and recognises the role of research as a way of effecting

change (Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2007). Critical action research, building on

participatory action research and on critical orientations to power and dominant

approaches specifically seeks to challenge and overturn taken-for-granted power

structures within the process of research (Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2007). In contrast

with traditional ethnography, where the researcher attempts to understand, but not

change the community they study, action research assumes a critical stance, in which

> the researcher becomes a *change agent* who is collaboratively
> developing structure intended to critique and support the transformation
> of the communities being studied (Barab *et al.*, 2004, p. 255).

Sykes and Treleavan argue that Critical Action Research shares links with

organisational ethnography (2009), and using their approach supported my research

design: they note the fact that both action research and ethnography are more than

methodologies, they explicitly situate themselves as 'ways of knowing' –

epistemologies (2009, p. 218); and they recommend ethnographic data gathering

techniques as a way of doing action research (2009, p. 220). Beyond this shared

approach, critical action research brings something more to organisational

ethnography, through the use of 'third person action research', which takes into account the positions of the self, the participant the community (Sykes and Treleaven, 2009, p. 220). In terms of the self (the first person), in critical action research, the researcher is positioned as an insider (as opposed to the traditional outsider observer), her views and experience can be incorporated into the analysis. In terms of the participant (the second person) within critical action research they are constructed as a co-researcher: "knowledge is co-constructed within reflective dialogue and actions [between researcher and co-researcher participants]" (Sykes and Treleaven, 2009, p. 224), thus the participants are involved as meaning makers and within the change effected. This is different from a traditional organisational ethnography point of view, in that the participants are viewed as able to step beyond their initial view of their everyday world as 'mundane', and working with the researcher, they too can develop the distance to allow reflection and analysis (2009, p. 224). The 'third person' point of view is the community in which the setting is placed: the practice area, other members of the organisation, and emphasises the explicit role of critical action research in effecting change, through reporting and dissemination. Through inclusion of ideas of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2010), they furthermore argue that this 'third person' approach allows for the critique of power relations underlying the setting. As they acknowledge, many of the elements of critical action research already exist within recent organisational ethnography, but feel that this approach adds something more:

> critical action research as a way of knowing may deepen traditional ethnographic research. Ethnographers undertaking research into the complexities of everyday organizational life may find that critical action research facilitates insights into the changing landscape of contemporary organizations (Sykes and Treleaven, 2009, p. 224).

In terms of my study, the recognition of the ability of the participant to reflect and analyse, and their explicit construction as a co-researcher, as well as the positioning of a researcher-change agent as a positive or even essential role, rather than something to be avoided as creating bias particularly fits with my personal stance, my previous experience, and the ontology underlying this research. In addition, I have situated this study with two equally valid audiences: in addition to the academic community which is the main audience of most PhDs, this work aims to have explicit value to the wider practitioner community, and ideas from the work have been disseminated through my freelance work, echoing the approach described by Sykes and Treleaven (2009, p. 224). These aims have to some degree been met, as discussed in Chapter 8 below, there are clear practice applications from my findings arising from my discussions with Arts Council England over best practice in evaluation through my consultancy research role, in addition several of the artists have commented on a longer term change in their practice around evaluation: Jevan now regularly makes explicit the evaluative and reflexive elements of his practice, both Elaine and Jacqueline have told me they approach evaluation very differently, and someone from the successor funder of Airlock mentioned how skilled and challenging the Airlock/YAK young people were around evaluation in their programme when compared with young people from other organisations nationally. My practice itself was changed and continues to change in reflection and learning over the period during and since the fieldwork.

Practitioner Research

A final element in the methodology was how to situate the incorporation of learning from my previous and current experience and practice within the research design. My practice and myself were situated firmly in the research: I was a paid worker in the

setting as well as a researcher and specifically I was part of the change I was studying. I was given the paid role of Critical Friend due to my previous experience of nearly 10 years of doing similar work, in fact the idea of being a 'critical friend' was developed partly from my own experience of what might be needed – working with the first Director of Firstsite and drawing on her experience too. During the time of the research this role became more widely used in the sector and I joined various practitioner discussions about what being or employing a 'critical friend' means.

Practitioner research, which can be understood as research carried out by practitioners in their own field, draws on the principles of participatory action research and extends the data collection to periods of professional work. It has been used extensively in PhDs (Clift, 2012; Drake, 2011; Kara, 2012) albeit particularly professional PhDs and more often in the disciplines of education and health than in organisational studies.

Drake (2011) describes practitioner research within a PhD as being a three part project:

1. Practitioner research in the workplace;

2. An academic research project;

3. A transformative project of self-reflection and development of authorial voice.

And recognises the value of all three of these:

> Doctoral researchers necessarily create new knowledge... for the
> insider, the newness of this knowledge comes not just from a single
> research domain but from combining understandings from professional
> practice, higher education practice and the researcher's individual
> reflexive project. (Drake, 2011, p. 2)

 I found this approach useful in allowing a framework by which my experience as an evaluator could be included in the 'data' for my PhD, not as a subsidiary source, but as a key reference point.

There are of course some real challenges in combining consultancy and academic research, current debate within cultural policy itself challenges the risk of consultancy work - often that hugely influential on policy - making claims which due to its non peer-reviewed nature can't be verified (Prince, 2014), and Oman and Taylor go further to specifically claim how the involvement of a recognised academic in this sort of consultancy research can be even more risky if their academic affiliation lends a sense of credibility to the work which isn't itself subject to the rigours of peer review (Oman and Taylor, 2018). Thawnghmung (2017) working on the political science – policy intersection discusses at length the cons, as well as the pros of a researcher – particularly a PhD researcher engaging in consultancy:

> While this approach allows access to materials and networks that scholar would not have obtained otherwise, it presents some methodological and ethical challenges. In fact, some academics advise against scholarly engagement with policy communities because of the potential conflict of interest that may compromise one's 'objective' and 'neutral' status as a scholar (Thawnghmung, 2017, p. 185)

However he concludes that the positives of access, understanding and the potential to make a positive difference outweigh the negatives by far and the key is to be mindful of the logistical, scholarly and ethical challenges so as to deal with the issues raised (Thawnghmung, 2017, p. 188). In my particular case, it could be argued that the viva process and certainly the supervision is far more rigorous than any peer review could manage, and the key issues for me were of the challenge to avoid potential conflicts of interest related to my income coming from Firstsite during the data gathering process. In practice, due to the long time taken to bring the thesis to completion, and

the high level of turnover at Firstsite, there was almost no overlap in staffing from the time I was paid to the time of thesis submission, so there was little concern about the work or what was said.

The methodology I used to design my study was set within a critical action research stance in terms of effecting change and recognising the co-researcher role of participants, and valuing the explicit use of my previous experience as an evaluation consultant within the practitioner research tradition, but fundamentally using the approaches and techniques of ethnography to embed further into the setting, and see deeper. Going past my 'taken-for-granted' assumptions arising from all my experiences and the expertise I brought with me.

The Setting: Experimental Communities – opportunity and fit

Firstsite context

The study was situated in Firstsite, and specifically within the Learning Team of Firstsite and their cohort of Associate Artists employed from Sept 2011-Sept 2013. At the time of my first involvement in early 2012, Firstsite had recently moved into their purpose built 'iconic' building (see discussion in Chapter One) and were in the midst of various challenges in terms of image locally (see discussion above and e.g. Calnan, 2011). The trustees and management saw a large part of the role of making Firstsite locally relevant in lying with the Learning Team, which worked with schools, families, and specific communities in the surrounding area supporting and encouraging their engagement with the gallery. Experimental Communities was seen as the focus of the community work and all of the Associate Artists had at least half their time allocated to it (see above Chapter One for further explanation of Firstsite and the Associate Artist role). Following initial discussions with the director about all

areas of Firstsite's evaluation work forming the basis for the study, it was decided to focus specifically on the core funded Experimental Communities programme as that element both gave an opportunity to work with the artists as co-researchers as they evaluated the work, and through my paid role to have more time and access to the field.

About Experimental Communities

The first stage of Experimental Communities took the form of a two-year Paul Hamlyn Foundation funded project which involved five strands of work with specific communities around Colchester - including two working around and within the building. A different Associate Artist led each strand – although they were also supported to work together and across strands so two of the strands had two clear artistic leads – and were able to develop the delivery to suit their practice, as well as developing their practice to suit the project. The aims of Experimental Communities were to:

- Improve social cohesion in local communities;

- Improve perception and knowledge of Firstsite;

- Create changes in working practices to include co-curating across teams while working closely with individuals and communities;

- Enable the voices of visitors to shape the nature of programming at Firstsite.

- There was also an aim of developing artists' practice, and specific mention of new forms of evaluation which fit with 'socially engaged arts practice' (Davison, 2014).

This funded stage of Experimental Communities ran from October 2011 to January 2014 (with a last-minute extension to March 2014), with the main delivery ending in August 2013. There was a report published including a section on each strand which was written by the artist leading the strand. An additional methodology section prefacing these was produced by me as it become clear that the funder needed the work explaining more (included as Appendix 3 below). The work from Experimental Communities was shown through either an exhibition, a publication or film from each strand and featured prominently on the Firstsite website for several years. The work was presented at several sector conferences and at two academic conferences by me along with three of the artists (Melville and Watkins Jones, 2014; Melville, Hull and Roberts, 2014).

Table 3.1 Experimental Communities Strands

Strand Name	Lead Artist(s) and other artists	Target community
Airlock	**Mandy Roberts** and **Beth Hull**	Young people who congregate around Firstsite, formed YAK group
Garrison	**Jevan Watkins Jones**	Recovering wounded servicemen at Chavasse VC House, part of Colchester Garrison
Printed Yarns (Old Heath)[9]	**Jacqueline Davies**	Residents of Old Heath
Sitting Room	**Elaine Tribley**	All visitors to Firstsite (focus on potential new visitors via interest in hobbies or craft)
Street: Greenstead	**Lawrence Bradby** with	Residents of Greenstead (specifically Voices4Greenstead residents group)

[9] The strand was originally called Street: Old Heath and was linked in the bid to Street: Greenstead, but in practice that link never happened so I have used Jacqueline's name for this strand.

	Jevan Watkins Jones	

The work of each strand is described below, to give more of a sense of the setting in which the work took place. Further illustrations and implications of the work are included in the analysis chapters (Chapter Four onwards) as the entire study interlinked with the artist's work.

Airlock

Airlock took place within and around Firstsite, responding directly to negative press coverage about the use by young people of the front area of Firstsite for skateboarding and other activity (News Desk, 2014). This area had been colonised by young people aged around 16-25, who used the wide spaces for dance as well as skateboarding, and used Firstsite's free wifi and gained shelter from the building's shape. Initially welcomed into the building, under new management they were labelled as more problematic and the Airlock strand was to some degree seen as a way of 'dealing with a problem' by some elements of management and by the press. The work from the start was informally approached and responded to local interest, initially interesting the young people through one off activities, as Lawrence Bradby noted at the end of a Big Draw event:

> some of the young people socialising in firstsite plaza enthusiastically joined in with the task of scrubbing the chalk lines off the ground. In response to this we (LB and WM) ran a further four sessions. …We kept to the spirit of the way the young people picked up brooms and helped at the first session. At each session we brought a few items – brooms with bike bells on at one session, ping pong balls and brooms at another – and began to use them … We didn't formally announce the

session; we waited to see who would join in and on what terms.
(Bradby and Watkins Jones, 2014, p. 6)[10]

As the work developed, the young people decided they wanted a more formalised structure and Y.A.K. was set up through Mandy Roberts and Beth Hull working with around 10 of the most active of the young people around. This group put together a manifesto of their views and membership, began to programme a strand of work including film club, board games club, alternative building tour, exhibition of their work, a FLOW group - training and performing with hula hoops, poi, fire juggling; a modern dance group – focus on breakdancing, and made a series of films and magazines about how they viewed their town, and were viewed by their town.

At all times the artistic standard of the work was very high, with the young people pushing for this level of quality, working with professional dancers, film-makers and other artists. This strand was recognised nationally as high quality young people's arts engagement and at the end of the Paul Hamlyn Foundation funding the work was funded as part of a national project so the group and work has continued to date, evolving in terms of activities and membership. As such it is the only strand to have any clear successor delivery.

Garrison

Garrison was developed from some initial meetings between the Colchester Garrison and Firstsite. Colchester Garrison has a potential population of 4,000 so plays a big role in the culture of the town, and a sense of local negativity towards soldiers strongly affected the perceptions many of the servicemen who took part in the

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[10] This appeared in the Greenstead report as the work was undertaken by Lawrence as initially he had planned to have a role in Airlock.

Garrison strand. Jevan Watkins Jones ran the strand around a co-creation of work, which culminated in an exhibition at Firstsite (and touring to the Houses of Parliament and Royal Armouries) of the work of recovering wounded servicemen involved in the project. Jevan's approach is to be in a space and allow people to slowly get to know him and approach him. His art-form is drawing, and he began a routine of sketching in the Chavasse VC Recovery Centre[11] every Tuesday, offering people sketchbooks and pencils if they wanted them. The sessions were written in the centre schedule as 'Drawing with Jevan' and gradually interested individuals congregated around him. He then worked with their ideas (which evolved into a multi-media show sharing the experience of injury and recovery – called 'Face – of Recovery') at their pace, gradually offering them space within Firstsite to develop some of the more complicated filming ideas. This strand involved in depth work with a few individuals – around 15 in total, close work with 8 or so – forming relationships between artist and former soldier which remain five years later. Despite extensive conversations no follow up work was agreed between Firstsite and the Garrison, Jevan is still developing and sharing the exhibition and (with me) the research and learning.

Printed Yarns: Old Heath

Led by Jacqueline Davies, Printed Yarns started in an area where there were no existing links with Firstsite and also no strong community groups. Old Heath is not really one community, with a single central space (as in Greenstead) so Jacqueline's

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[11] Run by Help for Heroes, this is part of a transition for wounded servicemen who are leaving the military due to injuries. It focusses as much on mental health and independent living as on physical rehabilitation.

approach was to find existing groups and activities she could attend and get to know: an older people's home, a 'ladies group' and local coffee shop which began to be a regular location for her approach which was to sit and 'natter' while making things. Her artform is craft, so the project focussed around making and talking, collecting memories on a tablecloth which mapped the project, where people wrote on doilies which were incorporated or embroidered their thoughts. There was a series of sessions chatting and making in a local old people's home and a tea party held in Firstsite for those involved, not one of whom had been through the door previously. Fairly early in the project Jacqueline was introduced to Jane Seaborn[12], a local resident who had no background or real interest in art but who thought it sounded interesting and became a co-producer on the project. The final project output was a tea-towel designed by Jacqueline and hand printed by Jane and Jacqueline, based on the stories and ideas shared and given to everyone who played any part – three years later it was still proudly displayed in the local coffee shop. Again, the work did not continue after the funding ended though Jane did stay in touch and decided to do voluntary work as a result of the confidence she gained by this experience.

Sitting Room

Sitting Room strand was named as the intention of turning Firstsite into 'Colchester's Sitting Room', it was envisaged as an interchange between Learning Team and Curation (Programmes) team with Elaine Tribley facilitating and developing the external links. In practice Sitting Room became the locus of many of the challenges that Firstsite faced in this period as the founding Director left and her vision wasn't

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[12] Real full name used at Jane's specific request.

supported at the top level. As a result, Sitting Room as a strand was a series of 'pop-ups' that enlivened or got people to rethink the space of Firstsite, often through a dialogue with the current main exhibition. Elaine curated a series of location specific interventions: a collection of wooden cubes people could use as they saw fit, then painted to form chess boards, later pop ups included a collaboration with a local hairdresser doing bizarre hair art and make up and an artistic floristry and a local artist who ran a competition to find Britain's favourite pebble. Many of the interventions are discussed further below as they highlighted many of the themes in this thesis. Despite the resistance from later senior management to these interventions, they were very popular with the public and under new management similar pop-ups form a regular part of Firstsite programming.

Street: Greenstead

Street: Greenstead strand was led by Lawrence Bradby working with Jevan Watkins-Jones who was new to socially engaged programming within a community so wanted to learn by doing. As a result, it was well resourced (in terms of time) and a lot of activities took place. The artists worked from the start with a fledgling residents group, Voices4Greenstead, which was supported by the local social housing organisation and its keen staff. The area of Greenstead has a generally bad reputation in Colchester and people there don't generally engage in the arts.[13] The V4G group's aim was to improve the perception and self-confidence of the area through improvement projects, starting with tackling anti-social dog fouling. Lawrence and Jevan developed a series of events and projects which started from this idea and

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[13] From Audience Agency data, via Audience Finder https://audiencefinder.org/dashboard/mapping [accessed 9/9/17]

developed it further. These included a children's poster competition (V4G's idea) but developing into Dogjam a celebration of dog owning including 'dog portraits', 'dog-cam' (films shot by dogs with camera's on their collars), and other dog related activity initially in Greenstead then moving to Firstsite itself when everyone brought their dog in. This project then developed into 'Turf Twinning' which involved a complicated agreement to swap small circles of turf between two areas – discussed further below – which was run by a group largely made up of Greenstead residents and culminated in a booklet about the ideas. There was also an art club and various other events in the many green spaces of the area. Despite work by Lawrence and Jevan (and the Learning Team leadership) no further funding was found leading to some resentment from the Greenstead community at Firstsite suddenly pulling out.

My role – combining evaluation critical friend with PhD research

Through my collaborative PhD studentship with Firstsite, I had regular meetings with Firstsite's founding Director, Kath Wood, in which we'd discuss ideas around potential focus for my PhD, and also the issues of Firstsite itself. Kath recognised my previous experience as an evaluation advisor and wanted to use my expertise in Firstsite wherever possible. Thus I was asked to help design and run an evaluation for the Experimental Communities programme, within the Learning Team, and – partly in response to the budget, partly as a good practice principle - I recommended that the main evaluation be carried out by the five associate artists and two members of the Learning Team (one being Beth Hull, the other the project manager), with the paid evaluation support being in evaluation design, training and support of the artists, and support in writing up the final evaluations. We came up with the name 'critical friend' for the role, and the phrase was regularly used within the team about my role.

The role was never formally defined but as co-constructed in practice closely fitted

the Costa & Kallick definition:

> A critical friend, as the name suggests, is a trusted person who asks
> provocative questions, provides data to be examined through another
> lens, and offers critique of a person's work as a friend. A critical friend
> takes the time to fully understand the context of the work presented and
> the outcomes that the person or group is working toward (Costa
> & Kallick, 1993, p. 49).

There was an unusual amount of freedom given in terms of evaluation methods used,

and all the artists worked with me to develop aims, and then methods of evaluation,

research and reflection which fitted with their practice.

This period of work coincided with development of my PhD methodological

approach, and I realised that it offered a real opportunity to do in depth data gathering

and thus adapted my proposal to accommodate this and link the paid work with my

PhD research.

Data collection and analysis design

Data collection and analysis methods arose from the overall decisions around

methodology, combining the approaches of critical action research and

autoethnography and drawing further on my prior experience in other settings. They

thus needed to fit around the work of the Associate Artists on Experimental

Communities and particularly with their timeframes. In keeping with an action

research reflective spiral approach (Whitehead and McNiff, 2006) the 'stages' of data

collection and analysis were in practice overlapping and repeated. In particular, I

regularly adapted my 'critical friend' approach to support the Associate Artists to

reflect more, and this fed into the reflection as well as the data gathering and analysis.

Chronologically there were three stages to my fieldwork, all framed within the action research spiral (see above), these are listed below, for ease of understanding the process, then the different methods and approaches used are discussed:

- Stage 1 (Feb 2012 – Oct 2013):

'Observing participant' (Alvesson, 2009): *planning* the work, *observation* of the artists' experiences of and responses to the requirement to evaluate their work on Experimental Communities, *reflection* on the responses, *acting* on this reflection and observation to support their evaluation practice, *planning* with them for both their evaluations and my research ideas, returning to planning, acting, observing and reflecting in an iterative spiral. This was not a straightforward participant observation process for two main reasons:
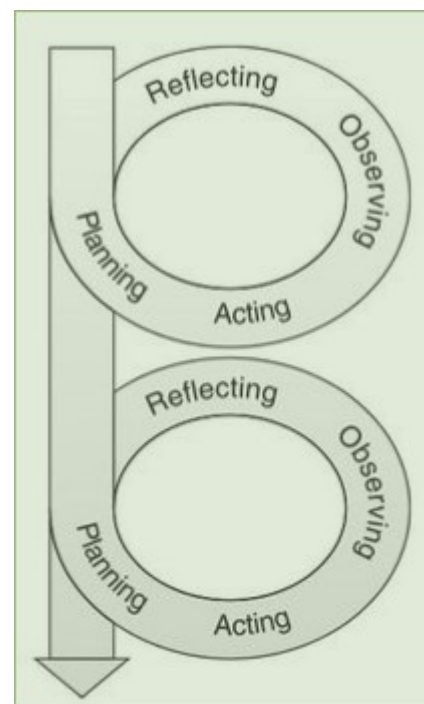
a: The opportunity and access arose from my paid work as an evaluator, and initially was simply observation that was built into my everyday practice, later ethical approval was sought and gained.

b: I was an active part of the evaluation requirement, as the 'Critical Friend' to the evaluation I had an educating, supporting and, to a degree, policing role.

- Stage 2 (July 2013-April 2015)

Analysis and reflection, introduction of an analysis frame

During this period once I had decided to focus on this setting for my PhD fieldwork, I began to develop an initial analysis of the logics of the field, based on previous and

continuing fieldwork observation and reflection, drawing in ideas from the Associate Artists as co-researchers in this reflection process. I developed an analysis frame and wrote up my fieldwork notes as jarring moments, and began to develop a set of ideas which I was ready to share with the artists. During this phase they were busy with the end of Experimental Communities, exhibitions, the end of contract and finding new work so I had to adapt the co-researcher role to their time capacity.

Stage 3 (Dec 2013 – April 2015)

Use of in-depth 'interviews' to carry out a dialogue with the artists on their experiences of evaluation and measurement in general and within this specific project. Below I explore these further to show how they fit more within an ethnography or action research framework than traditional interviews.

Observing as Participant – critical (friend) action research

The main part of the data gathering was through an embedded period of observation carried out as part of my paid work as Critical Friend. This happened whenever I was among the artists, usually one to two days a week, in a range of settings including workshops (run by me or others); one-to-one sessions (in my role as Critical Friend); attendance at events and meetings held as part of the Experimental Communities delivery and team meetings. It also included some email communication (informal discussions following up on questions and issues within the meetings). During this period my data gathering always followed the project requirements, I might ask additional questions arising from the fact I was doing a PhD, but I never requested extra meetings or sessions specifically for this, I didn't 'conduct interviews', instead like Poulos:

> following Gadamer, rather than 'interviewing' I engage in
> conversation. This is conversation we 'fall into', rather than 'conduct'.
> As I become a participant at the site, I fall into conversation as a natural
> by-product of being located among humans at a particular time and
> place. (Poulos, 2008, p. 68)

My practitioner role was however affected by the fact that I was combining it with the PhD, as the dual use of my time allowed me to offer a great deal more time to the project than they could afford under the funding allocated: for much of this period, my 'paid time' was one day per quarter, I rarely did less than three, and often more. This arrangement was made clear to the manager (my 'client') though sometimes forgotten in ongoing relationship practice and is something I return to below in the ethics and reflexivity section.

To understand the context of the fieldwork, it is important to understand the reality of the paid work. Officially my role was to 'support' the artists to carry out their own evaluations. This role wasn't a policing one, but involved training, responsive support, and reading of drafts or meeting for other input as needed. The artists' delivery period ran to Oct 2013, with a further period to finish off the evaluations. During the period from around Feb 2012 to Dec 2013, I met with all members of the Experimental Communities team (henceforth 'the team') between once and twice a month on average, for regular reflection meetings (as a group), quarterly evaluation review meetings/workshops (as a group), and later for 'one-to-one' sessions which turned out to be the only way that progress was made on evaluation. These sessions started with 'training' – delivered as a discussion on understanding what evaluation is for, how to construct aims, and then workshop sessions writing aims for each 'strand'. We then moved onto discussing how to build evaluation into their planned practice for the strands, and then regular update sessions where each strand discussed their practice, and what data was and could be collected, later I suggested different methods of

recording notes and findings, read and commented on notes and drafts, and had discussions on findings, and ideas. Finally, I ran a series of three full day writing workshops followed and interspersed with one-to-one sessions to try and ensure that all the ideas developed during the programme were recorded in some way. I supported each of the strand artists as well as the programme manager to write up the 'overall' evaluation report. The entire contract was for 17 days over the 26-month period so it was a very small time input, however as stated above, as I realised that I was going to use it for my PhD I increased my input to a more realistic amount. The process also changed as it became clear how difficult the artists found the process. This issue forms a large part of the analysis and is discussed at length in the findings below.

During this period, I kept notes in an A5 notebook, by hand on the experiences and responses of the artists involved. I did this openly and with the permission of the artists, and in a mix of during the session and straight after to add a little clarity. The artists were offered the option of sharing them and on occasions added to them, usually as we used them to look back to what we had been discussing and then I read out my scribbles, they commented and I made notes around the edge. These were mainly for use in exploring the development of the artists as evaluators (one of the 'aims' being evaluated for the Experimental Communities programme) but also for my own research interest. At the time, I didn't type up the notes in any formal way as that wasn't what they were there for, but they were clear enough that I could return to them and type them up when I realised this would be part of my PhD fieldwork.

Through the reflection during this stage I realized that direct practitioner experience and response to evaluation was the most interesting aspect of arts measurement for

me, and would contribute towards understanding how artists co-relate their artistic and evaluation practice (my main research question). I thus changed my initial research proposal to more closely fit this specific aspect of the work, and reading around methodologies led me to recognise that I had from the outset been in the role of practitioner researcher (Drake, 2011). As I began to recognize I would like to use this work as part of my PhD project I worked on obtaining ethical approval (received Dec 2012) and made my intent clear to all participants (see ethics section below).

Drawing on previous practitioner research

I found I was drawing heavily on my own experiences of supporting and embedding evaluation and measurement within delivery organisations as I both reflected on and carried out my role as critical friend to the evaluation. This usually took the form of examples within conversations with artists, or comments (to myself) in my fieldnotes: "it's like that time in Liverpool 08 when I just said....". This use of previous evaluation practitioner experience is a valid part of the methodology within practitioner research (Drake, 2011; Clift, 2012) and I explicitly brought this into my approach both in terms of my own thinking and supervisory discussions, and in the dialogue with the artists as co-researchers. For example, if I was reflecting on responses during a meeting and was finding it hard to understand why I particularly noticed this response – what was so 'jarring' (see below), reflection on how other groups and individuals had responded to similar situations during my past and current consultancy work several times helped me elucidate what felt so different here, or where there were similarities. I also used these examples within the discussions with artists partly to reassure them that other people found tackling evaluation hard, but again as a lens to reconsider their own work.

Dialogic interviews with artists

Over the course of the research, I increasingly realised both the complexity and value of the artists' critique of the evaluation process for my work. My relationship with them meant that I often tested ideas informally as we were discussing their work. This developed into a semi-formalised dialogistic approach where I discussed emerging findings with the artists to see how they responded to the constructions I had created. This led to my development of the interviews, which were designed specifically to be more two-way than traditional research interviews, treating the participant neither as subject nor object, but as co-researcher in analysing the data. In my ideal, we would have run these as 'workshops': both looking over the data and working on it together, but this would have required a lot more preparation and reading on their part than I felt it was appropriate to ask them as they are all freelance and none were working for Firstsite and thus able to be paid during this time. I carried out a total of nine, formally pre-arranged unstructured interviews with the artists involved in the study, this included at least one interview with each of them, some were repeated due to interest, length and in one case a request from an artist who used the second one as a way of reflecting on her practice having found the first so useful. In terms of one there was more of a joint effort as we had several meetings while preparing a conference presentation on the experience of working together (Melville and Watkins Jones, 2014), and I have included the full transcript of his presentation within this thesis as it forms part of the co-created element of my findings. With the others, fitting with the practicalities of the situation and their time availability, I talked through my ideas and findings, sharing the contents of the logics grid (see Chapter Four below) and the grid itself if they were interested. We then discussed our shared and differing memories of what happened during the process: initially through me

asking their memories and sense of what was achieved in the evaluations then me reflecting back with my interpretation and mentioning areas I'd noticed and they hadn't mentioned. At this point in most cases we ended up in a discussion about a few particular elements, responding to the artists' own priorities and experiences. These discussions added some more data to my research, but were more influential within the analysis cycle, helping selection of which of the vast collection of examples to focus on. I followed up some of the interview/discussions with email questions and in two cases we had a further discussion by email. These are all reflected in the data and analysis. This approach required me to consider issues of authorial voice and attribution, which I discussed with the artists, and the use of their names within this thesis comes from the wish to give them some credit.

Practicalities

My main form of data collection was through fieldwork notes, collected at the time, if appropriate (for example in the form of notes during meetings, notes if I was observing meetings) or written afterwards. I followed my inclination and habit and wrote them in note form in A5 spiral bound notebooks which I have been using for consultancy work for the past 10 years. Initially all my Experimental Communities work was 'consultancy', so I had started by interweaving my notes with all my other consultancy work. As it became clear that I was going to use the setting as my PhD fieldwork I decided to continue the practice, and it has led to some fruitful juxtapositions of so-called 'academic' and 'non-academic' sets of reflections which, using principles drawn from practitioner research I've included in the analysis.

This approach which I adapted from my consultancy work fits with Alvesson's view of how an 'at-home ethnographer' (one researching their own workplace or other

setting) would work, rather than taking copious notes, they would rely on their familiarity within the setting as an empirical starting point:

> the trick is more a matter of accomplishing a description and insightful, theoretically relevant ideas and comments out of the material. It is a matter of thinking through an understanding one may already have that is good, although perhaps non-articulated and partly taken for granted (Alvesson, 2009, pp. 162–3).

I also created a set of 'written up' fieldnotes as a document on my computer, which both allowed them to be easily shared and also gave me a chance to reflect on my notes so these represent initial analysis. In addition to words, my time in the 'field' of Firstsite marked my first realisation of the extent to which I rely on symbol and pictoral representation. In one of my own 'jarring moments' Jevan flipped through my notebook and then his and pointed out how much more 'drawing' I was doing than him (drawing was his primary artform, I claimed I couldn't draw). These diagrams acted as a method for sharing ideas, and recording initial thoughts and figure strongly in all my analysis. There is some effort made, within the format, to include examples of these in this thesis.

All the note-taking and fieldnotes were carried out 'as and when' around my visits to Firstsite which were entirely shaped around the programme and it's need. During the first phase of intensive fieldwork I would usually spend between 8 and 25 hours a week 'in the field' and nearly always visited Firstsite or met with an artist in their strand area or somewhere neutral 2 or 3 days in a week. This could include weekends and evenings as the Experimental Communities programme fitted around local interest and need – though was mainly daytime. I got into the habit of finding small chunks of time to make notes and write reflections.

All the formally agreed interviews were recorded and partially transcribed as appropriate. As stated above, rather than adding new data, the value of the interviews was in the refinement of my analysis model and a focusing of view as to which were the significant moments, so very little of the content of interviews is quoted. Some of the 1-2-1s (meetings between me as Critical Friend and the artist(s) of each strand, held approximately monthly or as needed) in the period soon after ethical approval was granted but this was abandoned quickly as despite the artists all agreeing to being recorded it was clear it greatly affected the discussions and conversation repeatedly returned to the recording process. I reflected on whether this was an indication of a lack of informed consent on their involvement in my PhD – that the recording process simply highlighted something they would otherwise have forgotten about – but in fact concluded that on the contrary the discomfort regarded the sense of surveillance they already felt in the requirement to evaluate, and there was an unrecognised concern about the way the recordings might be used, despite all my promises. All recordings were stored securely and transcripts, where made, were sent to the interviewee. I received no comments or requests for edits.

I had thought about using photography formally to develop a visual ethnography approach (Pink, 2013), but in practice this wasn't something that worked with my style. I did take photos during workshops and at some activities, but they acted more as notes and reminders than data that could be used. My regular role at activities and events was occasionally as a photographer but in an arts setting this is quite an advanced role, usually I carried out much more practical tasks in my role as an observing participant: I held quite a few dog leads, spread jam on bread, held bits of paper down on a windy evening then ran around with torches giving them out to

people in the dark, I served vats of soup out, stuck up bunting (under strict orders about how to make it artistic) and carried sandwiches around. This 'making the tea' role is one that I have developed over the years in my previous research projects, allowing a role in the field, and a way of approaching people, while not appearing to be something you are not (apart from a dogsbody), it was an approach I shared with one of the artists as we developed a method for her strand work as she made the first contacts in the community.

Using and adapting the Institutional Logics Perspective framework

My data analysis relied heavily on the application of an adapted version of the Institutional Logics Perspective logics grid (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. 73). I discuss below (Chapter Four) the Institutional Logics Perspective itself and the form of the adapted model, but here I explain the model idea, my reasons for using it, and how I carried out the adaptation.

Although designed by its authors for use as a full theoretical framework (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012), in this thesis I haven't used it in this way, partly to do with the nature of the research, and partly to do with some of the issues with the model which I discuss below (Chapter Four). Instead, I adapted the Institutional Logics Perspective grid, which I applied as a methodological tool, a lens to view the data arising from my fieldwork more clearly.

The use of the approach taken by Thornton et al required engagement with 'ideal types', which I decided to fully engage with as a methodological tool within my work, taking, as a base, the concept of the ideal type as developed by Weber, which is the approach that Thornton et al use as well (2012, pp. 52–53).

As Roberts summarises:

> The value of ideal types is that they highlight in an extreme form processes or tendencies that are present, and thereby assist in understanding and explaining what is happening in the real world (Roberts, 2009, p. 127).

The 'ideal type' isn't a normative concept, it doesn't refer to moral ideals, and nor is a meant by Weber to be equivalent to statistical averages. It has no external existence, but is a product of the imagination of the investigator (Coser, 1977, p. 223). "An ideal type is an analytical construct that serves the investigator as a measuring rod to ascertain similarities as well as deviations in concrete cases." (Coser, 1977, p. 223) Weber defines the ideal type as:

> the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more-or-less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasised viewpoints into a unified analytical construct … [the value of the ideal type is to act as a analytical tool for a researcher involving] the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more-or-less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena ... (Weber, 1949, p. 90).

The investigator creates them, by taking the important features of a situation or process, and then relating them to each other in a logical way. As Swingewood defines: "Ideal types must therefore be constructed both in terms of their adequacy on the level of meaning and causal adequacy." (Swingewood, 2000, p. 93); do they 'make sense' and do they explain things causally. In the case of the ideal types mapped out by Thornton et al (2012), this isn't necessarily the case.

The ideal type institutions mapped out in the original Institutional Logics Perspective grid are a useful start to understanding how different logics operate in the different institutions, but don't reflect the reality of the art-world as a whole, and Firstsite in particular. Thus I took as a basis the institutional orders outlined by Thornton et al,

Family, Community, Religion, State, Market, Profession and Corporation, and systematically, order by order and cell by cell, I drew from my fieldwork and professional experience within similar settings to consider what those orders and categories constituted in the lived reality of socially-engaged artists working with and within a publicly funded arts organisation, and specifically with respect to Firstsite, and its cohort of Associate Artists. The result of this is set out in Chapter Four and involves discussion initially of what each order means within this setting: what is 'the profession' for a socially-engaged artist; what is 'religion'? Then I explored how this logic plays out through Thornton et al's categories: sources of legitimacy; sources of authority etc. (2012, p73, see below). Through this structured approach of considering each individual category (there are 56 (7x8) of these) from fieldwork and secondary data, I developed a bespoke grid (see Appendix 2 below) adapted from the 'ideal type' to the 'reality' of practice in the sector. Finally, I used this understanding of the way each order worked within a socially engaged arts setting to consider how 'evaluation' would be constructed within each logic and added that line to the grid. This grid was then available for use in the analysis of my data from fieldwork, particularly focussed around 'jarring moments' (see discussion below) and as a resource within the discussions with artists as co-researchers.

Jarring Moments - Coding and Analysis

I had realised from my practice as an evaluator, how emotional and seemingly irrational the response to 'evaluation' as a concept is. Although engagement with evaluation can be situated within a cost-benefit analysis: is it worth me doing this [irritating thing] for the result I'll get [of understanding, funding, better levels of engagement]. In practice this isn't usually how practitioners in the arts respond to it. I have encountered extremely emotional responses, sometimes negative, often fearful.

For example, once when working with an advice centre run by a holy order in Dublin, as I began to explain the new evaluation system one of the workers burst into tears with stress at the idea that she'd have to engage in 'evaluation'. Since she was a nun, dressed in traditional habit, the fact I 'made a nun cry' became a joke with my colleagues but given I hadn't actually done more than introduced myself and explained I was going to talk about evaluation, does show how emotional the response can be. I have never worked on a project where there wasn't some moment of enhanced emotion related to my role – whether it is related to the close scrutiny of an outsider (who simultaneously asks for a level of trust), the knowledge of impending judgement, or the experience of being listened to when talking about one's ideas, reasons, actions. For some reason evaluation seems to create a crucible which condenses the most pressing issues of an organisation and brings them to the surface.

This was no different during the fieldwork in Firstsite. In some ways the Associate Artists were among the more experienced people in terms of 'being evaluated', they didn't initially open up to me, and had a level of cynicism and confidence about the process. However the time period and intensity of the work – the most intense engagement for me for years, meant that these emotional moments did begin to occur, and since Firstsite was at the time in a period of crisis, and the artists by their very work patterns were in a state of precarity, there was a baseline intensity to the setting which the evaluation challenges interacted with and at times exacerbated.

As a result, I decided to take a reflexive approach to analysis – starting with the assumption that I am in a series of strange positions:

- As an insider-outsider to the setting,

- As an agent of the implementation of evaluation

- As a critical friend – legitimised by management as their helper through the 'system', yet also effectively placed in a policing position.

Despite these positions, or perhaps through the intersection of them, along with my own personal experience and my subconscious understanding of the norms of behaviour in an organisational and group setting, I view the world through a series of narratives, which generate a shifting sense of what is 'normal' – i.e. events follow the narrative. (Devereaux and Griffin, 2013) If these narratives are broken then I have an emotional response: being upset, unsettled, shocked. Similarly Poulos (2008) suggests ethnographers look for the liminal spaces between everyday and reality, what he, using a religious term a hierophany.

> A hierophany is a manifestation of the sacred, a moment in which one knows (intuitively) that something special, something powerful, is available to experience. The boundaries of ordinary space and time disappear, and we move into a sacred spirit-realm, a realm of space-time where the ordinary, everyday rules of embodied life are suspended, if only for a moment. Our ways of thinking— and being and moving and knowing— to which we have grown accustomed simply do not apply. We enter a liminal space-time (McLaren, 1988; Turner, 1969). We are betwixt and between. If we are lucky, hierophany leads to epiphany… the "Aha!" seizes us (Poulos, 2008, p. 83).

While I am not sure any of my experiences at Firstsite were quite so transcendental, the concept of otherness and stepping beyond the realm of ordinary behaviours does give a sense of the 'jar' in the step from ordinary to suspended rules and our affective response to this can be used as a tool for spotting issues within the mass of data collected.

I termed these small unordinary moments: 'jarring moments' and used them as a route into my data. This approach to writing up fieldnotes is inspired by the 'trouble cases' approach from socio-legal studies which contrasts "the everyday" or the "normal", on the one hand, and [...] the trouble case, the social mess, or the dispute, on the other ..." (Sarat *et al.*, 1998, p. 2) or the ethnographic strategy of beginning:

> with some "high point" or an incident of event that stands out as particularly vivid or important, to detail that event as thoroughly as possible, and then to consider in some topical fashion other significant events, incidents or exchanges (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 1995, p. 48).

They also have some similarity to Riach's (2009) 'sticky moments' which she used as an aid to reflexivity. When she retrospectively re-viewed them through checking transcriptions and rereading notes:

> It became apparent that whilst these moments were picked out by myself as researcher, the reflexive considerations were participant-led. … I use the term 'sticky moments', understood as *participant induced* reflexivity, to represent the temporary suspension of conventional dialogues that affect the structure and subsequent production of data (Riach, 2009, p. 361).

Riach used these 'sticky moments' to support her reflexive interviewing approach, the sticky moments signalling a moment of stepping outside the conventional roles. My use of 'jarring moments' is similar - the positioning of my researcher 'self' as a participant in emotionally responding to the interactions, conflicts and tensions of the setting, responding with and as one of the researched, allows a participant (artist) influence on the structuring of the data analysis – my emotional responses are part of a group experience, it is that experience that gives the 'jar'.

I started my analysis not by systematically looking through all the notes, but by reflecting on those moments – they were the ones I talked about to colleagues more, those I had written more in my fieldnotes about – often mentioning them later as their 'oddness' or 'jar' became more clear.

From these, I came up with a series of themes under which I could begin to group the data. These themes overlap and are in many ways insufficient, but provide entry points into what is otherwise a mass of notes, emails, a few transcripts, and the reflection and analysis that I'd done along the way and later, much of which was effectively still in my head.

This collection of 'jarring moments' have been brought together as times when the jar related to what felt like inappropriate workplace behaviour – usually, from my emotional response, it was when the Associate Artists 'behaved like children'. These included what felt to me to be petty acts of transgression (being late, not doing what they were told, not obeying basic etiquette), self-disempowerment (whining, nagging and being over-dependent on authority for every instruction), along with a sense of resignation and lack of willingness to try to make a change.

This list constructs it from the 'parent' point of view, which, as I explain below, my fieldnotes show me to have begun to inhabit during the fieldwork. Looking at it in terms of Hirschman's (1970) and later EVLN models (Farrell and Rusbult, 1992) of responses to organisational decline, most of these moments can be classified as responses of exit, voice, neglect or loyalty. The question of 'what is evaluation?' or 'what sort of evaluation is wanted here?' was fundamentally at the root of many of the 'jarring moments'. Having identified the jarring moments, each was mapped on the adapted Institutional Logics Perspective grid (see Appendix 2), initially manually

working through each example noting in different colours the implicit assumptions and category behaviours of the different agents in the jarring moment (see Fig 2 below). Some of the grids are included in the appropriate chapters below to illustrate the findings.
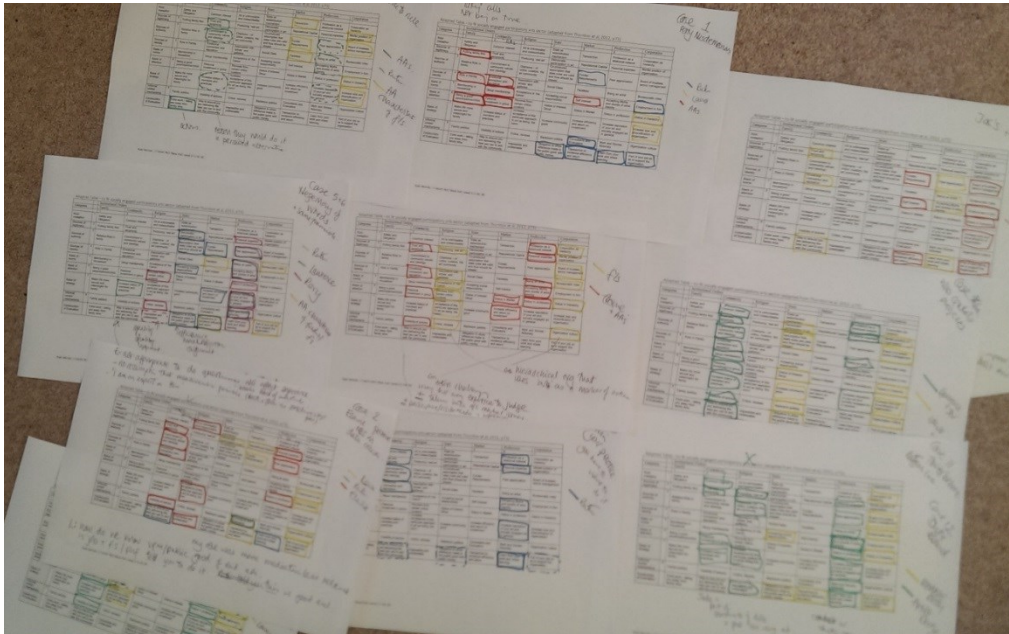
Figure 4: Institutional Logics Perspective logic analysis sheets

Ethical issues

Following the ideas of practitioner research (Drake, 2011) I consider ethics from a perspective of situatedness: rather than assuming that ethical positions reflect objective or universal truths, this recognises that:

> ethical consideration are related to the researcher's social, cultural historical, personal and professional circumstances, which of course change over time and over the course of the study (Drake, 2011, p. 47).

For this reason, this section touches on my role in the organisation, and my stance and experience, as well as more traditional PhD concerns of ethics committees and approval. Informed consent, for example, one of the accepted principles of research ethics (Petre and Rugg, 2011) is more complicated when one begins to question what

'informed' means within each logic and within the situation of the workplace. I thus took as a principle the 'everyday ethics' approach outlined by Banks et al (2013) which comes from the fields of participatory research and she defines as:

> the daily practice of negotiating the ethical issues and challenges that arise through the life of CBPR[14] projects. This way of constructing the 'ethical' is to see the moral agent not just as an impartial deliberator, but also as an embedded participant with situated and partial relationships, responsibilities, values and commitments that frame and constrain ways of seeing, judging and acting in particular situations. Thus the 'ethical' is present in ways of being as well as acting, and in relationships and emotions, as well as conduct (Banks et al., 2013, p. 4).

Given this I needed to consider my role in the process: my existing relations with the Associate Artists and with Firstsite as a whole; their roles and interrelations with the organisation, their practice, their line management, and their peers; how time and other practical constraints will interact with my study; and potential emotional responses to the subject of measurement and value in a setting where the 'work' being 'measured' is often seen as an extension or expression of the self.

As a reflection tool, in addition to conforming to the relevant ethical guidelines. (Economic and Social Research Council, 2012; University of Essex, 2013). I also used the 'everyday ethics' principles (Banks *et al.*, 2013, p. 8) to reflect on and adapt my research practice at key points. These don't differ hugely from more traditional guidelines, but do take into account the commitments arising from critical action research (as they are designed within that framework), and also are phrased in an accessible yet challenging way which allowed me to share them as a reflection tool with the artists on the project. Through this approach, I regularly checked my

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[14] Community Based Participatory Research projects

assumption that I was being open and inclusive, to ensure that as far as possible all participants were clear that they were part of a study and how the work would be used. As well as being supported to engage in and challenge the data collection and analysis taking place.

I had to complete an ethical approval form for the University of Essex, receiving approval in early 2013. At that point after discussions about what formalities were needed I was asked by the Director of Firstsite to formally inform the artists of my PhD research role and a letter was written by the Head of Learning (see Appendix 1). I didn't feel a formal letter particularly helped with informed consent – and we had quite a few exchanges about the form of words as originally I was being asked to let the artists know whenever I was 'switching to PhD mode' which was totally impossible and didn't represent the situation. I agreed to the letter, not as a way of informing the artists about my intent, but as a way of ensuring they were informed about Firstsite's support – and restrictions to support - of my PhD work, as that seemed the most important issue. By the time this letter was sent, I had been working as Critical Friend to the Experimental Communities programme for well over a year, as stated above, and although initially this wasn't the focus of the PhD, all the artists knew I was doing a collaborative PhD with and on Firstsite. They knew I was based as the university and had met my supervisors. At all points I discussed changed plans with the artists first, as they were the people I was discussing the work with, to an extent they were involved in the research design of the thesis, as well as the evaluation itself. In my regular reflection on the subject I challenged myself about whether they really understood the extent to which they were the subject of my study, but I am satisfied that they did. They find it a mixture of bewildering and touching,

that I can spend so long thinking about something which for them ended a long time ago, but also that I still care about what they said and did, and what they say and think about it now.

Another major concern in terms of informed consent was the extent to which the Associate Artists were able to freely give their consent, particularly since my fieldwork took place within their workplace, during their work time. This is a recurrent question within ethnography (Crang and Cook, 2007), and would always be a question that needed asking. I think it is necessary to acknowledge that it isn't fully possible to claim that they would have been able to 'opt out' if they didn't want to be involved. For this reason, I didn't agree to collect 'consent forms' from the artist participants. This is because if they felt obliged to take part, they would have felt obliged to sign the forms. Instead I counted on my relationship with them, the mutuality of the work, and my own integrity, along with an understanding of the extent to which they would have had the confidence to refuse (Banks *et al.*, 2013, p. 8). At various points in the writing up of the work, I have discussed including various other voices – particularly other Firstsite staff. Part of the reason they aren't included is that I didn't feel we had the level of understanding that allowed an acknowledgement of free and informed consent to take part in the study.

It is for this reason that the different levels of anonymity are observed: staff who haven't explicitly and implicitly granted consent to be named in the study are anonymised, although it is impossible to remove the ability to identify them due to the size of the organisation and the roles.

The Associate Artists are named because I position them as the co-creators of this work, within the critical action research tradition, placing the participants as co-

researchers. In terms of the Associate Artists, not to name them reduces their co-authorship of some of the ideas, and doesn't allow the right level of credit to be given. They have all agreed to being named and offered sight of a late draft of this work (which a few took up), they will receive a copy of the work on publication. In fact, their consent to take part is particularly clear in the fact that they continue to engage with the work, nearly four years after their contracts as Associate Artists have ended. This is a gift of time and reflection which is more telling than any forms signed. The other person named in the study is Judith Merritt who was Head of Learning during the period. She is named because I wanted to include a piece of work by her, which I needed to attribute. I explicitly sought permission to use her name and have mentioned her by name in several places in the text. The different Directors of Firstsite are named but are not participants in the research, falling more into gatekeeper roles. It would be impossible to anonymise them as there have only been four in the history of the organisation, only two of them in post during my time. All other names have been changed.

Another ethical issue which is complex to resolve is the fact that I was effectively paid for some of my time in the field. In practice, I spent so much more time supporting Experimental Communities than I was being paid for, I could differentiate the 'paid' and 'research' time, however this is a false split and doesn't fit with both the autoethnography and practitioner research approach which recognises the value of data collected whilst one is at work. As explained above, I have no concerns about 'taking' from Firstsite in terms of being paid for what I would have done anyway for my fieldwork, however my extra time, and focus, as well as more developed and reflexive approach, will have affected the way the evaluation of Experimental

Communities was carried out, meaning it took longer and was more in depth. It is clear from their responses that the Associate Artists felt very differently about evaluation after the experience than at the beginning (although that's feedback I've had from all sorts of projects including a recent one where I have only done five days input in total over one year so far), and at least some of their actual work was affected by my input (see below for discussions about Jacqueline and Jevan's practice). Overall, the 'everyday ethics' approach (Banks *et al.*, 2013) served me well in acting as a check-up tool while not causing further work for participants through form-filling or other more formal approaches.

Reflexivity and Myself in the research

Critical action research offers and requires much opportunity for reflection on the researcher's role in shaping the field, and being affected by it. I have discussed at length above some of the issues in terms of my multiple roles in the field, and how they may have affected the response of participants and the data collected. I also recognised how much I was affected by this piece of work, which was by far the largest in terms of level of immersion and time spent in the field.

As a result of the time with the artists, I reflected and developed my view of what my practice is: in terms of modes of data collection, and in terms of purpose and aims.

In terms of data collection, I had always recognised my use of ethnographic techniques of being in the field, alongside participants, taking a few notes at the time but mainly reflecting later. In writing up consultancy work I have regularly struggled to express what I know is the technique the project will need, in a brief format that fits with a bid. I would have told you that I mainly used written notes, and tend to take a fairly linear approach to recording and noting. I also worked within an action

research framework, particularly in terms of effecting change through research. So this approach was something I was comfortable with. As a result, I was comfortable with changing my approach and practice where needed to fit circumstances.

During the two years at Firstsite I came to realise that in fact I had a much more complex approach, which I used as an unrecognised part of my practice, and through discussions with the artists I developed these further:

I don't draw

One day when I was talking to Jevan about his view that everyone can draw, and his excitement in spotting different approaches to drawing among the soldiers I 'finally admitted' that I couldn't draw – that I was very unconfident about any production of art. I had been aware I was hesitating to say this before. Jevan laughed and took my notebook from me and turned it around, pointing at all the diagrams I'd done during our discussion (see example below, fairly typical for my notebook).
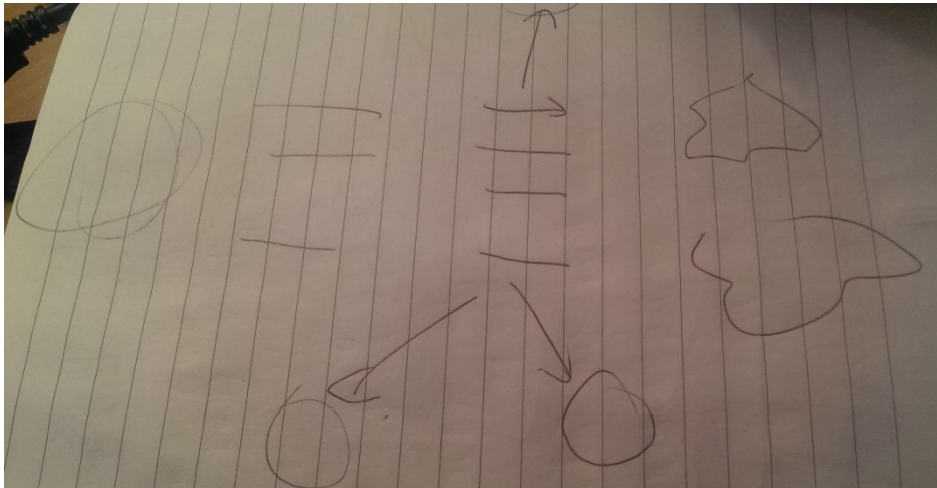
Figure 5: Image from field notebook

Over our time together he often teased me about how much more illustrated my notebooks are than his, and I have since taken a completely different approach to my

'drawings', seeing them as an integral part of my notes, and using pictorial representation more in lots of projects.

This 'feels wrong'

I had previously recognised the existence of an emotional response to the field during studies: often I have become friendly with participants and am still in touch with some, in many cases the situations I was placed in became emotionally taxing as evaluators are often an external agent available to talk to and tend to act as a weathervane for any issues in the setting. For example, in some studies I have had to seek support to get through the stress I was put under. The work in Firstsite, however, was particularly taxing due to the length of time I was there, and the emotions of my role (doing a PhD was emotional for me, and both the organisation and the artists were going through a lot of changes). Despite the level of stress, which I was able to deal with due to good supervisory support and through my existing support resources from years of experience, I did gain a new perspective on how to use my responses to situations as part of the analysis. As discussed above, through using the idea of disrupted narrative feeling wrong, (Devereaux and Griffin, 2013) I began to note 'jarring moments' as disruptions of everyday norms which represented something. This approach is something I've been able to more explicitly bring into my wider practice including specifically trying to disrupt norms when there's a need to support clients to think more laterally about a situation.

New perspectives

In addition, I benefitted from the varied perspectives of the individual artists involved: Jacqueline's need to make something in order to develop and express her ideas is not uncommon and has not only helped me work with a wider range of

people helping them open up through working on something together, but has also made me realise that drawing diagrams is my version of 'making' and forms a core part of my practice. Jevan's ability to see the remarkable and interesting in anything was a technique I would love to have learned, but I saw how through his genuine interest people opened up to him, and I realise that I use a (less impressive) version as I am so interested in why people do things which means I now try and focus work on projects and processes I am genuinely interested in. Lawrence had an ability to ask the most lateral questions about everything. He stopped me in my tracks several times when he challenged my taken for granted. It was particularly good to be on the receiving end of this, as this is what clients often comment on me doing, and having experienced its value – as well as how annoying it can be – has affected how I approach evaluation workshops.

Learning like this could have – and does – come from any experience of working with a group of people, the PhD process gave me a space to notice and reflect on how I changed, as well as how I changed the setting. I used this reflection over and over during the fieldwork to develop all aspects of the methodology and particularly the analysis.

Conclusion

The project involved a methodology based on action research and ethnography, bringing together the depth and reflection elements of autoethnography, which recognises that researching within your own setting, and including your responses and experiences can be particularly valuable in terms of understanding, and the change making of action research. Drawing from ideas in practitioner research allowed me to include learning from other professional evaluation and research I have

undertaken. All of this data gathering was done within the reflective stance gained from recognising my insider-outsider role, important both for ethnography and critical action research.

To further support the distancing needed in order to gain a critical view as an insider-outsider I employed two specific analysis models: one being the use of my emotional reactions to identify 'jarring moments' in the fieldwork, to act as a basis for identification of logic clashes around evaluation; the other being the adaptation of the Institutional Logics Perspective framework grid to the sector allowing a more systematic analysis of these moments and responses.

The work is written up in a mixed style, drawing from some elements of ethnographic writing styles, but mainly in a more traditional structured way. However, throughout the whole thesis, the voice of the artist is recognised as a contributor to the research, in some elements co-creating the work and with their voice included as such.

The question of ethics, attribution and my multiple role in the setting arises repeatedly reflecting the reality of the work itself. The use of reflexivity and the dialogue with the artists who were effectively the subjects of the work helps to overcome some of the issues with this, but they do remain and as such this work can't claim to be independent or in any way objective. The level of reflexivity and the openness with which these issues are dealt does support its validity and applicability elsewhere.

The next chapter presents the development and new model adaptation of the Institutional Logics Perspective framework to the UK publicly funded arts sector and

socially engaged artists, and Firstsite in particular. It then leads into the findings and

analysis chapters in which my fieldwork data is presented.

Chapter Four: Applying Institutional Logics Perspective to Firstsite

Introduction

The review of existing literature showed the acceptance of a problem in encouraging practitioners to engage in evaluation and discussion around why this evaluation is problematic, both conceptually in the implications of assuming one can measure the value of art, and practically in fitting it into daily work. There is less research on understanding how practitioners respond to evaluation, and in considering how evaluation practice fits with the other practices of artists. There is also little research on the way in which the structure and logics of the organisations, in which a large part of funded participatory arts practice takes place, affect this evaluation practice.

In this chapter, I return to the Institutional Logics Perspective, and argue that with some adaptation and recognition of core flaws, it can be adapted to act as a useful model to elucidate and map the way in which different logics operate within the arts organisation. What's more, that it can help understand some of the seemingly illogical reactions of artists to the experience of evaluation and to understand how they could and do effect change in evaluation practices. I show how having understood how artists are affected by and manipulate the competing logics within the sector, we can see the breadth of meanings of evaluation for them. Thus, the Institutional Logics Perspective approach, despite some limitations and theoretical issues, can be useful to elucidate, categorise and re-view the jarring moments observed within Firstsite and understand them through a different lens.

I initially outline the value of the Institutional Logics Perspective to my work, as well as highlight some issues with it. I then explore the adaptation from the generic 'ideal

type' logics developed and set out by Thornton et al (2012), to the UK publicly funded arts sector, focussing on the profession of the participative or socially engaged artist. I systematically adapted each element of the ideal type model mapped out in Thornton et al (2012, p.73) using data from my fieldwork in Firstsite, along with data from my practitioner research experience, to make it relevant to the socially engaged arts world. I then use this newly created typology to explore how these logics would manifest or act within 'evaluation'. Through this I create a sector specific grid which reflects the logics at play within the socially engaged arts sector, and within publicly funded arts organisations.

In Chapters Five and Six, this grid is used to interrogate the issues, themes and jarring moments arising from the field data, noting which logics were in play at various points and how this could account for some of the 'jarring moments' observed in my ethnographic fieldwork.

About the Institutional Logics Perspective

Although drawing from a developing literature from 1992 onwards (Townley, 1997; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Thornton, 2004; Alvarez, 2005; Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005; Greenwood *et al.*, 2010, 2011), this chapter takes as a starting point the grid of Institutional Logics Perspective ideal types published in 'The Institutional Logics Perspective: A New Approach to Culture, Structure, and Process' (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. 71). This is partly as the book itself claims to act as a collation of previous work, but largely because the use of a grid structure acts as a useful tool in supporting me to add an element of distancing and thus reflection from a sector that I have worked in for over 10 years.

The Institutional Logics Perspective focusses on how institutional change comes about, developing Friedland and Alford's (1991) view that:

> [t]he central institutions of the contemporary capitalist West- capitalist market, bureaucratic state, democracy, nuclear family, and Christian religion – shape individual preferences and organizational interests as well as the repertoire of behaviors by which they may attain them. These institutions are potentially contradictory and hence make multiple logics available to individuals and organizations. Individuals and organisations transform the institutional relations of society by exploiting these contradictions (Friedland and Alford, 1991, p. 232).

This recognition of the way that the logics of multiple institutions act across, on and within organisations as well as the potential for individuals and organisations to use the inherent contradictions between these logics to effect change on their own lives and organisations is its central value for the understanding of how evaluation affects and is responded to by artists within arts organisations. Institutional logics themselves are the:

> socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, including assumptions, values and beliefs, by which individuals and organizations provide meaning to their daily activity, organise time and space, and reproduce their lives and experiences (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. 2).

Thus, they provide 'taken-for- granted' norms that enable people to make sense of their situation, by providing "assumptions and values, usually implicit, about how to interpret organizational reality, what constitutes appropriate behavior, and how to succeed" (Thornton, 2004, p. 70).

Consideration of institutional logics intersect strongly with my conceptualisation of evaluation, seen as the process of valuing, of meaning making and of creating value, through a process of material practices. In particular, viewing value in an anthropological sense, as per Graeber not as a pre-existing process, but as "the way

people who could do almost anything … assess the importance of what they do, as they are doing it" (Graeber, 2001, p. 49).

The logics operate within the institutional orders of society, where "each order is an institutionally specific cultural system for generating and measuring value" (Friedland and Alford, 1991, p. 242). This is almost literally the definition of an evaluation system. An individual's consciousness and behaviour, their interpretation of what counts as rational behaviour, will change depending on which order they situate their sense making in.

Thornton and co-authors identify the composition of the logics of the seven institutions they see as comprising society. This is presented in the form of seven 'ideal types' (one per institution), for which they which map out categories: "key cultural symbols and material practice" (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 62). These categories are: the sources of legitimacy, authority and identity, for each logic, as well as the basis of norms, attention and strategy, along with the informal control mechanisms they exhibit, the economic system they imply, and the 'root metaphor' which underlies the logic (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 73). Drawing from these ideal types it is possible to characterise an institutional logics table which forms the basis for my analysis in this chapter. This table is shown in Appendix 2.

Issues with the Institutional Logics Perspective

There are several issues with Institutional Logics Perspective: the main ones I need to deal with here are over claim and ethnocentricity. Throughout 'The Institutional Logics Perspective' (Thornton et al., 2012) the ambition of the claim for the work is clear, the subtitle: 'A New Approach to Culture, Structure and Process' is the start, and throughout the authors seek to position Institutional Logics Perspective as a field

in its own right, "not to revive neo-institutional theory, but to transform it" (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. vi). The book also seeks to provide a new guiding framework by which scholars, with a particular emphasis on junior as well as senior, can orient themselves within the study of institutions. This is specifically situated as 'interdisciplinary' (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 5) and explicitly seeks to overcome the "fragmented orienting strategies of the field/fields" (Thornton et al., 2012, pp. 5–6).

The size of the claim can make reading difficult, as the useful elements are lost under a barrage of self-justification and reiterations of the importance of the work, but reviewers agree that it does offer a theoretical architecture, and has created new space for reflection and debate (Friedland, 2012; Morgan and Edwards, 2014; van der Voet, 2014).

The second criticism is more problematic, and points to the approach's main weakness (as well as containing its strengths). Friedland and Alford's (1991) initial outline of the ideas explicitly situated the logics as culturally and temporally situated, and they specified them as Western-centric: mention of both 'capitalist West', capitalism, and Christian religion occur frequently in the chapter, and they thus specifically accept the cultural specificity of the approach. Unfortunately, Thornton et al (2012) seem to have forgotten the cultural limitations explicitly set out in Friedland and Alford, and their institutions (orders) are not explicitly located as those of the (Christian) capitalist West. This means that implicit claims for universality are given for the approach, yet the final list of 'institutional orders' and in particular way in which logics are mapped out within their categories is extremely culturally contingent. For example the logics within the religion order are firmly rooted in the realities of North American Protestantism, and those of the family sound like a

mixture of Victorian and mafia: "Sources of identity: family reputation ... Basis of strategy: increase family honor" (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. 73).

This is true to the extent that it would be problematic and feel inappropriate to actively engage with applying these, and instead I decided to adapt the grid to fit the sector in which I was researching. The category of 'root metaphor' was difficult to engage with as the examples given by Thornton et al (2012) didn't seem to fit with the accepted definitions arising from Pepper's original work (1961) or any other definition I could find (and weren't explained in the text or associated articles). For this reason I decided not to try and come up with an alternative to these in my adapted version, but do discuss the words within the 'ideal type' category of 'root metaphor' as they act as a useful mini description of the logic and given that 'summary of logic' fits these and replaces some of the issues with using the term 'root metaphor', I have discussed these under that heading.

In addition, for all logics, the 'economic system' category – are types of capitalism, which implies if nothing else a lack of value to even considering them separately. Given the lack of differentiation within this category in the 'ideal type' model, and the way in which, in reality, economic drivers are totally integral to some of the other categories, I decided it would be simplistic to try and give a distinct, short 'economic system' for each of the logics within the UK publicly funded arts world and left this category out of my grid. Following suggestions in my viva, I have tried to summarise the logics instead through their logical type, though this is work in progress and other writers (Greenwood *et al.*, 2010; Besharov and Smith, 2014) in the Institutional Logics Perspective have tended to use whatever description fits the situation (for

example 'the artistic logic' when talking about the professional logic in an arts organisation (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005)).

This rejection, at an early stage of at least one of the logics as universal, led me to a decision to treat the approach as culturally contingent, fitting more with Friedland and Alford's (1991) description of the logics as pertaining to a modern Western culture, although as stated above, in this case this is even more tightly bound into a sort of ideal of North American life. However, there is still a great deal of value in the approach as a framing and investigating device, specifically because of its ability to consider the action of multiple logics, of multiple institutions acting simultaneously on individuals and organisations. It is also useful for the way it bridges the structure-agency divide by accepting the influence of both the logics in shaping behaviour, and of actors in gaining agency through the conflicts arising between them.

Thus effectively, I treated the 'ideal types' as one characterisation of the logics, which need to be adapted to reflect the social and cultural norms in different contexts. In my case there was a need to adapt it to fit with the specific institutions and logics of the UK publicly funded arts world, and the profession of the socially engaged artists. Adapting the work, I produced a frame within which to investigate competing value-rationalities (the logics) without implicitly accepting the claims of Thornton et al (2012) to the creation of a universally applicable 'perspective'. The tone of the 2012 book makes it unclear as to whether the authors intend future researchers to use it as a tool-kit, bible or resource, but there are some clear messages throughout the text around the value of using, adapting and building on ideas from earlier writers. I thus took this as a signal to use it as a resource, from which to extract useful frames, approaches and at times tools to use.

Using the Institutional Logics Perspective as a lens to my data

Through my professional role as evaluation advisor and researcher within a wide variety of arts organisations it had become clear to me that any understanding of the reasons decisions are made within organisations cannot arise from a simplistic mapping of, for example, grade/level and power, sector or any other one dimension of influence.

The specific value to my PhD in the Institutional Logics Perspective is the recognition of, and attempt to map, a series of different influences that affect individuals within organisations, allowing a view beyond individual decisions and actions, to understand what values and beliefs might lead to those decisions. Thinking this way, the artists at Firstsite are the recipients of logics arising from all these 'orders' – and their seemingly illogical actions might in fact be perfectly logical actions but responding to a different 'logic' than the one held by me or other actors within the field. It also allows agency on the part of the artists – easily viewed within discussions on evaluation in the arts as passive recipients of control mechanisms - as they gain the power to make change, through the manipulation of the contradictions between the logics of one institution and another.

As explained above in Chapter Three, I took as a basis the institutional orders and the categories developed by Thornton et al (2012), as an 'ideal type' model (see Appendix 2). I then used these to interrogate the data from my fieldwork and professional experience within similar settings to explore what was going on beyond the obvious clashes and seemingly illogical actions. From this I developed a narrative explanation, and constructed a grid briefly outlining what those orders constituted in the lived reality of socially-engaged artists working with a publicly funded arts

organisation, and specifically with respect to Firstsite, and its cohort of Associate Artists.

I had initially thought to limit the range of institutional logics I considered assuming that some would not be relevant to this specific setting. For example Thornton et al consider only shifts between two or three logics within their analysis of how organisations harness institutional logics within entrepreneurship (2012, pp. 107–127). However, in practice, all the different logic orders ('logics') identified by Thornton et al (2012) did come into play within the fieldwork experience, so this chapter outlines them all at least briefly to show how they operate in this sector. The reframing to the specific setting overcomes some of the worst of the Western-centric and time-bound assumptions of the perspective, setting it overtly in a specific time and place, and recognising some of the problematic assumptions.

This reframing had an immediate value to me in the analysis of my fieldwork, but also stands alone as a contribution to the understanding of how logics operate in this field, and how to adapt the ideal type model usefully to a specific setting.

Below I outline each logic order within the UK publicly funded arts sector and socially engaged artist setting. I explore how the order is constituted in this sector, and how the logic operates with reference to Thornton et al's categories: sources of legitimacy, authority and identity, bases of norms, attention and strategy, informal control mechanisms and a summary of the logic. Finally, I consider how 'evaluation' would be constructed within each logic: as discussed above, in Chapter One there is no single definition of evaluation, and in particular as it is practiced it becomes a highly political and culturally contingent process. The logics themselves operate around value assessment and value creation (i.e. evaluation) practices, particularly

when value is understood from an anthropological viewpoint as an active practice, not an absolute, thus the different institutional logics construct evaluation and the logic of evaluation differently.

Figure 6: The Seven Institutional Orders operating on the artist (adapted from Thornton et al, 2012)

Institutional Logic: the Corporation

The logic of the corporation, the instrumental or corporate logic, was the main logic ascribed by the Associate Artists to Firstsite as an organisation, and to figures within the management of Experimental Communities and Firstsite as they carried out their assigned roles. As mentioned a few times, this is a simplistic view of these individuals, but with the focus on the experience and response of the artists to evaluation requirements and practice, this approach of Firstsite and its managers as a 'straw man' upholding a corporate logic at all cost is key to understanding actions and thus this logic is explored first.

The institutional order of the corporation is played out in Firstsite as the logics associated with Firstsite as an organisation or a business. This is where the need of Firstsite as a business to make (or at least not lose) money, the internal hierarchy and the loyalty and reputation of the organisation – rather than 'art' itself, or other logics are relevant.

This order is particularly strong within the socially-engaged arts sector, particularly for the subject of this study as I am focussing on the intersection of socially engaged arts practice and the (largely) state-funded UK organisations that support this practice - not only in terms of funding, but also through offering space, training and development, and promotion. Arts Council England, which is one of the largest funders of socially engaged art in England, channels much of its funding of this area through organisations (rather than direct commissions to artists), as do the larger trusts which fund socially engaged art.

The logics of the corporation – Firstsite as an organisation – were very clearly an influence and a source of resistance even from the first conversations held around evaluation, and the role of the Associate Artists in carrying it out. This partly came from the unusual position of these artists as employees of the organisation – it was a new experience for all of them to be employed (with a two-year half-time contract) as 'artists'. The implications of it were to very clearly place the Associate Artists in an employee role within the organisation, and thus within the hierarchy (see Figure 4.2 below).
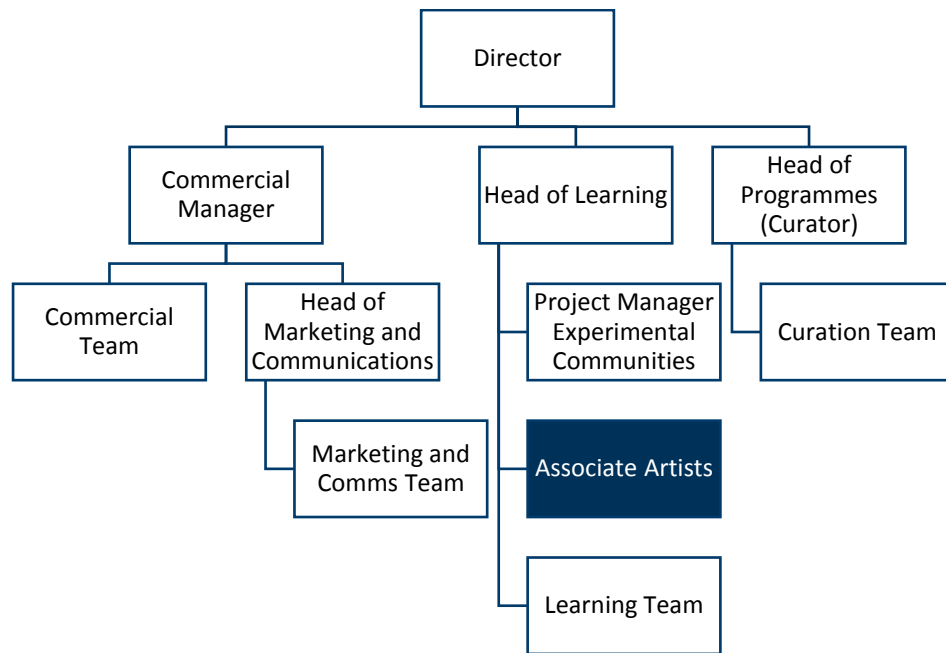
Figure 7: Staffing Structure of Firstsite (relevant staff) in 2012

As a corporation, Firstsite, like other organisations within the publicly funded arts sector, operates as a business, with a mix of grant and earned income. The initial aim was for a business model aiming for 45% earned income, which is ambitious within the sector[15] thus requiring a more business-like approach reflected in the appointment of commercial team and senior commercial manager from opening.

In adapting the ideal type model to a bespoke model arising from fieldwork and experience, I needed to make very few changes, despite the fact that the ideal type model in no way focusses on arts organisations. This reflects the extent to which arts organisations operate like any other corporation.

Table 4.1: Corporation Logic: ideal type and adapted

Categories	Ideal Type	Adaptation to Firstsite and Sector

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[15] Data on income split in the sector is hard to find but research in Liverpool found across all the larger arts organisations (which include performing arts with a traditionally higher ability to generate earned income from ticket sales) the earned income plus contributed income (donations) was under 30% (Melville, 2010).

Summary of Logic	Corporation as hierarchy	Instrumental, hierarchical
Sources of legitimacy	Market position of firm	Market position of organisation
Sources of authority	Board of directors, top management	Board of trustees, senior management
Sources of identity	Bureaucratic roles	Bureaucratic roles
Basis of norms	Employment in firm	Employment in firm.
Basis of attention	Status in hierarchy	Status in hierarchy
Basis of strategy	Increase size and diversification of firm	Increase size and diversification of organisation
Informal control mechanisms	Organisation culture	Organisation culture
Construction of Evaluation		Part of your job so as to support the organisation

(from Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. 73 and adaptation to Firstsite).

Summary of Logic

As for the ideal type, in Firstsite's case, within the corporate logic has a 'root metaphor' of the corporation being constructed as a hierarchy, with an informal control mechanism of organisational culture. This was particularly clear in the way that logics played out within the Experimental Communities programme, particularly in the views of the Associate Artists themselves. Judith, the Head of Learning and direct line manager of the Associate Artists did actually resist the role of 'manager' or 'boss' both within her management style which was extremely collegial and collaborative, and in her own reflection, particularly evident in her Associative Enquiries piece 'Duty Bound' (Merritt, 2013 see discussion in Chapter Six below). However, while this approach was much appreciated by all Associate Artists, it was (probably correctly) seen by them as a personal stance of Judith's, not a

reflection of the actual hierarchy of the organisation. Regular reference was made to the Senior Management Team and decisions being made there effectively 'in camera', both by Associate Artists and Judith herself. And there were numerous jarring moments when an artist clearly used to self-directed work had to carry out some administrative duty, as a result of 'being told to' by 'the boss'.

The warm and positive relationship with Judith, along with a clear appreciation of her discomfort in enacting such a hierarchical relationship made this hierarchy seem passive at times: "I've been made to do this" or "Being an Associate Artist means I have to do ...", rather than "X made me do this" or "X insisted all the Associate Artists do this". I originally wondered if the passive voice and unspecified actor was a result of it being unclear who originated the 'order' – and in some ways that might be the case. However it was clear from the rare times that the originator was outside the Learning Team that there was no hesitation in naming other senior managers: "[The commercial manager/acting director] has insisted we all...." "[The senior curator] said we couldn't...." I concluded it was partly due to Judith's approach, which was hesitant about 'ordering' behaviour, and thus led to less clarity as to whether the order came from her, or she was a conduit for it. In reality both were the case, as manager of a large team she did have to implement certain administrative tasks, and was the source of a few of the 'orders' that provoked more rebellion. What was clear through all of this was that the organisation culture of not challenging the hierarchy openly (as opposed to having a good moan about it) was part of the way in which these logics played out. Judith was forced (or forced herself) into the almost schizophrenic position of her 'two heads', and the Associate Artists had an

understanding that you couldn't really rock the boat: if you want to continue to be employed, this is what you do.

Source of Legitimacy & Basis of Strategy

As for the ideal type model, for Firstsite the 'source of legitimacy' is market position and increasing the size and diversification of the firm is the 'basis of strategy', although with 'size' being more about security of funding and size of reputation than a more traditional measure such as turnover or number of staff.

In the case of Firstsite as a contemporary visual art gallery, the concept of 'market position' is quite complicated as it operates in three relatively distinct 'markets':

- As a contemporary visual art gallery
- As a local attraction
- As a conference and events venue

In terms of the first: as a contemporary visual art gallery there isn't a local market to compare position. Comparator organisations are usually given as the other 'new', non-London art galleries opened from the mid-2000s, particularly the Turner Contemporary (Margate) and The Hepworth (Wakefield) (Merrick, 2012, p. 3), as well as other members of the Plus Tate network[16]. The market position with respect to these isn't about directly competing for audiences (the nearest analogy to customers), as Firstsite's audiences would be expected to be largely local, none of these

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[16]   A "dynamic group of organisations committed to working with contemporary art and artists and audiences in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland" facilitated by Tate http://www.tate.org.uk/about/our-work/national-partnerships/plus-tate

comparators are within the core footprint. The market position within this aspect of the corporate logic is in terms of reputation.

Within these networks Firstsite's reputational capital arises largely from the perceived quality of exhibitions, and ability to draw in visitors, but also in terms of the quality of the learning work – which is one of the main things that Plus Tate members collaborate on. For example, I was present at a session for the Experimental Communities programme put on by visitors from Modern Art Oxford (MAO), a member of Plus Tate network and seen as comparator organisation. During their visit both parties discussed the quality of their learning teams' work, agreeing that Experimental Communities was in fact a step change better than anything MAO had done due to the longevity of the relationships with artists and communities. What became clear was the potential for the Learning Team at Firstsite to take a role in developing the reputational capital of the organisation as a whole.

The second 'market' in which Firstsite operates is as a local attraction/arts venue in the north east Essex area, and specifically Colchester and surroundings. Here the 'competitors' would be for example: Colchester Castle Museum, the other Colchester museums, Colchester Arts Centre, the Minories, the Mercury Theatre, Lakeside Theatre and Art Exchange, the gallery at the University of Essex, as well as other attractions such as Dedham and 'Constable Country', Colchester Zoo etc. In terms of this market, the Learning Team does play a role as through their family delivery, Firstsite does have the capacity to offer a 'family experience' and does market itself accordingly. Although my research focussed on the Experimental Communities work, which wouldn't necessarily be targeted at building this market position (although one could make a case for it through developing new audiences as

part of the aim of bringing the community into the building), this was part of the Associate Artists job description and where some of their funding came from, and particularly in school holidays they all delivered publicly available family-focussed one-off activities. The need to do this and balance this fluctuating work with the Experimental Communities delivery was one of the causes of clashing demands that was raised several times.

The third market in which Firstsite operates is as a conference and events venue. This is one of the controversial aspects of its set up as an organisation. On the one hand the model of generating earned income through events, gives Firstsite a lot more sustainability (on paper). Once (or if) it reaches target earned income generation of 45% there will be a lot more freedom to develop new artistic directions and approaches. However it also leads to competing uses of the space. This was a real challenge for the Sitting Room project which was specifically designed to consider and develop the use of the space in Firstsite – and this is an issue as Firstsite is physically one of the largest contemporary art venues in the UK (Merrick, 2012, p. 4). This strand was designed partly to achieve Aim 3 of the Experimental Communities programme to: Create changes in working practices to include co-curating across teams while working closely with individuals and communities (Davison, 2014).

Within the corporate logic in Firstsite, as for the ideal type, the sources of authority are clearly the Trustees (Board of directors) and senior management team (SMT). In terms of the Director and SMT, their authority was seen as more or less absolute, and also distant. On several occasions decisions were delayed as a result of edicts from above (this is how they were seen by the team) and Judith had a complex role as both part of that SMT, and the conduit of information from it. Communications within the

organisation were accepted to be very poor, something Matthew Rowe recognised as soon as he became Director, when he introduced a monthly whole organisation meeting. This didn't last more than two or three months.

The board were seen as a more distant presence, in the most part lacking understanding of the Associate Artists work. The praise of some was welcomed, for example Jeremy Theophilus, a much appreciated member of the board from the start, and a respected artist himself made a point of emailing Judith to praise the work of the Learning team on Experimental Communities. The Associate Artists were very pleased by this, and noted how rare it was. However it was clear that a large part of the reason for their positive response was the respect that Jeremy was held in by them all – which is better understood within the professional logic. There is a clear contrast between this respect for an artist on the board and the way the then Chair was viewed. I was doing a presentation to the board on my plans for evaluation of Experimental Communities, the Chair had been briefed about this by Judith, and then sent an email out to the rest of the board urging them to attend. He had clearly misunderstood what Experimental Communities was (describing it as 'the Artist Support Programme') which could be understandable given what upheavals the Board was going through as this was while there was no Director in post, but on the other hand, this was by far the largest programme of the Learning Team. Judith's tone nicely reflects the way in which most of the Board were viewed: a mix of mild despair and resignation at their lack of understanding, coupled with a knowledge that they need to be placated as a powerful body:

> You'll see from … [the Chair's] email that he sometimes takes it upon himself to interpret things. I have emailed him to say that I will clarify things at the pre board meeting. … This happens quite a bit! (Personal email from Head of Learning 13/7/12).

What is clear in these different responses to Jeremy and to the Chair, is the difference between authority, which both Board Members had, and respect.

Source of identity, Bases of Attention and Norms

In terms of sources of identity, and bases of attention and norms, Firstsite fits the ideal type: identity arose from 'bureaucratic roles' arising from one's employment position within the organisation, which were seen as largely immutable. Hierarchical status was the main basis of attention: those above in the hierarchy were always above; and lines between team roles were largely accepted. Experimental Communities' role in "Creat[ing] changes in working practices to include co-curating across teams..." (Davison, 2014, p. 4) was developed partly to challenge the tendency of organisations to fall into these patterns – particularly arts organisations. Fundamentally to this study, this was never really achieved, and although it was the subject of a lot of frustrated discussion, there were serious pressures from above (in which Judith was an instrumental agent/originator) to avoid challenges to the status quo. It must be recognised that a lot of this tension was a result of the time in which the research took place – a quite catastrophic few years for Firstsite as it dealt with the negative legacy of the bad publicity over its cost and the problems of building and development, along with the early departure of the founding Director (due to personal/health reasons), a long interregnum, difficulty in appointing Director and Board members of the right calibre, then serious financial issues and a financial deficit in at least one financial year, culminating in the decision in early 2015 of the Arts Council England to remove NPO (National Portfolio Organisation) status due to financial sustainability concerns. All the while suffering from attacks from both local press and local politicians. However this divide: Learning | Curation | Commercial is

a common theme in the sector, to the extent that it could be seen as an institutionalised problem.

There were some intermediate people in the system, who didn't have a clear bureaucratic role. I was certainly one of these: I never had a clear title within the organisation and in later conversations with the Interim and then second Director I found myself discussing both title and role, as well as position within the structure at length. I was very clear that I wanted my title and position within the structure (my bureaucratic role and status in hierarchy) to be made clear (whether for a paid or unpaid role). Looking back it is clear that I had realised that role within the bureaucracy was more important in getting the job done than pay or other indication of worth. These intermediate roles are interesting in terms of how they affect logics, and their relation with the hierarchy as they are at times both more and less powerful than someone more clearly in the structure.

Construction of Evaluation: 'Part of your job'

Considering the construction above of a coherent logic system for Firstsite as it operates within the Corporate Logic, it is clear that in many ways it is similar to the way the corporate logic operates for any organisation. Considering evaluation within this logical framework, bearing in mind it needs to be viewed within the roles, status and strategy of the organisation, it becomes clear that evaluation logically should be seen as part of the job, applied as a requirement from above (somewhere in the faceless hierarchy) and its role is to support the strategy and legitimacy of the organisation. In shorthand:

Evaluation is a requirement, it is part of your job so as to support the organisation to gain reputation and further funding.

Institutional Logic: the Profession

The concept of artist as profession is accepted in the literature, despite the lack of some of the defining features of profession. Bain, discussing Canadian artists but coming to conclusions that work well in the UK case, argues that "as Bourdieu (1993: 165) points out, 'The literary and artistic fields attract a particularly strong proportion of individuals who possess all the properties of the dominant class minus one: money'. Where artists may lack money, they possess 'cultural capital' and the credibility that the title 'professional' provides" (Bain, 2005, p. 33).

Considering some of the classic writing on the profession, some of the features of a profession include 'esoteric knowledge', controlling "the production of producers", and establishing a cognitive base and legitimation for their occupational autonomy (Larson, 1977, pp. 49–52), all of which apply to the profession of artist. However, one of the central focuses for traditional definitions of professions is the membership of an accepted professional association, and linked accreditation (Millerson, 1964; Larson, 1977). This is not relevant for artists as no membership association or professional body exists as the accepted accrediting body in this way.

Bain (2005) explores this when she points out that although artists use the term 'professional' (as in professional artist) there isn't a clear definition of what a professional artist is, and along with the fact that there is no 'professional membership' and the low proportion of artists who earn all their income directly through their art, a new approach to defining the artist profession is needed. She thus argues that artistic identity doesn't arise from external clearly defined understanding of what a professional artist is, but from a set of shared myths and stereotypes. This fits with my experience of the way in which the Associate Artists discussed their

work and position as artists, and so I decided to adapt the ideal type of the

Professional Order accordingly.

Table 4.2: Professional Logic: ideal type and adapted

Categories	Ideal Type	Adaptation to Firstsite and Sector
Summary of Logic	Profession as relational network	Relational
Sources of legitimacy	Personal expertise	Personal expertise
Sources of authority	Professional association	Peer appreciation
Sources of identity	Association with quality of craft, personal reputation	Being an artist
Basis of norms	Membership in guild and association	Accepting Myths and stories of artist identity
Basis of attention	Status in profession	Status in profession
Basis of strategy	Increase personal reputation	Increase reputation of your art and socially engaged art in general
Informal control mechanisms	Celebrity	Myth and Stories - Notoriety
Construction of Evaluation		Learn from your work and share learning

(from Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. 73 and adaptation to Firstsite).

Summary of Logic

Following Bourdieu's (1984) recognition of an artistic field as a network constantly

changing shape as actors reposition themselves relative to one another, perhaps to an

even greater extent than in other professions, the relational network at the heart of the

professional logic for artists. Furthermore, if 'being an artist' is relational, and is

affected by interaction with the rest of the art world and beyond, how much more so

is 'being a socially engaged artist'. As discussed at length elsewhere (Bourdieu, 1993;

Bain, 2005) one's definition of oneself as an artist is entirely embedded within the relational network of peers – artists, curators, arts intermediaries. The profession of artist is also often expressed in terms of relation to other parts of oneself, as it overlaps into every aspect of one's life: in, for example, Lawrence and his wife's work on artists as parents, parenthood intrudes on and is in turn integrated into the artistic practice, and vice versa (Townley and Bradby, 2015), and Jevan's 'artistry' in gardening as his income generating work (in a nursery and private gardens) shapes his thinking style and working rhythm as well as his practice as it increasingly incorporates living things (Watkins Jones, 2013, 2016). Following Bain (2005), the relational network then co-creates and mediates its identity through shared myths, discussed below.

Source of Legitimacy

As for the ideal type, the source of legitimacy for the 'profession of socially-engaged artist' intuitively feels like it should be 'personal expertise', but this requires some discussion as to what this expertise is. First of all, there is no clearly defined way of assessing expertise within art. This isn't in itself unique, members of many professions would hesitate to agree any way of assessing expertise, but for example academics can be judged on a number of metrics (e.g. publications) which while debatable in terms of whether they can be assessed objectively, and definitely do not cover all areas, are at least rank-able, and are used by those in positions of power (employers and funders). One could artificially create a simple metric for artists (e.g. value of commissions gained) but there would be no acceptance of this as a measure of expertise (by employers and funders as well as the artists themselves). Furthermore, within art in general there's a tension between facility/skill with different art techniques, and 'producing art' as a semi-mythical creative act.

> As Simpson (1981: 5) maintains, the art profession is admired 'because it is seen as striving to create something of universal and permanent value'. This act of creation, driven by the power of imagination and aesthetic vision, is interpreted as an enduring accomplishment because it is thought to extend the boundaries of consciousness and experience and to reveal significance in the ordinary (Bain, 2005, p. 30).

This conflict in both defining what art expertise (and thus excellence in art) looks like, both in terms of the product/process and technique/concept bipolarities is well rehearsed within the current debate around Arts Council England's attempt to develop measures for excellence/quality. Furthermore, it has been recognised that this is particularly difficult within socially engaged art (Consilium Research and Consultancy, 2016).

In addition to the dimension of expertise in producing art, for socially-engaged art there are other dimensions, some of which might be seen as totally integral to socially-engaged art (e.g. expertise in social engagement and in co-production), and others which are useful (e.g. expertise in managing socially-engaged projects (i.e. project vs artwork production expertise); and expertise in being able to advocate for one's own work, and the art form in general). Clearly all of these are subjective and relational. Thus, 'expertise' whether in art, or in socially-engaged art, is a source of legitimacy within the professional logic when recognised within the relational network which is at the heart of this logic – one's legitimacy comes from both one's own assessment of one's expertise, and that of the relational network: peers and the slightly different 'peer-group' of critics and arts intermediaries.

Within the Associate Artist group, the 'peers' were other members of the group, and identified socially-engaged or participative artists, the key external 'critical peers' were curators, arts managers (Learning/Education managers specifically) and potentially critics/writers.

There was very little discussion of expertise in art, and in particular one's own expertise in art within the Associate Artist group. Mentions usually happened in moments of conflict, for example one artist irritatedly compared her (socially-engaged) artistic ability with another (admittedly far less experienced) member of the staff – not employed in an artistic role, after she felt some (paid) work had been poached, several mentions of artistic expertise came during discussions of feeling belittled by the attitude of the curator who didn't view the Associate Artists as 'real artists'. Little mention was made of each other's expertise as artists, though this clearly didn't come from lack of respect, but might be more likely due to their very different basic art forms and practices, meaning that like me, they wouldn't have been able to judge each other's expertise in art in a traditional sense.

In terms of the wider sets of expertise associated with being a socially-engaged artist, Associate Artists were far more willing to discuss their strengths and particularly weaknesses, and to compare themselves to others. They were, however nearly always more positive about others, meaning it would be hard to get any sense of a 'ranking' for me as an outsider, unable to judge expertise, to consider which of the Associate Artists had more expertise as a socially-engaged artist, even were I to have been prepared to do so. The positive judgements weren't made regularly, but would occasionally occur within a conversation, and came out really strongly in the final review of the programme when I asked whether the Associate Artists had learned from each other. They all answered immediately very strongly with an implication of 'of course' but when pushed, there were some clear patterns of expertise agreed by all, these also fitted with my observations of who raised certain issues and who were listened to (i.e. the bases of attention for this group).

For example, Lawrence was seen as being very good at the practice of socially-engaged art: managing projects, knowing how to structure them, how to engage with a community, and how to tie the project up (along with being good at maintaining boundaries and advocating through good report writing skills – from my observations) without this in any way detracting from his artistic expertise. He was also seen as more learned by others, in terms of academic reading and engagement. All the other Associate Artists at one point or another mentioned learning from him in some way. This didn't detract from the external recognition of the expertise of others, but is illustrative of how socially-engaged artists view their legitimacy. Jevan, widely respected outside Firstsite as an artist, described himself as learning from Lawrence, yet didn't think this was likely to have been a two-way process: "I see him as a sort of mentor, an elder" (from interview), and the other Associate Artists all mentioned his expertise in (what was basically) community engagement when reviewing learning. This is a good example of the lack of definition of 'expertise' leading to no clear hierarchy, as Lawrence himself did not see this at all, and focussed on other dimensions of expertise to emphasise his lack of capital within the system: specifically the relative value given to the socially-engaged artist's expertise compared with other art forms, and his lack of pedigree at a prestigious art school or institution (which Elaine and Jevan both had).

I didn't get a sense of the views of other socially-engaged artists on individuals within the Associate Artist team, though there is clearly an understanding of expertise within the field, which revolves around quality of engagement, and the political philosophy behind it. The one time this was made clear was when Sophie Hope, an academic and socially-engaged artist, agreed to write the commentary for Lawrence on the

Experimental Communities 'turf-twinning' project – part of Greenstead Street

(S.Hope in Stewart., 2013, pp. 17–20), she is relatively well known and respected in

the field, and spoke positively about his work informally to me as well as implicitly

by taking on the writing brief. Likewise this peer respect for their expertise wasn't

something that was mentioned much by the Associate Artists in discussions, they

very much compared themselves with what they felt to be 'the right way to do it'.

The treatment of the Associate Artists by the curator of Firstsite was incredibly

influential in the creation of the professional logic for them. She clearly didn't see

them as artists, but as something else – education workers or similar. The issues

arising from this overlap with the corporation logic as she had a great deal of power

and influence in the organisation, but are relevant within the professional logic as she

represented the contemporary art world within Firstsite. There were numerous times

when she made it clear that she didn't consider them to be artists, for example:

> Elaine related to the group her suggestion to Michelle (the curator) that
> some decals could be produced for Christmas by artists, rather than
> simply commissioned by the commercial team in a generic design.
> Michelle thought this was a good idea and said: "Great, I'll find an
> artist to do it". Elaine related her bemusement: "Doesn't she think I am
> an artist? Was she assuming my contribution was sort of as part of the
> engagement work in general? What does it say that she would prefer to
> pay someone else to do it, rather than ask a group of artists who are
> already on the payroll in her organisation!" This isn't the first time
> something like this has happened as everyone reminded Elaine...
> (Excerpt from fieldnotes)

Source of Authority

The source of authority for the socially engaged arts profession is definitely not

'professional association' as it is for the ideal type. There is no professional

association with ability to confer 'inclusion' or control behaviour. There is however a

strong alternative set of controls, alluded to within the sources of legitimacy

discussion above, which runs through the relational network which makes up the 'artist profession'. As discussed above, Bain (2005) discusses how myth-making and narratives act as an alternative to professional associations for artists in constructing identity, but also in acting as a control mechanism. These can include the structures of the art world: the art colleges attended, galleries exhibited in, awards received etc. The power of these in creating the myth of the artist – and his own 'othering' from it, is clearly summed up by Lawrence within his performance: I am an artist:

> I am an artist.
>
> I am in my twenties or my thirties or my forties.
>
> I have a BA but not from Central St Goldslades, Royal College of Chelsea or any other prestigious Higher Education institute.
>
> I work in what the Arts Council defines as the South-West region or the Midland region or the Eastern region.
>
> My work has been shown in an artist-run project space. My work has not been shown in a commercial gallery with branches in London, New York and Köln.
>
> My artwork travels by car not by plane.
>
> I do not visit the Venice Biennale every year.... (Bradby, 2013b, p. 1).

To a degree, the socially-engaged arts world defines itself in opposition to the established authorities, but so does all art, (Bain, 2005) and thus a new set of myths develop, confer legitimacy and exert authority.

For all the Associate Artists, their professional identity was very linked to the tale of themself 'as an artist'. That notion of 'being an artist' (Craig-Martin, 2015) is sometimes taken to an extreme in the romantic ideology of the artist as distant from the mundane worlds of commerce and organisation: the 'craft' of the artist is not that which sells, but that which produces art. Yet, the socially-engaged artist needs to 'sell'

their art in order to 'do' their art – it is something you sell at the beginning, rather than the end, as the product is the process, not an end-product of the process. This romantic ideology of art, as the economic world reversed (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 29) is inherently challenged for and by socially-engaged artists. This challenge can be framed positively, with socially-engaged artist thinking positioned in the avant-garde of art thinking (Thompson, 2012), but in the everyday reality of Firstsite′s Associate Artists, it is part of the dismissing of their right to the identity of artist, as they are endlessly aware of a potential (and in some cases probably actual) criticism by others that they can't be artists as they engage so strongly with the economic world. The Associate Artists did however conform to some of the myth-making around 'being an artist', including being removed from the everyday, and I subconsciously accepted some of that, for example I found myself putting their disorganisation and other issues in keeping to task to their 'being artists' – as if being creative was a kind of excuse for disorganisation:

> You have to bear in mind that ***they are artists, working with them is different***. (Excerpt from email briefing from me (emphasis added) to fellow researcher about Experimental Communities evaluation review workshop).

Unlike in other professions, there is no single association or body with the power to impose and police norms. This lack of an accepted supplier of norms, or indeed a single locus in which to discuss what being an artist should be, coupled with the fact that "the tendency to rebel against established norms – to repeatedly question, challenge, and defy the limits of acceptability – may have become the defining feature of what it means to be an artist in contemporary society" (Bain, 2005, p. 30), leads to part of the 'professional logic' for artists lying in their identity as countering norms.

This isn't to say that there aren't systems and structures within the world of artists that act as the basis of norms in reality. They exist within a relational structure of artists working in similar practice (whether they self-identify as socially-engaged, participative, community or whatever) whose practice begins to coalesce as a set of norms (Hull, 2007). The very challenging of norms can become one of the norms, and it was one of the things I constantly challenged the Associate Artists over: asking how they were challenging the established order of Firstsite. In interviews, several artists noted how they were very surprised they hadn't done so, in fact, considering these from a corporate logic point of view, they were clearly obeying the organisational culture of not challenging and fitting within their status in the hierarchy.

Status of Attention

In terms of status of attention: what counts in defining 'what matters' within the logic, the ideal type of "Status in profession" does hold for the Firstsite Associate Artists and other socially-engaged artists. The status is judged by peers, who are mainly outside the organisation, and there isn't a clear model for judging status. 'Success' is an interesting term here, as it is 'success' as a socially-engaged artist which was referenced as a basis of attention several times within discussions. 'Success' comes from making a living while not losing integrity. It was notable that there was no consensus of 'ranking' among Associate Artists (see discussion above about the different areas of craft and skill, and thus 'rank'). There are some indicators of hierarchy: which studios you work in, who you work for and with and particularly the extent to which art is the main income source for you – note the low status and frankly derogatory use of the concept of 'hobbyist', the presence of whom could lower the status of studios, networks etc. Elaine in an interview drew an interesting

distinction between people who come along and just make art – for no reason, whereas she only makes art in response to a commission or project. Again, as above, the socially engaged artist is reversing Bourdieu's reversed economic world (1993), and it also runs counter to Bain's identification of different types of artistic labour – for income vs exercising the creative muse: "it is quite common for an artist to make a clear distinction between the labour that is performed simply to earn an income and the more serious creative work that is engaged in as a fundamental expression of self" (Bain, 2005, p. 39). Expressing it so explicitly was something that I only heard Elaine do, but none of the Associate Artists talked about their paid for artwork in any way as inferior to that which they chose to do. In fact, none of them ever discussed work they did outside an economic model: Jevan might produce pieces he would then sell, but these were 'to sell', and they weren't in any way superior to the work he did within Firstsite or for any other contract. This is an interesting issue within valuation which deserves further research at a later date.

Basis of Strategy

From observations of presentations by socially engaged artists, both in Firstsite and beyond, it is very clear that there is an unspoken but shared basis of strategy within the professional logic in this group. Unlike with traditional definitions of professions, the focus of increasing reputation, is not the individual, or even the product, but the 'profession' of socially engaged art as whole. This links to the 'social' in the name of the art form/practice: it is an inherently collective practice, thus it is hard to do alone, and the more self-seeking practitioner is less likely to flourish, but it goes further than that. Socially-engaged art, and to a larger extent participatory art and community art, is burdened with a lower status than other art-forms (see discussion in Chapter 1) and probably inevitably there is a political programme among socially-engaged artists to

challenge the status of their practice (which will of course raise their own status). This need to define the work as 'socially-engaged' – rather than a more negatively viewed 'participatory' or even 'outreach/education programmes' and 'interpretation' – form the backdrop of much of the clash of logics within and between Firstsite's arts teams (Curation and Learning).

Informal Control Mechanisms

The ideal type category for the professional logic for 'informal control mechanisms' is 'Celebrity' – which isn't explained (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. 73) so I've decided to interpret it as a concept, not related to individuals. In the Firstsite case, and among socially engaged artists in general, there is a shying away from the idea of 'celebrity' as positive, attaching more to the contemporary art world of the Turner Prize. In fact, the equivalent is perhaps 'notoriety' – there is a strong sense of artistic integrity, among socially-engaged artists linked to integrity in terms of models of engagement and levels of participation, as well as in terms of artistic quality in the traditional sense. People who are known to do poor quality participation, not truly co-producing but instead imposing their views are spoken of slightly darkly. Linked to this, in particular for the socially-engaged artist is the possibility or otherwise of real celebrity. There are some well-known socially-engaged artists (Willats, 2000; see Kester, 2004 for examples; Hull, 2007; Thompson, 2012), but where real artistic celebrity is concerned – e.g. with the YBA scene, there is a constant tension between celebrity and notoriety, as 'being known' equates to making money and thus selling out.

Construction of Evaluation: Learn from your work and share learning

Drawing on all of these 'categories' of the socially-engaged artist professional logic, allows us to understand how evaluation would be situated or viewed from within this logic.

For the professional logic, evaluation would be judged within the relational network which is core to the profession – that of peers, and thus peers are implicitly framed as the judges. In considering the significance, worth or quality (or all) within the professional logic this would involve a conception of quality and worth – which relates to peer recognition in terms of craft and engagement, which runs through all the category areas. Another aspect is the basis of strategy, which for socially-engaged artists involves a social element as the socially-engaged profession itself needs its legitimacy raised. Thus there is an element of this within the conception of evaluation within the professional logic.

I thus conceptualise the construction of evaluation within the professional logic as exploring what you've learned from the work, and share that learning with your collaborators and the artistic community as a whole.

Institutional Logic: the Market

There has been plenty of discussion about the existence and processes of markets within the arts (Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1993; Robertson and Chong, 2008; Thornton, 2008, 2015; Karpik, 2010), and there are clearly markets and market logics at work within the arts sector. This does need some adaptation for the socially engaged sector, for example, most socially-engaged artists do not sell their products as artefacts or performances. Instead they 'sell' their 'practice', often through funding bids or commissions. Thus the 'market' elements – competition and pricing - are

carried out before the work is created and there is no real potential for re-selling of the product, thus efficiency and economies of scale need rethinking for the sector. Equally we need to consider who are the 'customers' and 'shareholders' in any market reading of how the logic functions. For participative socially engaged artists working in an organisational context, therefore, market logics are quite distinctive, but not absent. Both artist and organisation must compete for scarce resources (contracts, time, and funding), and are judged retrospectively on efficiency and return on investment through measurement (sometimes as simple as 'bums on seats'). The rest of this section examines how the market logic operates, and informs action within, the specific setting of state-funded, socially-engaged arts.

Table 4.3: Market Logic: ideal type and adapted

Categories	Ideal Type	Adaptation to Firstsite and Sector
Summary of Logic	Transaction	Transactional
Sources of legitimacy	Share price	Reputational Capital
Sources of authority	Shareholder activism	Funder Requirements
Sources of identity	Faceless	Faceless
Basis of norms	Self-interest	Self interest
Basis of attention	Status in market	Status in Market
Basis of strategy	Increase efficiency profit	Increase efficiency and return on investment
Informal control mechanisms	Industry analysts	Consultants and Evaluators
Construction of Evaluation		Transaction to evidence efficiency and return

(from Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. 73 and adaptation to Firstsite).

Summary of Logic & Source of Legitimacy

The root metaphor is of a transaction: the central market operation, the provision of goods or services from suppliers to consumers, positions arts organisations and/or socially-engaged artists[17] as 'suppliers' and the funder as 'consumer', buying on behalf of the community that receives the service (the transaction). As funding is limited, organisations and artists compete with each other to carry out the work. Thus they need to 'sell' to funders (as consumers) by fulfilling their 'needs': a public good

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[17] In situations like the one in my case studies there is a two level relationship where the arts organisation, Firstsite, subcontracts to the Associate Artists, or employs them to deliver the supply.

defined by the state or funder. As consumer, the funder judges this by what maximises outputs per input, with performance indicators (however these are described) being used to measure outputs, and funding as the primary input. This logic clearly overlaps with state and corporate logics, but it is precisely in these overlaps and clashes that artists can take action. Legitimacy arises from reputational capital held with the funders of the art: the 'funders' and audiences. This differs from the ideal type where 'share price' gives legitimacy. In a traditional market, share price acts as a proxy for capital investment and what a supplier is worth. Within the socially engaged arts sector, the 'shareholder' is usually the state, via the Arts Council and local government, as the main funder, or perhaps to take the analogy further, the state or Arts Council is the equivalent of the pension funds, representative of millions of citizen shareholders.

The other agent in this sector is the public - the audience for, and final consumers of, the work - but they are not typical consumers in that they don't pay for the work directly in monetary terms, although they do 'pay' with their time, which is taken into account in some calculations on value (see for example Social Return on Investment studies such as Barnett, 2011; Barnett and Melville, 2016). They also pay indirectly, through taxes redistributed by the state and its agents. This placing of the audience (or participants), at a distance from the transaction suggests a lack of influence over what is offered – they don't have 'consumer power' to change the supply and can't 'shop elsewhere' as, in an echo of Soviet centralised planning, the purchase decision has been decided in advance of the production of the goods. Depressing though this analogy is it does elucidate some of the reasons for the lack of inclusion of the experience of the participant within evaluation frameworks.

Within this sector, a more useful analogy than share price would be to reputational capital, a less formal 'status in the market', indicating how the market evaluates the organisation or individual on their past performance in delivering services, fulfilling goals which the consumer has. Like share price, this isn't necessarily based on a single value, but the reputation of the supplier. In reality this would be the artist/organisation's reputation to funders, and to peers who would be asked to review bids – probably linked to but not necessarily the same as their peer-recognition.

Source of Authority

The ideal type source of authority is 'shareholder activism', which given the lack of clear 'shareholder' again this doesn't fit directly. If the shareholder is seen as the funder (state/trust) as above, then the equivalent in the sector is funders' guidelines, in the case of Arts Council often as interpreted by relationship managers. The funder guidelines show what they want for their money – the outputs which would fulfil the transaction deal. My experience in the field shows how influential this authority is, with project directors regularly doing data collection they believe is impractical and pointless (and against my advice as evaluation advisor), because they've been told to do it via a Chinese whispers route from funder via non-knowledgeable relationship manager. I am the 'expert', they are the 'authority'.

Source of Identity

Within a market, transactions should only take account of price and quality of goods. This anonymity can be seen in Firstsite, for example through conversations about who the 'audience' is for evaluation reports. Artists expressed difficulty in writing for an unknown audience as 'the funder' was a faceless entity to them. A second element of identity links to reputational capital, discussed above. Artists distinguished

between being 'employable' and being a 'good artist', which are not the same. For example Elaine was clear that her reputation for producing interesting and challenging work helped her get new work, but at the same time noted that she used an art form (text) that was both fashionable and also useful (in an instrumental sense), so local authorities liked it. This sense of having (or not having) marketable reputational capital profoundly affects the identity of the artists. It is also relevant at an organisational level, as the need to maintain reputational capital in terms of participative practice can clash with the corporate logic of maximising profit to the organisation. Good participative practice is much more expensive than light touch engagement work, so how do funders balance this in a return on investment model?

Basis of Norms

As for the ideal type, the basis of norms for the sector is 'self-interest'. In multi-layered markets – such as Firstsite 'sub-contracting' to the Associate Artists – there are two sets of self-interest, that of the organisation (where the market logic aligns with the corporate logic here), and that of the artists within the market logic where, as with any employment relationship, there is a contradiction between employer and employee self-interest.

The two types of consumer too need to operate in terms of 'self-interest'. For the state funder, self-interest is in theory (somewhat ironically) 'the public good', but in reality each of the intermediate funders (Arts Council England, local authority, largely public funded charity such as Youth Music) have the self-interest of their organisation (secure role and gain further funding), as well as that of the individuals such as politicians and senior managers who are being judged on outcomes of these sort of programmes. The other consumer: the participant - who pay with their time and input

– also have self-interest. Under a market model they have a limited amount of time and energy to do art. Speaking later to one of the participants of Garrison he gave a totally self-interested reason for involvement:

> I only spoke to Jev in the first place to get a sketch book. Then I was having fun, getting out of the centre once a week… It was good for me so I didn't mind all the other stuff of being involved, you know… the forms you had to fill in… (from conversation with former Garrison participant, Aug 2016).

Basis of Attention & Informal Control Mechanism

The basis of attention for the market logic is one's status in the market, which, in this sector, is based on reputational capital. At an organisational level it is how outcomes are portrayed (e.g. 'impact') and the value of services are portrayed (e.g. through audience and funder testimonials). The basis of strategy is to increase efficiency and return on investment, for example by efficiently providing what is needed to gain more contracts. Whilst the entire sector is 'not-for-profit', and the shareholders are ultimately the state, efficiency savings can be reinvested in work that the organisation or funder values, so the reinvestment analogy holds. For individuals, savings can be spent as they see fit within areas linked to another logic, for example in developing their reputation, or more family time.

The informal control mechanisms for the sector within the market logic would be external evaluators, critical friends, policy analysts and academics. This is particularly interesting in my case study as my fieldwork findings show I was a strong informal control mechanism: a role the artists viewed negatively, along with the market logic as a whole.

Construction of Evaluation: Transaction to evidence efficiency and return

Through taking a reductionist approach to what constitutes interaction and exchange within the socially-engaged participatory arts sector, we can gain some insight from adapting the ideal-type of the market logic to this sector specifically. This centres on the 'transaction' between supplier (artist or arts organisation) and the consumer (state or funder), who 'buys' on behalf of the public, with 'public good' as a value to maximise. This model effectively removes the voice of the audience/participant from consideration in determining resource allocation which is helpful in flagging an issue that is being mentioned, but probably not particularly well dealt with, in funding in the arts. Seen through this lens, evaluation becomes part of the transaction between consumer and supplier. It is the way in which a supplier proves that a service has been delivered. A service isn't simply a set of activities delivered to people. It is the difference made to these people. The supplier needs to show the consumer that they fulfilled this. Thus evaluation is constructed as a proof of transaction, demonstrating that the service was fulfilled. As future funding, and sometimes part of the current funding, is contingent on this 'proof' it is part of the transaction, like a receipt. When designing and carrying out evaluation within this logic, the rational approach is to do so as efficiently as possible, with the minimum amount of work to show funder goals were met.

Institutional Logic: the State

The institutional logic of the state is very influential within the socially engaged participatory arts sector as represented by the funding streams from central and local government. There is another state logic acting on an individual level which relates to the Associate Artists and other Firstsite staff as 'citizens' of the UK, however this did not arise in my fieldwork so I have chosen not to focus on this here. It is through this

logic that 'public good' – or 'increasing community good' as Thornton et al (2012) describe it – dominates as a discourse in the ideas and practices of the artists and organisations. The state logic is most relevant in areas of the arts where public funding is the main source of funding, and particularly in areas where delivering on 'the public good' is taken to the fore in terms of justification of the work.

In arts organisations like Firstsite, the majority of funding comes from state sources, this comes as core funding through National Portfolio Organisation status (Arts Council England three-year core-delivery funding), local government funding (usually a prerequisite or at least accepted partner of NPO funding, usually core-delivery funding), and project funding (whether from ACE, local government, EU, health, policing, prison, regeneration or other arms-length state funders). Often where there is trust or other third sector funding this comes as a match with state funding, so this is a key part of the funding mix. The justification for state funding, as discussed above within the market logic section, is that the arts organisations deliver 'public good', this is phrased partly through the intrinsic value of the arts, but also as instrumental outcomes such as economic impact for example growth and tourism (local government, EU), social cohesion, education and health outcomes. Although, as discussed in the literature review above, there is a lot of work underway to show that arts as a whole increase the public good (Stevenson, 2013b; Arts Council England, 2014; Carnwath and Brown, 2014; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016) in reality there's an assumption in most arts organisations that this is the role of 'the Learning Team', or 'Education and Outreach' team or wherever the engaged participatory practice takes place. Thus the state logic is particularly strong within these departments of arts organisations. In the case of Firstsite it was particularly clear as Firstsite was specifically being accused of not serving the 'public good' and this

was seen to put their local authority funding at risk, or at least it was strongly argued by many local commentators and politicians (e.g. the town's MP Bob Russell) that it should mean that funding be removed (Calnan, 2011).

This is not Firstsite specific, traditionally participatory arts are state funded: through grants and projects (usually 'instrumental' funding – i.e. funding justified for non-arts reasons), and through benefits and other state support of low-paid artists. The other main funding sources are personal: artists subsidising their arts related income through earning in other areas (traditionally teaching and arts associated work – gallery assistants, but all sorts of other jobs too) or through being the secondary breadwinner in the family. Thus the power of the state logic is very influential in the work and workers of this sector.

Another consideration is how this logic is translated to the Associate Artists within Firstsite as an organisation. There is less of a direct line between the artist and the logic decision-making source – in this case 'the state' than there is with 'the profession' – none of the Associate Artists felt anyone else acted as an intermediary between them and their profession (a relational network of other artists), whereas they all saw their line management and the Board as acting as intermediaries between them and the state. This means the state and corporate logic are harder to disentangle. It is also worthwhile noting that the clash between state and corporate logics was visible at times within the executive and Board of Firstsite, but that isn't my focus here.

Table 4.4: State Logic: ideal type and adapted

Categories	Ideal Type	Adaptation to Firstsite and Sector
Summary of Logic	State as redistribution mechanism	Redistributive
Sources of legitimacy	Democratic participation	Democratic participation in art
Sources of authority	Bureaucratic domination	Co-produced assumption that state rules are valid and thus should be obeyed
Sources of identity	Social and economic class	Social class (in broad sense)
Basis of norms	Citizenship in nation	Sense of social responsibility?
Basis of attention	Status of interest group	Status of interest group
Basis of strategy	Increase community good	Increase public good
Informal control mechanisms	Backroom politics	Backroom politics
Construction of Evaluation		Obligation to show difference made with public money

(from Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. 73 and adaptation to Firstsite).

Summary Logic & Source of Legitimacy

The Learning Team had a central role in delivering the social inclusion agenda for the organisation: ensuring Firstsite caters for everyone in Colchester, not just 'the elite'. Although there is a nod to the value of simply delivering "Great art and culture for everyone" (Arts Council England, 2010) within the rhetoric, the underlying message within all press coverage, and as shown through the targets set, that the 'delivery' to 'everyone' is supposed to be wider than access to art alone: it is part of 'the public good' and redistribution. This entire logic effectively places the value of art as instrumental, redistribution as a goal. Linked to this is the rhetoric about Firstsite (or

other local state-funded galleries) being 'for us', thus framing democratic participation in art as a source of legitimacy. This is a common theme in comments under articles about Firstsite in the local paper, with calls for a better use of 'our' money, for us all to get together to make 'our' gallery work – or it can't work without us, or it shouldn't be allowed to function without our support (Calnan, 2011; Brading, 2013; Colchester Daily Gazette, 2015a). Openness about finances, and other issues are seen as indicators of this – as well as the Director or Board's willingness to engage with the press and members of the public. This sense of the need to account to the press, is linked to a discourse of democratic accountability. Similarly the obsession with visitor numbers (common to many similar venues) which plagues Firstsite (News Agencies, 2014; Brading, 2015) is about Firstsite justifying its funding, past and present, through its use value to the public of Colchester. Within programmes there is also the need to show public engagement, which is framed in discussions of good practice as being on a ladder of engagement (Arnstein, 1969) where the higher levels don't equate to experience of the art, or similar outcomes, but to levels of power in the decision-making process.

Source of Authority

In the ideal type, the source of authority is given as 'bureaucratic domination'. This refers to the Weberian concept of bureaucratic domination, which

> ...is not attainable simply through coercion. It requires a minimum
> of wilful obedience on the part of those who are to accept commands ...
> all that matters for legitimacy is that commands and the form of
> domination in which those commands are given are 'believed' to be
> valid (Breiner, 1996, p. 130).

Thus I take this to mean a co-produced domination, with obedience to the authority arising from an assumption that the rules made are valid and rational, than thus

deserve to be obeyed. This idea of a dominating bureaucracy, given power through its role in transmitting and enforcing 'legitimate' rules, fits well with the responses to monitoring, evaluation or other state requirements in the arts. The authority of the state requires the belief on the part of the recipients "whether it lives up to that belief or not, that it carries out commands and creates order in the most impartial and rationally predictable way possible..." (Breiner, 1996, p. 131).

Seen within this frame, the questioning of the approach to data gathering, begins to challenge the authority of the state, so there's an impulse from both sides (recipient and donor) to avoid this critique, or rather to move to a polarised position: accept unquestioningly (show loyalty to the state) or reject completely as any demand to change or improve evaluation is seen as a challenge to authority – what might initially appear to be a small, local change is effectively something much more radical. Perhaps it is this need to account for spend within a hierarchical system which leads otherwise intelligent and critical people to go along with ideas that don't seem to fit with other logics. My role within this is interesting as I act as part of the legitimising tendency in explaining why the rules are legitimate and enabling the measuring/making accountable of arts activities so that they can respond to the requirements of the state authority.

Source of Identity

For Thornton et al within the state logic, identity can be largely seen as arising from some sort of social classification, and the ideal type for this is 'social and economic class' (2012, p. 73). In terms of translating this to a Firstsite or socially engaged arts context, it does make sense that social class in some sense should enter into it the

logic, but fully considering the interaction between social class and the logics at play within the arts is beyond the scope of this research.

The sources of identity which figure within the publicly funded arts sector in terms of the state logic can be related to some economic stratifications: in the contemporary art gallery, there is a range of pay rates, from gallery assistants on minimum wage (and expected to do a range of 'non-arts' jobs such as clean toilets) yet also likely to have a higher degree, to relatively low-paid artists, to marketing and education delivery staff who although paid above the national average are paid less than they would be in commensurate jobs in different sectors. The top level of pay does get a lot higher, with tales of pay-offs not helping the sense of disparity (Colchester Daily Gazette, 2015a), but would be nowhere near jobs with similar levels of power and responsibility in local government, for example.

In terms of a broader definition of class, using Savage's 'modern class' system (Savage *et al.*, 2013) most employees would fall in the "Established Middle Class", with others in the "New Affluent Workers". For many, their levels of economic stability might place them in the "Precariat", but their high levels of education, social networks and other cultural capital give them an advantage that doesn't fit with the traditional view of a 'precarious worker'. This difficulty in placing socially engaged artists within a traditional class structure, along with a recognition of the other class based issues within their work (which is change related by nature and often explicitly situated around the wish to give the powerless voice in the state) argues for the need for further work in this area. In terms of this study, the dimension of 'class-based' identity which did arise was around the sense of status gap, and

particularly precarity of employment, both of which can be seen within a professional or market logic.

Source of Attention

The source of attention for the state logic is the status of any given group (interest group) there are at least two interest groups at play in the Firstsite setting: the artists themselves, and also the Learning Team, as arts intermediaries, who can be seen as an interest group operating *within* the organisation, but also have to operate *for* the organisation to gain attention against other 'interest groups' representing other galleries or organisations. The Associate Artists were firmly situated in the Learning Team and their interests aligned in many cases. This need to promote the interest of one's team within the organisation (as well as the organisation externally) relates to the view that there is a limited amount of state funding, which is allocated according to public good, thus a group gains 'attention' (gains recognition within this logic) in terms of its ability to show it is 'doing good', and thus its earning power – albeit indirect – for the organisation. So, recognition within the organisation is important, but this can come not only from communicating your value within the organisation, but also from communicating it to a wider audience – particularly peers – and thus gained external esteem which will reflect well with the funder and bring value back to the organisation. This recognition arises from showing that your group (Associate Artists or Learning Team in this case) are able to fulfil the requirements of the state logic and provide public good.

In the state logic in practice, the individuals within the Learning Team mostly act as a group, sharing their resources to gain attention to the team from the organisation as a whole, and then the whole organisation acts as a team to gain attention to the

organisation from the sector. With the financial crisis and move of Firstsite to a year on year funding regime, Arts Council England was effectively giving a great deal more attention to this 'interest group' – for a negative reason, but this still reflects the concept of 'status of interest group' as basis of attention.

Basis of Strategy & Informal Control Mechanisms

The basis of strategy for the state logic ideal type is to 'increase community good', given the potential for confusion with the Community Logic I've chosen to use 'public good', thus fitting with the language used within the cultural value debate (O'Brien, 2010; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016), as it isn't clear that Thornton et al meant anything specific by using 'community' here and they have a different basis of strategy within the community logic (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. 73). Although discussion above in Chapter Two shows the complication in defining or measuring the potential to 'increase public good' (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016), taking as our focus not the 'value' (that is 'public good') but the act of seeking to increase it, and accepting that each individual or organisation decides what constitutes 'public good', then the strategy of participatory socially engaged art within the state logic is to increase it (Hull, 2007, 2012; Hope, 2011a). Informal control mechanisms are provided by 'backroom politics' knowing how the system works and thus how to get funding. These systems come in not as a result of (explicit) corruption, but because of the lack of 'objective measurement' systems, it is hard to make decisions based on some objective criteria. All decisions are to a large degree subjective: what is 'good art' – or even 'good engagement'? So all decisions are made on a range of different views as to what constitutes 'community good' – see above. This, along with the need to gain attention through enhancing the status of your interest group – showing you do 'redistribution' or 'increasing

community good' better than other groups – means that backroom politicking is the most effective way of working. Perhaps the smallness of the sector also adds to this – it is possible to personally know most of the decision-makers, and your peer group is relatively small. A recognition of this – and its inappropriateness is part of the reason 'the state' is so anxious to discover the elusive 'right way' to measure the impact of art. Note also that arts funding operates at government level in a network of funding justification and trading between government departments. The civil servants and ministers at DCMS have to justify to the Treasury money given them, rather than more obviously 'community good' enhancing departments like Health, Education etc.

> Ministers and policy officials have to balance a range of issues, not
> least of which is the how much public money should be invested in
> Area X? (Cooper, 2012, p. 281).

As Cooper (a senior civil servant himself) goes on to note – while there are some issues with measuring impact per pound spent in health or education, it is not nearly as difficult as in the case of arts and culture. My personal observation of the way that Treasury operates with respect to more junior departments (of which DCMS is one of the most junior) is very telling – the power lies with Treasury, then with the senior departments, decisions are made through backroom politics and ensuring shared understanding between individuals is as effective a control mechanism as adherence to law or policy in situations like these where interpretation of meaning is so important.

Construction of Evaluation: Obligation to show what difference to the public good you made with public money

The construction of evaluation within the state logic is that this is public money, given to increase public good. You thus have a (moral) obligation to feedback on what difference was made. It constructs the artist as arm of the state, working to

improve public good, and thus placing an obligation on them to show they've done it Within the logic, this doesn't necessarily translate as being about actually increasing public good and showing objectively you've done that: this thesis assumes that neither public good – arising from cultural value, nor the measurement of this are objectively definable in an absolute way. The state logic requires the artist to seek to increase public good, and evaluation as the mechanism by which you fulfil your moral duty to show you achieved it, whatever that might mean.

Institutional Logic: the Community

The community is clearly an important logic within socially-engaged arts, but requires some definition and delimitation before it is explored further. Following investigation of the fieldwork data, I decided to use community in both the geographic sense of an area of the town, but also in Tonnies' idea of Gemeinschaft arising from collective relationships between people, emphasising the personal (Tonnies, 1974) and reference contemporary forms of community linked not to geographic boundaries but to shared interests, for example pressure groups and collectives such as open source communities. This concept of the community, as a space for sharing knowledge and even generating value (Arvidsson, 2011) is very relevant in the socially engaged arts sector, which includes artist social movements and arts entrepreneurship within collectives.

In the case of Firstsite, in common with other similar arts organisations, there are a number of 'communities', one is the discursive 'community of Colchester' – which Firstsite needs to contribute to, and tends to explain its contribution to via the participatory arts work. Another is the community of artists locally, which act as a supply ecology for Firstsite's Learning team – providing artists to carry out work, as

well as contacts and collaborators. It also adds to Firstsite's credential as a community focussed organisation, particularly with respect to support given to 15 Queen St (artist and creative industry support and office space), the Waiting Room, and Slackspace. This locally situated artist community also acts as a peer-group for several of the Associate Artists, and are seen as appropriate critics and promoters by a wider group of art-engagers (i.e. they are seen as having legitimacy as critics by the sort of 'typical arts audience of Colchester, so if they approve, Firstsite is ok).

The final construction of community with respect to Firstsite are the 'communities' that are specifically targeted within the Learning Programme. These communities play a huge role in the work undertaken within my research, some as co-creators of the art itself (visible to a degree in all the strands, but particularly in Garrison, Airlock and Street, where identification of a group – recovering servicemen within a specific centre, young people who congregate outside Firstsite, people who live in Greenstead – allowed a more focussed approach to a group). This community doesn't just comprise the active participants but also those they know and live around, so the definition of the institution is vaguer.

Within my redefinition of the community institutional logic operating for Associate Artists I have focussed on the latter two groups: the 'target' communities of the Learning Programme – in an abstract sense, that is 'the sort of communities targeted by typical Learning Programmes' and the local community of artists within the town. In both cases these are applicable to other socially engaged programmes within the sector.

Table 4.5: Community Logic: ideal type and adapted

Categories	Ideal Type	Adaptation to Firstsite and Sector
Summary of Logic	Common boundary	Associative
Sources of legitimacy	Unity of will. Belief in trust and reciprocity	Trust and reciprocity
Sources of authority	Commitment to community values and ideology	Commitment to community values and ideology
Sources of identity	Emotional connection. Ego-satisfaction & reputation	Emotional connection and reputation
Basis of norms	Group membership	Group membership
Basis of attention	Personal investment in group	Personal investment in group
Basis of strategy	Increase status & honor of members & practices	Increase status of members and practices
Informal control mechanisms	Visibility of actions	Visibility of actions
Construction of Evaluation		Way to ensure you are delivering the best you can to and with the community

(from Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. 73 and adaptation to Firstsite).

As logics which are used less frequently in this analysis, the discussion in these remaining sections aren't as thorough as in the corporate, professional, market and state logics. However, they were all developed systematically using the same methodology as above.

Summary Logic, Source of Legitimacy and Basis of Attention

In terms of the important categories within the 'community logic' as defined for the socially engaged arts sector, and Firstsite in particular, the key issues are a sense of

association: common interest, the legitimating role of trust and reciprocity and personal commitment of time, interest and identity which shape the logic.

Trust and reciprocity are particularly key for generating volunteering time – which work with these communities relies on, most of the local artist networking (as opposed to their artistic or creative production) is carried out on a voluntary basis, and of course most project participants donate their time to the projects. Several of the Associate Artists and other Firstsite staff donated time and craft to the Waiting Room (e.g. Jevan proudly told me to look at the lights he made in the men's toilets as it was part of his practice as far as he was concerned, Beth, Mandy and Jacqueline all contributed time to setting up the Waiting Room including carrying things, painting the walls etc., specifically situating it as outside their Associate Artist time) these acts can be seen as indications of trust of and reciprocity with the community.

Sources of Identity and Authority

The traditional use of the terms 'target' or 'beneficiary' community, common to discussion on engagement work themselves imply a uni-directional relationship, excluding the possibility of reciprocity, and thus perhaps trust. The Associate Artists individually and spontaneously made several steps to overcome this, specifically standing up to authority – in the form of someone above them in the Firstsite hierarchy – in order to fulfil a perceived trust handed to them by the project participants (discussed below in Chapter Six). Emotional connection started as important in relationships with the project communities: they usually got involved for an emotional reason such as promoting or improving their area, the artist-community relationships that worked best had an emotional element, which became attached to the person, not the role. Various indicators of connection were

mentioned: e.g. Lawrence being invited to a participant's wife's funeral (and going), Jevan gaining a nickname (beardy-weirdo) at the Garrison or Mandy's evolving relationship with the young people in YAK. The YAK members described to me how they changed her behaviour through 'training' her clearly choosing this interesting phrasing on purpose, Mandy separately recounted the story to me in almost in the same tone which showed the extent to which she allowed this style of relationship, and the level of emotional connection and understanding between them. All the Associate Artists had built relationships of trust and felt a real connection with their participants.

Informal Control Mechanisms

Another key element in the community logic is the 'visibility of actions'. This becomes an informal control mechanism as you know that people will know if you do something good, or conversely if you do something unethical. This is equally true in the local artist community – where actions are visible through their spatial enactment – Jevan making the lights in the toilets, Mandy spending time volunteering in the bar/cafe, (i.e. literally visible) and also via the social media which is used extensively in the community. Within the beneficiary communities this is as much about gaining a reputation for actually doing things. As Jacqueline began to engage in Old Heath she initially met low levels of enthusiasm for what was clearly seen as just another fly by night idea. As she spent more time in the community, and particularly with her relationship with her key participant/partner, Jane, she earned visibility and became known, and also gained a reputation for being prepared to input. Linked to this idea of visibility was the suggestion, arising from a community development (or indeed an ethnographic/action research) perspective of basing herself there. So she started to do her work in a cafe in the area, and thus was 'seen' to be working in the community.

Construction of Evaluation: Way of ensuring you are delivering the best you can to/with the community

Considering evaluation within this logic, the members of the community lie at the centre of one's consideration: evaluation is needed to answer the question: are you delivering as best you can in order to give participants (or recipients) the best experience. Answering this requires a commitment to doing evaluation well (honestly, rather than in a minimal fashion to perform the function), it also implies the promotion of certain approaches to evaluation: putting the participant's views and needs at the centre, involving their voice. This might be counter to the direct requirements of the funder, particularly when the funding bid was written well before the work was planned.

Institutional Logic: the Family

In the ideal type model, the family is conceptualised as "the firm"(Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. 73), gaining legitimacy from unconditional loyalty, with patriarchal domination as the source of authority. The source of identity is family reputation, and the basis of strategy is to increase family honour. This language feels discordant to everyday conversations about the family, and even were the model more appropriate one might also question the very relevance of the family as an institution, within what is most definitely a 'work' setting. Indeed, initially this 'institution' seemed the least relevant to the research: my dealings with the Associate Artists was entirely within their 'working' lives, during their official 2.5 days of employment at Firstsite. Meetings took place within other settings but always 'in work time' and even if we spoke by telephone from home we were 'in a work mode'. My early fieldwork notes on using the Institutional Logics Perspective framework say "not relevant, ignore" against this order.

However as I revisited the data, alongside the changing relationship the Associate Artists had with Firstsite as their contracts came to an end, the work/home divide became less clear for artists. I realised that in fact the logic of the family, as a societal and personal institution played a huge role in the jarring moments and themes arising. A particular moment flagging this was Elaine ending a one-to-one session with me as a result of a childcare call: the switch in tone on her part, from meek (but somewhat reluctant) agreement to write up her rationale as I had suggested, to a confident request which while polite didn't assume any right on my part to argue.

> E: "can I take this, it's my childcare? … [brief discussion on phone] …
> [to me again] I will have to go now" (from transcription of 1-2-1
> session)

In this example she felt completely clear that her role as main carer for her child overruled her role as employee and assumed I would too. It also allowed her to move from a weak position of receiving instruction to a strong position of telling me what would happen.

More directly linked with art, one of the artists in particular, but others to a degree, included their family explicitly within their artwork. Lawrence's main practice is a collaborative one with his wife, Anna, and indeed his practice has developed from and within their relationship as he categorised himself as a poet, then creative writer, before becoming involved with her. They have explicitly situated their life, and their family within their practice (and vice versa) in their Artists-As-Parents-As-Artists project which includes their show: "Everything, All At Once, All The Time" (Townley and Bradby, 2015). Writing the foreword to their book, based on the same practice: 'an endless round of repetitive tasks with operatic anger and comic turns', Judith Stewart starts:

> I am sitting at the kitchen table. Writing this piece is a struggle. I suspect this is partly because of the constant minor disruptions of domesticity, so that even when I set aside a day to write, it is eroded by aspects of daily life that refuse to be postponed. And at the point in writing I realise that the dog hasn't had his breakfast... (Townley and Bradby, 2014, p. 3)

While this is a wonderful evocation of the reality of working flexibly from home for people from many professions, it goes on to describe how both Lawrence and Anna have found it hard to distinguish between the activities of art and parenting – what is purely personal and what is for public consumption? Interestingly in considering this, Stewart discusses the overlap of the 'family' order with 'professional' (and 'market'):

> [A piece of work involving scribbled notes by Lawrence containing everyday observations] particularly makes it feel as if I have intruded into a personal space. The domestic space is where we metaphorically let our guard down, where we behave in the ways negotiated through our family relationships without having to think about how we are perceived in the wider world. Listening to the conversations via Lawrence's notes, I become an observer of private games, collected treasures, invented language and inevitably sibling rivalry, parental frustrations and uncontrollable emotions (Townley and Bradby, 2014, pp. 6–7).

Bearing in mind that Lawrence, due to his particular way of viewing the world orthogonally to the 'norm', was an influential person in both the practice and clashing of logics in Firstsite, and particularly as I frame the artists as co-researchers, this permeability of the institutional orders within his practice brought the family to the fore across the whole project.

Table 4.6: Family Logic: ideal type and adapted

Categories	Ideal Type	Adaptation to Firstsite and Sector
Summary Logic	Family as firm	Affiliative
Sources of legitimacy	Unconditional loyalty	Putting family first
Sources of authority	Patriarchal domination	Relative Role in family
Sources of identity	Family reputation	Role in Family
Basis of norms	Membership in household	Membership in Household
Basis of attention	Status in household	Being a good parent/partner/child
Basis of strategy	Increase family honor	Make life more secure and meaningful for family
Informal control mechanisms	Family politics	Family politics
Construction of Evaluation		Extra work – taking you away from family time.

(from Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. 73 and adaptation to Firstsite).

Once I had started looking at how the logics of the family as an institutional order play out within socially-engaged artists' practice, it became clear that this is an influential logic, and a useful way to interrogate where power and influence lie, and some of the clashes of logics. The key ideas here are around one's affiliation to one's family as both a place of safety and the primary obligation. Recognising that one's identity and legitimacy come from one's role in the family and ensuring one fulfils that. Seeing the family as an alternative loyalty system – used to show you have a good balance in life (this would fit with Elaine's assumption that using childcare as a reason to leave early was not only something not to be apologetic about, but in fact a sign that she's got a positive approach to life.) It was also used as the counter to

working for art – the artists often mentioned what could be seen as a market logic –
the need to earn money, but it was always justified in terms of family breadwinning,
not using earning power as a proxy for value (or in terms of getting rich). Overall the
family logic features as a place of safety (a retreat from unreasonable logics from the
market/corporation) and an obligation (a restriction on the ability of the artist to fulfil
the excesses of art and the professional logic).

Construction of Evaluation: Extra work, which takes you away from family time.

Taking all the reflection above into account, the Logic of the Family, within
the sector-specific construction is of the Family as the Opposite of Work, with
legitimacy arising from putting the family first, and the source of authority based on
one's contribution to the family, the source of identity arises from one's roles in the
family. The bases of norms and attention are one's membership in the family, and
status within the household, with informal control mechanisms being family politics.
The basis of strategy is to improve the security and wellbeing of the family. Bearing
all this in mind, with the logic of the family placing the family as the opposite to
work, and in and uneasy need/opposition with work in generating security and
wellbeing, evaluation gains an interesting construction.

Evaluation is part of one's work, but is also additional to work, so a strict construction
of the family logic would be of evaluation being a negative: extra work, which takes
you away from family time. Thus, within the family logic you should do evaluation in
the most efficient and quickest way that achieves the required ends, as family time
always has priority.

A counter to this more or less market logic approach to evaluation could come when there is value gained within the family logic from the involvement in the evaluation. This arose surprisingly often within my involvement with the Associate Artists. If the basis of strategy is to increase family wellbeing, then personal wellbeing becomes part of this. Part of the reframing of evaluation as reflection and dialogue - which was at the core of my work with the Associate Artists involved giving space to discuss issues and problems, but also to allow creative thinking that at times some of the internal targets seemed to preclude. Several of the Associate Artists specifically framed the evaluation – when done like this – as benefitting their wellbeing, and Jevan's wife said its effect on him was one of the major reasons that *she* got through that time.

Institutional Logic: Curation

One of the institutional orders identified within Institutional Logics Perspective from the start is religion. While not claiming religion has no importance in art, or in everyday life, I didn't pick up any direct reference to religion per se during my time in Firstsite (even despite them hiring to an evangelical church every Sunday), or during my working life in art and culture. However it did also become clear that there was a missing logic at play – 'art' as the ineffable indescribable, unmeasurable, with its own ranking and meaning making. For the arts sector in general, this would come into the professional logic, but as is clear from mapping this out, socially engaged artists feel alienated from something which could be called the pure art establishment – which may or may not exist in reality. Perhaps all artists feel they have to justify themselves as 'real artists'.

For this reason, as I began to map out the institutional logic of 'art', in this sense, I identified the power of the 'curator' as the gatekeeper to the 'proper' art world. This was particularly true at Firstsite but has meaning elsewhere, that particular role of the arbiters of what counts and what doesn't count – linked to the nice tie in with curates as a religious class decided me on using the term 'curatorial logic' the only adaptation to the names of the institutional orders but necessary to avoid a jar which suddenly discussing a 'religious' logic would in the findings chapters when talking about 'art'.

Table 4.7: Curatorial Logic: ideal type and adapted

Categories	Ideal Type (Religion)	Adaptation to Firstsite and Sector
Summary Logic	Temple as bank	Aesthetic
Sources of legitimacy	Importance of faith and sacredness in economy & society	Producing 'real art'
Sources of authority	Priesthood charisma	Charisma – of critics, curators, the art community
Sources of identity	Association with deities	Association with 'artists' and galleries
Basis of norms	Membership in congregation	Acceptance of 'the Canon'
Basis of attention	Relation to supernatural	Reviews from certain critics, curators
Basis of strategy	Increase religious symbolism of natural events	Increase acceptance of this particular approach to art as being 'the norm'
Informal control mechanisms	Worship of calling	Critics, reviews
Construction of Evaluation		Impossible and undesirable

(from Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. 73 and adaptation to Firstsite).

Using this analogy, the summary logic is an aesthetic or even transcendental one: 'art as indescribable', the sources of legitimacy lie in something being 'real art', with judgement as to what counts as real art arising from the sources of authority – the charisma of critics, curators, the perceived art community. The sources of identity lie in 'being an artist' or perhaps for socially-engaged artists association with 'artists' - insiders in the logic – including where you exhibit. The basis of norms lies in 'the canon' – not something I am confident I understand, but this was mentioned by Associate Artists and perceived as exclusionary. For contemporary visual art there is a recognised group of curators and critics linked to the Whitechapel Gallery and other similar contemporary galleries, and to which the Curator at Firstsite belonged– which create a hierarchy. The Associate Artists questioned their legitimacy, but did not ignore it. The basis of attention is good reviews, from 'the right critics' or in 'the right press'. The basis of strategy for this logic is to increase the acceptance of this particular approach to art as being 'the norm' – *this* is good contemporary visual art (and *that* is not).

Construction of Evaluation: Impossible and undesirable

This gives us the evaluation logic of the impossibility of measuring art by any objective viewpoint, its value is intrinsic and by nature unquantifiable. Evaluation can only capture the elements of art which are not intrinsic and unique to art: its social, economic or political value, its 'cultural value' is defined precisely as unmeasureable, it transcends current human understanding and any attempt to measure it will limit it (see discussion in Chapter Two above and historical development of this thinking in Belfiore and Bennett, 2008). Interestingly wasn't something that any of the Associate Artists brought up explicitly, although as discussed above, it is a strong thread in the cultural value debate.

Conclusion

The discussions above show how differently the world of the Associate Artists within Firstsite, and artists and arts organisations can be seen when it is framed in terms of logics associated with the different institutions at play in their lives. It also works to highlight the permeability of their working lives, affected not only by the obvious corporate and professional logics – as artists working in an organisation, but by market logics, state and community logics, and by family logics as well as art as a transcendental unknowable aesthetic.

Summing up these different logics, now adapted to the Firstsite and socially engaged sector specific reality, the grid below (table 4.8) gives a shorthand way of characterising these logics, necessarily simplified for use in analysis and as a prompt to discussion.

Each of the logics is described by its category components starting with the summary logic, whether it is the market's 'transactional' logic or the professional's 'relational'logic, which begins to frame the complex pattern of cultural symbols and material practices which make up the logics. Adding in each logic's sources of legitimacy, authority and identity, and bases of norms, attention and strategy, along with the informal control mechanisms which police the logics' operation, overall, we have a picture of how each logic is understood and used to define norms and shape behaviours.

Overall these logics shape and are shaped by behaviours, attitudes and assumptions, as the logics are socially constructed and reconstructed by the individuals concerned, and used to provide meaning but also to reproduce meaning and change the setting (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. 2). These logics are culturally and

temporally contingent, linked to the setting and moment, shaped constantly by the artists, other employees and the organisation as a whole as they bring to play one or another logic within any situation and in response to the use of a different one. As a result, no detailed grid would remain accurate, and thus a higher level one, which leaves room for cultural interpretation has advantages beyond simply being easier to use for data analysis.

Table 4.8: Institutional Logics within the publicly funded arts sector and socially-engaged arts profession.

Institutional Orders Categories	Family	Community	Curatorial	State	Market	Profession	Corporation
Logic Type	Affiliative	Associative	Aesthetic	Redistributive	Transactional	Relational	Instrumental
Sources of legitimacy	Putting family first	Trust and reciprocity	Producing 'real art'	Democratic participation in art	Reputational Capital	Personal expertise	Market position of organisation
Sources of authority	Relative Role in family	Commitment to community values and ideology	Charisma – of critics, curators, the art community	Co-produced assumption that state rules are valid and thus should be obeyed	Funder Requirements	Peer appreciation	Board of trustees, senior management
Sources of identity	Role in Family	Emotional connection and reputation	Association with 'artists' and galleries	Social Class	Faceless	Being an artist	Bureaucratic roles
Basis of norms	Membership in Household	Group membership	Acceptance of 'the Canon'	Accepting social responsibility	Self interest	Accepting Myths and stories of artist identity	Employment in organisation.
Basis of attention	Being a good parent/ partner/ child	Personal investment in group	Reviews from certain critics, curators	Status of Interest Group	Status in Market	Status in profession	Status in hierarchy
Basis of strategy	Make life more secure and meaningful for family	Increase status of members and practices	Increase acceptance of this particular approach to art as being 'the norm'	Increase public good	Increase efficiency and return on investment	Increase reputation of your art and socially engaged art in general	Increase size and diversification of organisation
Informal control mechanisms	Family politics	Visibility of actions	Critics, reviews	Backroom politics	Consultants and Evaluators	Myth and Stories - Notoriety	Organisation culture

(Adapted from Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. 73)

As explained in each logic section above, adapting the institutional logics in this way for the sector, and Firstsite in particular, allowed me to consider how evaluation would be constructed within each logic. As summarised in Table 4.8 below, this is the pure view of evaluation from the logic: taken to an extreme, the transactional market construct of evaluation as nothing more than a transaction to evidence efficiency and return not being used in practice in any case I've come across, any more than, however well-intentioned any evaluation in the real world is able to focus entirely on the impact on and inclusion of the community in every sense.

Table 4.9; Construction of Evaluation within each Institutional Logic

Family	Community	Curatorial	State	Market	Profession	Corporation
Extra work – taking you away from family time.	Way to ensure you are delivering the best you can to and with the community	Impossible and undesirable	Obligation to show difference made to the public good with public money	Transaction to evidence efficiency and return	Learn from your work and share learning	Part of your job so as to support the organisation

The value in this summarisation is two-fold:

This approach of characterising evaluation within each logic in such a simple way does allow us to see how differently evaluation operates in each logic. Thus it is clear that 'evaluation' isn't a simple or single 'entity' or action, but is constructed of and within multiple practices in multiple logics. It is also a key locus of the interaction (and clash) of logics within the organisation as the artists use the multiple logics at play to gain agency within the organisation.

Furthermore, in a practical sense, it allows a short-hand to analyse any given evaluation, noting from its method, assumed beneficiary, audience and language, what particular logics it is operating within and thus offers potential insight into what will be the barriers to implementing and interpreting it.

This extensive and systematic piece of analysis, drawing from the fieldwork and from years of practitioner evaluator experience developed a simple grid that would allow a totally different view on what had become 'everyday' through my immersion in the field. It also provides a resource for use, debate and development for other researchers working to understand how individuals and organisations maintain and change beliefs and practices.

The grids above (Tables 4.8 and 4.9) once developed were used to analyse the data arising from fieldwork: specifically exploring various responses of the artists to evaluation, identified through my sense of 'jarring' from expected norms, as discussed above in Chapter Three and below. Looking at the data through the lens of this logics framework worked to elucidate and highlight how what could be categorised as negative (and passive) responses of artists to organisations, using the EVLN model (Rusbult, Zembrodt and Gunn, 1982; Farrell and Rusbult, 1992; Naus, van Iterson and Roe, 2007) were in fact responses to and engagement with the complex conflicting logics at play. This is developed in the next two chapters, grouping responses into those which initially manifest as 'Exit' and 'Neglect' responses (Chapter Five) and those which apparently show 'Voice' (Chapter Six). In both cases I find that there is a more complex set of logics at play, which explain the responses more effectively.

Chapter Five: Exit or Neglect? Artists use market and family logics to counter corporate logic

Introduction

In Chapters One to Three I set out the context of the study, showing how I used an embedded critical action research ethnographic study over two years within Firstsite, Colchester to explore the interaction of evaluation requirements and practice for socially engaged artists working in publicly funded arts settings. There are clear areas where further research is needed within the literature on evaluation in the arts, in particular the role of arts organisations as mediators of the requirement to evaluate and as loci of evaluation practice, and how this affects the logics of evaluation, and the response of artists to evaluation. In Chapter Four I developed an adaptation of the Institutional Logics Perspective's logic framework from the ideal type model to one specifically adapted to the publicly funded arts sector, and to the profession of the socially-engaged artist using my professional practice and my fieldwork in Firstsite as the focus, but producing a model that could be used across the sector.

In this chapter and the following one, I apply this adapted logics framework to specific examples of challenge within the evaluation process, which to first impressions appear to represent 'exit' or 'voice' responses to management's requirements to evaluate (Hirschman, 1970), or suffer from 'neglect' (Farrell, 1983; Farrell and Rusbult, 1992). Through an in-depth exploration of these ten 'moments' initially described through my ethnographic fieldnotes and reflection, then reviewed through the 'lens' of the adapted logics framework, I show that rather than a simple management-requirement, staff-response model, in fact these moments represent clashes of logics, where artists and management each mobilise a range of logics in order to achieve their goals and maintain their agency in the situation. This chapter

covers five 'moments' representing many other times when the artists used what can be categorised as 'exit' or 'neglect' responses: transgressions against accepted organisational practice, passive resistance to requirements.

Following this, Chapter Six discusses five 'moments' where the artists' responses could be categorised as them using 'voice' against management: using their expertise to redefine and reshape the problem.

Exit, Voice, Loyalty and Neglect Responses

The Experimental Communities programme at Firstsite acted as an excellent case study as its relatively long term and in-depth nature brought to the fore many of the issues that arise in evaluation in the socially engaged arts sector and the artists responded in various ways according to the time, their experience and the particular circumstances. The responses could loosely be categorised into the exit-voice-loyalty-neglect (EVLN) typology (Farrell and Rusbult, 1992) which builds on Hirschman's (1970) classic classification of responses to decline in firms and organisations: through loyalty, exit or voice by adding in the category of neglect. These categories have since been developed further to understand employee responses to management requirements, and situate them in response to different management actions (Rusbult, Zembrodt and Gunn, 1982; Farrell, 1983; Ackroyd and Thompson, 1999; Fleming and Spicer, 2007; Naus, van Iterson and Roe, 2007; Si and Li, 2012) and in the interpretation below I use descriptions from whichever source best fits particularly where Hirschman's original text doesn't give enough detail. There were some responses which could be categorised as 'loyalty': in many cases the artists intended to and managed to do the tasks required of them. The areas of interest and focus for this study were where this wasn't possible and the responses didn't appear 'loyal' but,

by inference 'disloyal' and were initially labelled as 'naughty' (exit strategies), 'passive resistance' (neglect) or 'disruptive' (voice strategies). It is likely that apparently 'loyal' responses can also be reinterpreted through the logics framework to show a much more complex situation underlying this, but there wasn't time for this in this study. This chapter focusses on ways in which the artists chose 'exit' or 'neglect' as their response to evaluation: not in the direct sense by leaving the job itself, but as variants of Hirschman's "quality spoiler" (1970, p. 21) reducing the organisation's effectiveness within its normal operation. During the period of Experimental Communities there were numerous examples of these, this chapter focusses on the two main types which are loosely categorisable as 'naughtiness' (exit) and 'passivity' (neglect).

Jarring Moments

The types of responses to evaluation were identified through my noting and unpacking 'jarring moments' experienced during the fieldwork, using my emotional response to situations as the yardstick of when norms were broken, or challenges given. I had realised from my practice as an evaluator, how emotional and seemingly irrational the response to 'evaluation' as a concept is. This was particularly true in the Firstsite case, partly due to the length of time and amount of time I spent with the artists: two years, several days a week; and the instability and changes of the organisation itself at the time with three different directors/acting directors, financial instability and a huge amount of negative public, political and press response. I was initially lost in the data, I had so much fieldwork data, through notes, discussions, emails and documents that I couldn't navigate it to tell the story coherently. The use of the approach I called 'jarring moments' – the spotting of key 'moments' which

illustrated underlying important clashes through how much they resonated to me, using a mix of an initial intuitive response, then reflection and discussion worked to provide a navigation through the 'messiness' of this data, without attempting to classify it in terms of chronology or (too strongly) typology or person. The 'moments' written up below represent their own 'moment' – a particular event or set of events – but are also reflective of and incorporate issues that arose other times.

In the rest of this chapter, and the next, I outline the 'moment', reflect on it to give it context, then explore it again using the adapted Institutional Logics grid, sometimes including the original grid where that clarifies the explanation. The 'exit' moments of petty 'misbehaviours', I have called 'Being Naughty' after one of the artist's reflections back on her behaviour in a later discussion. Somewhere roughly at the intersection of 'exit' and 'neglect' came the moments described as 'being passive'. I then explore moments which encapsulate the 'neglect' they are responding to.

Being Naughty

Moment 1: Petty 'misbehaviours'

> I rushed from nursery drop off to make the 10am start for the important 3 hour quarterly session, only to find literally no one in the room, no lights on. I then spent 10 minutes hunting the building for anyone, found Frances plus one by 10.15. About 3 artists (of 5) had arrived by 10.55, and we got going at 11, interrupted by the fourth arriving at 11.15, the fifth never turned up. Apparently, Mandy had emailed Frances to say she was going to be late as the trains cost more before a certain time, Jacqueline had a meeting on a different project – according to Elaine who mentioned it casually when she arrived just before 11 (with no explanation for her own lateness). Elaine said she needed to keep her phone on as she was expecting calls on a commission – she took three during the meeting, including one while she was literally in the middle of a sentence. She left the room and we sat for a moment looking at the door – as if she'd reappear and finish the sentence. **This is totally normal**. (Excerpt from Fieldnotes on Quarterly Review Meeting, 13/3/13)

During the whole fieldwork period, the artists were regularly late to evaluation meetings, an hour or more at times. For example, they would complain about having to pay higher fares to arrive before 11a.m. (so not particularly early starts) and at times would not attend without giving advance notice or explanation at the time. The excuses were all given in a fairly relaxed way, with a clear message that this wasn't a top priority activity. In addition, people would regularly take phone calls in meetings, both family related calls and other work, whether Firstsite related or to do with other jobs. At times, they fixed to do things in the middle of the meeting (e.g. look at some equipment or pick up a key) but not give a very apologetic excuse. There were several other minor acts of non-compliance: not doing activities set during 'break out groups' in training/sharing days, taking calls, wandering off, leaving early without clear reasons given. It took a while for me to 'see' these behaviours as a pattern, initially my notice was first drawn to them by Frances's response. She described the behaviours (to me) as rudeness, and was annoyed by them, she expressed her irritation as what I noted as 'snapping' and 'mild sarcasm'. Although initially uncomfortable with all of this, I increasingly found myself feeling the same way and trying to make sense of this in fieldnotes I began to use sarcasm and feel irritated. In my reflection at the time, I found myself moving from understanding, to irritation, to self-criticism and adaptation, to confusion, to real annoyance before settling on characterising it semi-jokingly as 'being naughty' and then trying to think about what it meant. Although extremely problematic, I've chosen to retain the term in this thesis as it does describe the level of the feeling of the wrongness of the behaviour even from the artists' own reflection:

> … how I behaved over those two years it's like how I behaved as a
> fifteen year old at school. It's no different from that. (Elaine, interview
> 17/7/2015).

In these examples a more complex set of logics are at play than initially appears.

These initially shown graphically within the table below which maps out which

elements of the adapted Institutional Logics Perspective framework the different

parties are operating, but then discussed in detail below.

Table 5.1: Mapping of the logics behind 'petty misbehaviours'

Categories	Institutional Orders						
	Family	**Community**	**Religion**	**State**	**Market**	**Profession**	**Corporation**
Logic Type	Affiliative	Associative	Aesthetic	Redistributive	Transactional	Relational	Instrumental
Sources of legitimacy	Putting family first	Trust and reciprocity	Producing 'real art'	Democratic participation in art	Reputational Capital	Personal expertise	Market position of organisation
Sources of authority	Relative Role in family	Commitment to community values and ideology	Charisma – of critics, curators, the art community	Co-produced assumption that state rules are valid and thus should be obeyed	Funder Requirements	Peer appreciation	Board of trustees, senior management
Sources of identity	Role in Family	Emotional connection and reputation	Association with 'artists' and galleries	Social Class	Faceless	Being an artist	Bureaucratic roles
Basis of norms	Membership in Household	Group membership	Acceptance of 'the Canon'	Accepting social responsibility	Self interest	Accepting Myths and stories of artist identity	Employment in firm.
Basis of attention	Being a good parent/partner/child	Personal investment in group	Reviews from certain critics, curators	Status of Interest Group	Status in Market	Status in profession	Status in hierarchy
Basis of strategy	Make life more secure and meaningful for family	Increase status of members and practices	Increase acceptance of this particular approach to art as being 'the norm'	Increase community good	Increase efficiency and return on investment	Increase reputation of your art and socially engaged art in general	Increase size and diversification of organisation
Informal control mechanisms	Family politics	Visibility of actions	Critics, reviews	Backroom politics	Consultants and Evaluators	Myth and Stories - Notoriety	Organisation culture
Construction of Evaluation	Extra work – taking you away from family time.	Way to ensure you are delivering the best you can to and with the community	Impossible and undesirable	Obligation to show difference made to the public good with public money	Transaction to evidence efficiency and return	Learn from your work and share learning	Part of your job so as to support the organisation

Within this table, the category positions within each logic used by the different actors in the situation are mapped to the adapted logics table. The Associate Artist logical categories are coloured in dark red, Firstsite's position – implied through the actions of Frances or management – in pale blue[18]

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[18] In B&W printing these should show as dark with white text (Associate Artist) and light grey with black text (Firstsite)

Overall, the artists operate from a market logic, with effective action and return on investment in time through immediate outcome being prioritised, however an additional set of logics is also mobilised by the artists here, bringing in the family and the community.

At the time the Associate Artists didn't see themselves as behaving that badly in terms of each individual action: Mandy didn't see why meetings couldn't start at 11am so that she could get a cheaper train, which would save her household money, Elaine should of course take a call about her childcare (her role as mother trumping her bureaucratic role as Associate Artist in Firstsite), or another (paid) job which would bring more money into the household (putting family first trumping the reputational capital or market position of Firstsite in terms of legitimation of action). Taken together, these began to add up and at least one Associate Artist commented that they began to get embarrassed about how it looked for them as a group, but at first, there was a real group loyalty, arising from an identity base resting in emotional connection and norms arising from group membership, rather than employment in firm. Also on occasions where the person being 'let down' was another Associate Artist, not 'Firstsite' the organisation, attendance was better and/or apologies for behaviours more fulsome and convincing, this fits with the basis of norms being group membership, not employment, and attention given more to those perceived as having personal investment in the group (other Associate Artists), rather than status in the hierarchy (another member of Firstsite staff or me).

In all these examples, when perceived from a corporate logic the artists are behaving badly – transgressing the accepted norms of obeying people above them in the hierarchy, putting in the hours their job requires and obeying the tacit rules of the

organisational culture of prioritising the work your manager says is important which supports your organisation's development. Seen from a different logic, this behaviour can move from 'misbehaviour' to logical outcomes of decisions made. The artists were acting from within a market logic: putting in what was needed to get the outcome in the most efficient way, they didn't think this was a particularly important session, for example it was about evaluation, which is typically done at the end of a project: this was near the beginning. They had a lot of other calls on their time so this wasn't the most efficient use of time. Furthermore, work at Firstsite is both part time and temporary. They are supposed to maintain other jobs as artists and thus it is in their interests to follow up these opportunities, a quick return on investment calculation makes it clear that it is more important to chase the potential work where they don't know you, and slightly inconvenience the existing work where they do know you: a new client can choose from a range of people to appoint, an existing one has to go through a large amount of hassle to get rid of you. From a market logic perspective, this is sensible behaviour.

In addition, they bring in the family logic to the situation. Throughout my fieldwork there were many times when childcare commitments in particular were used as a reason for meeting cancellation or work delay. This fitted with the organisational culture – so formed part of the corporate logic of Firstsite, but is worth consideration in its own light. By invoking the family logic: making it clear they put their role as family caregiver first, above their job, they are using a logic which would feel more comfortable than the instrumentality of the market logic. Whenever the need to make money or worry about position in the market was mentioned, this was always framed either in a family logic – I need to be the main breadwinner, I have to think about my

mortgage – or in a professional logic: artists should be paid appropriately. These logics are seen as more legitimate than a market logic alone. This is also probably genuine, the majority of the time, as discussed below, the Associate Artists didn't act within a market logic, but instead mainly took a professional or community logic.

Moment 2: Elaine being 'naughty' over data.

> The apogee of the 'misbehaviours' came with Elaine's response to a set task for a 'data analysis' training session I'd agreed to do for them following requests for help with analysing the data they all had. They had been told to bring some data along, and I was going to lead an on-the-spot "how to analyse this" session, taking them through the thinking process so that they'd have a start made on data analysis, but also see how to do it themselves. I'd asked a colleague with research experience to help me with it – mainly around time-keeping and facilitating one of the groups when we broke into two to do some practice.

> 10.45am Paul and I arrive in the room to get things ready. He's worried this is too late – the session starts at 11. I say not to worry and emphasise his role – timekeeping, intervening if things go round and round, shutting me up if I talk too much... then helping me write up and reflect afterwards – thank goodness he was there

> Session due to start at 11, it's in response to repeated requests from artists – how do we analyse the 'data' we have. I've said to bring 'data' and we'll analyse together – it'll be new to me, I feel like I am setting myself up for a fall – the "ready, steady, analyse" approach.

> 11am, no one there. Paul starts pacing! Frances arrives at 11.05 with laptop. Is this her data? – Yes, it is on there. L and J arrive with a load of photos which we put on one of the tables. This is what I expected, Q arrives with artefacts, notes, photos, things written on doilies. Asks – is this ok, is this right? Is this what you wanted? I reassure her.

> By 11.30 all there. E has set up a collection of items on her table. It's like an installation – a pile of sugar lumps, a bunch of flowers, some hair grips, a magazine, some pebbles. It looks lovely. It doesn't look like data.

> After doing the photos, I move to E's stuff – look at it, panic – 'What the hell?' - feel like I am playing for time: "so tell us about this?"

> E: "this is my data, you said to bring data"

> R: "can you explain a bit"

E: "this represents [this element], this represents... etc."

R: "but what does it say in terms of meeting your aims, which aims are you hoping to assess with this?"

E: "You said to bring data, mine's writing on the computer so I looked around the house and found these things...

R: "... yes, and … why did you bring these things?"

Everyone else stands around looking confused.

E looks unsettled and a bit annoyed, I worry – does she actually think this IS data? This is a very intelligent woman, we've been talking for a year about evaluation, data collection...

I quickly try and say something, anything, which is 'analysis' of this stuff. The project's about use of social space, called 'Sitting Room' the objects do more or less represent the activities she did on the project, interesting then that she can find everything at home, in 10 mins one morning...

E: Hmm...

Frances: This isn't data is it though?

E looks sullen and shrugs. Turns away. To me it's like watching a child who's been given something stupid to do, did it half-heartedly and is being told off and resenting everything about it.

What should I do with this? Later Frances suggests she brought these things because it was quicker to do so than think about it or actually get data together, she doesn't think E didn't understand what was required. She is cross and slightly snide.

Afterwards first thing Paul says on leaving is "Does E totally hate you?"

I laugh but am shocked – he says "It was like she was setting you up to fail" - it did feel like that – I'd been exposing myself to start with by letting them see me in action, to be obtuse – if on purpose – would be cruel. I'm sure she doesn't hate me – we have a good relationship most of the time.

I don't feel like she was being stupid, or cruel, it feels like someone not doing homework because they resent the teacher, or subject, not specifically this homework.

This was hard – later in an email Paul says: "was incredibly impressed about how you managed that. I would not have been able to keep my

> equanimity with anything like your sang-froid." yes it was as odd as I remembered… (Fieldwork notes: 12/6/13)

While 'Moment 1' above marked my first 'irritated' tone in fieldnotes, and it took a while for me to start characterising these actions as part of a pattern, Elaine's data response though did jar immediately, as it took the minor acts up a level, and effectively could be seen as a type of sabotage: seeking to derail the evaluation process through not doing what she was requested, but also not directly challenging the request. In fact, this and the other behaviours are typical of the 'organisational misbehaviours' discussed by Ackroyd and Thompson: "work limitation, time-wasting, absenteeism … deviations from the expectations built into contracts of employment" (Ackroyd, 2012, p. 3) positioning them not as childish 'naughtiness' but, as discussed below, as a resistance to the organisation – Firstsite – which they were characterising as an entity which made unreasonable demands, and which was separate from the individuals which represented it (they weren't cross with me, or Frances, but with 'the organisation'). They were effectively refusing to buy into the corporate culture, thus "thwart[ing] a key aspect of the employment contract – the managerial demand to assume the subject position of the happily managed" (Fleming and Spicer, 2007, p. 35).

Considering again through the lens of institutional logics, in this example, Elaine has been told to bring in some data for us to analyse: from my point of view, she is being offered support in doing something she has asked for help with: analysing data. The logical action would be to take this seriously, spend some time working out what constitutes 'data' for her project, perhaps asking for further clarification. However, she was already cynical about the value of the Experimental Communities evaluation,

viewing Firstsite as acting solely to support itself (within a corporate logic), rather than genuinely wishing to do the high-quality evaluation it claimed.

Her actions when seen in this light become more 'logical'. Elaine has a lot of other things to do both in her life, and in her paid Firstsite time. She has learnt that putting more input doesn't give more output, and has very little belief that her views and expertise will be listened to (explored more in examples below in Chapter Six). Firstsite has lost her loyalty and trust that goodwill will be rewarded.

As a result, she has moved to a very transactional stance around evaluation within Experimental Communities. She will do things that provide a clear return. She doesn't fail to bring anything in: this would be directly going against what she'd been told to do, and thus lead to conflict which would be time and energy consuming. On the other hand, she isn't planning to engage too heavily with the task: the morning of the workshop she grabs a range of things that are in her house. To this point the description situates her within a market logic: her decisions made on the basis of her self-interest, responding to a need to most efficiently get through the day. However, Elaine did clearly put a bit of thought – and creativity – into what she brought in. She didn't grab random things from home (which was what Frances first accused her of doing) but did actually illustrate each area of the study, she to some degree engaged with the exercise, but in such a way as add a minor sabotage: a lack of any 'data' would have meant I didn't engage at all, instead we spent at least 20 minutes of the session discussing the items. Almost certainly she didn't intend it as 'sabotage' but she did admit later that she couldn't see the point of the evaluation by that point and there was an element of 'winding up' Frances and me going on.

Being Passive

Farrell points out that:

> Dissatisfaction with one's job also may result in lax and disregardful behavior. Hirschman (1970) did not explicitly address this possibility, but …[i]n a study of romantic involvements, generally inattentive behavior, such as lack of caring and staying away, was termed neglect (Rusbult et al., 1982). Neglect aptly describes lax and disregardful behavior among workers. Examples of such behavior recently associated with either low job satisfaction or low commitment include: lateness (Adler & Golan, 1981; Angle & Perry, 1981; Farrell & Robb, 1980); absenteeism (Hammer, Landau, & Stern, 1981); and error rates (Petty & Bruning, 1980). (Farrell, 1983, p. 598)

This definition fits with a second set of responses of the Associate Artists to evaluation requirements, using passive behaviours and minimal responses, doing 'work to rule' and just enough to get by, and other ways of 'neglecting' the evaluation. This set of responses placed me as evaluation Critical Friend in the role of the organisation, the conveyor of the need to do evaluation, and thus put me within the dynamic taking place. The context in the first two moments below is the idea that the evaluation of Experimental Communities should be a 'creative evaluation', as discussed above, one of the central challenges of the project and the roles of Associate Artists and myself. We'd discussed what 'creative evaluation' should look like at length at various points in the project and a central theme was that it should be defined by what worked for the particular artists involved in each strand: there wasn't a set way to do it; plus that it was my role to support the 'translation' of whatever was produced into what the funder and organisation felt they needed. This is the position I was coming from.

Moment 3: Tell us what we have to do (word count, outline)

> Yet again I feel like I haven't got the relationship right with the artists, I don't want to be seen as 'the boss' or 'the teacher', but they keep asking me for more instructions about what to do. Today they really pushed

for more direction on what the report "should look like". I have said it can be anything that gets the ideas across. We've talked about visual chapters – nothing but photos, or mind map type things. M&B were talking about doing a Prezi version but that seems to have been abandoned … today:

Lawrence: if you can't give us a template, can you give us a word count

Frances: It is up to you, whatever you need to write. You are in charge of this

Law: But how can we tell? We are writing into a void... It would be easier if you told us how many words approximately

Me (feeling sorry for them): Well it depends on how wordy you are. I can give you an idea of what needs to be in it. 2 pages is probably too short, 20 pages is probably too long, but other than that it is really up to you.

Law: So about 10 pages is right? [With some sarcasm]

I know he is doing that 'work to rule' thing he does, where he wants to abdicate responsibility for making that decision, and say – you told me to do it like that. But why does he? The others are easier to read, a mix of totally confused, scared (why?), and resentful.

They all looked at me like a group of children I was being mean to – not letting them watch TV or do what they want, or more like not helping them to do something I should know is too old for them. **I feel like I am being mean!**

… Ok, thinking about it, I guess I know why they are resentful: there are mixed messages coming about this, I'd told them that they could produce anything as their 'evaluation report' but Frances vetoed the Prezi idea very early. (Excerpt from fieldnotes 10/7/13)

My fieldnotes show my constantly shifting position from viewer of resistance to a feeling of being resisted against and in turn my thoughts about this, and attempts to make the role work. The jarring moment here for me was the realisation that I had been placed in the 'parent' role, in a negative way, and moreover that this wasn't the first time, it was the first time something I'd been noticing had really hit me: I was now the thing they were responding to – I personified evaluation.

Moment 4: Work to rule – that's what you told me to do

Linked to the example above was Lawrence's response to some feedback from me.

He'd given me an early draft of some of his report, and it was very anodyne, like

some sort of stock evaluation you might get from a not very good evaluation team:

we did this, people liked it etc. He is an extremely articulate, intelligent and most of

all critical practitioner, with the ability to take a lateral look at anything, so I was

particularly keen to get his take on Experimental Communities, as I knew he'd

critique some of the more problematic aspects. He was also usually the one that raises

issues in team meetings or other settings, and on many occasions has queried my

meaning or argued directly with me in 'training sessions' if he felt I was being

inconsistent or unclear. Despite my later conclusions, at the time I had no sense that I

was in any superior position to him within the institution, or that I had any particular

power over him – I was an external advisor, and saw our positions as working

together to create a good evaluation, or that I was supporting him to do it. I had given

a lot of advice on style, word count (see above) and structure – although that was

more just saying how his seemed great, but at no point had I framed it as

'instructions', and definitely not 'orders'.

After I queried his report approach: "this is a great start, but weren't you planning to

put more of a critique of Firstsite's approach and role in?" we had an exchange which

I noted (not verbatim) in my fieldnotes:

> L: You didn't tell us to do that, you didn't say to put that section in
>
> Me: But I thought you were going to run the critique through the
> document. And it was up to you how you structured it
>
> L: I've written it like this because that's what you and Frances said to
> do. You didn't tell me to have a section on 'critique'
> [sarcastic/dismissive tone]

Me: It is fine if you don't want to include this, but you need to decide that there isn't anything that needs saying on the process, how Firstsite ran it, how their involvement made a difference.

L: so are you telling me now I need a section on that?

Me: No, it is up to you, I just want you to tell me that you've decided NOT to do it, rather than it just not appearing.

L: So really you are telling me to do it, but you don't want to 'tell' me.

Me: No, I can't 'tell' you, what do you think the report needs? What do you think the evaluation needs?

L: What is the question? What does the report need, or what does the evaluation need?

I was a bit upset as he was being quite hard, querying each phrase I used and not having the conversation I wanted – he was basically trying to get an order out of me. At that point I clearly showed I was upset, and then said I knew there'd been a lot of confusing and conflicting instructions, which I was sorry about, but that I'd held clearly to both the line that the artists should be able to shape their own evaluation **and** that I would do everything in my power to ensure their evaluation was used. That I knew he had views, and I knew that he could get the issues across well, better than the other artists could and probably exerted some sort of guilt trip on him. He admitted that he was annoyed and ***that he didn't see the point of the report as he didn't think anyone would read it*** [later emphasis]. (Excerpt from fieldnotes 17/3/13)

Within my fieldnotes I am reflecting a sense of being stalled in my request for him to engage with the 'creative' element of the evaluation. It is a resistance to Lawrence's 'passive resistance' and 'work to rule' approach which like the example of Elaine in the data analysis workshop above is a way of sabotaging the project: effectively they are doing what they were told, but not what the manager meant them to do. My whole tone is one of feeling like I am 'dragging' the artists to do what I consider the more interesting, creative option, they are picking the boring option and this seems incomprehensible to me.

In these examples the artists' passive or reactive response at first sight places them in a powerless position, being controlled by managers through their chosen method of

ignoring 'neglecting' the situation. Viewing it through the Institutional logics

perspective framework however, they are following a market logic, responding to a

perception and characterisation of Firstsite following a corporate logic.

Through analysis of the data, I mapped practices, beliefs and assumptions shown by

the Associate Artists, and actions of Firstsite management (and the assumptions

which would be implied by these), against the categories of the adapted logics table.

This was discussed with artists, reflected on and updated to form the tables included

in this chapter.

Table 5.2: Mapping of the logics behind 'tell us what to do' and 'that's not what you told me to do'

Categories	Institutional Orders						
	Family	**Community**	**Religion**	**State**	**Market**	**Profession**	**Corporation**
Logic Type	Affiliative	Associative	Aesthetic	Redistributive	Transactional	Relational	Instrumental
Sources of legitimacy	Putting family first	Trust and reciprocity	Producing 'real art'	Democratic participation in art	Reputational Capital	Personal expertise	Market position of organisation
Sources of authority	Relative Role in family	Commitment to community values and ideology	Charisma – of critics, curators, the art community	Co-produced assumption that state rules are valid and thus should be obeyed	Funder Requirements	Peer appreciation	Board of trustees, senior management
Sources of identity	Role in Family	Emotional connection and reputation	Association with 'artists' and galleries	Social Class	Faceless	Being an artist	Bureaucratic roles
Basis of norms	Membership in Household	Group membership	Acceptance of 'the Canon'	Accepting social responsibility	Self interest	Accepting Myths and stories of artist identity	Employment in firm.
Basis of attention	Being a good parent/partner /child	Personal investment in group	Reviews from certain critics, curators	Status of Interest Group	Status in Market	Status in profession	Status in hierarchy
Basis of strategy	Make life more secure and meaningful for family	Increase status of members and practices	Increase acceptance of this particular approach to art as being 'the norm'	Increase community good	Increase efficiency and return on investment	Increase reputation of your art and socially engaged art in general	Increase size and diversification of organisation
Informal control mechanisms	Family politics	Visibility of actions	Critics, reviews	Backroom politics	Consultants and Evaluators	Myth and Stories - Notoriety	Organisation culture
Construction of Evaluation	Extra work – taking you away from family time.	Way to ensure you are delivering the best you can to and with the community	Impossible and undesirable	Obligation to show difference made to the public good with public money	Transaction to evidence efficiency and return	Learn from your work and share learning	Part of your job so as to support the organisation

Within this table, the Associate Artist logical categories are coloured in dark red, Firstsite's position – implied through the actions of myself as Evaluation Critical Friend, Frances or management – in pale blue

Within this model, Firstsite (via Frances and me) have told the artists to do an unreasonable task: they must do their job (because that will support the organisation) but they aren't saying what exactly needs doing. As can be seen from Table 5.2, we are using ideas from both the corporate and professional logic, which are often

contradictory. I am telling them to do their job *and* be creative, but their job is to work as an artist, which isn't an evaluator, so they need more information, by this point the organisation culture is to keep quiet and do what you are told. They retreat into a market logic of trying to do the task as efficiently as possible: get the information needed, produce the right amount of words so that the funder is satisfied. They need more information because the funder is a faceless unknown. The whining tone in Moment 4 can be seen as reflective of a sense of the 'deal' being broken by me: "You didn't tell me to have a section on 'critique'" followed by the truly cynical "So really you are telling me to do it, but you don't want to 'tell' me" where Lawrence calls my bluff on what he sees as a pretence that we aren't in a hierarchical role situation where my job is to tell him that it is his job to do evaluation. He is overtly noting the transactional nature of evaluation as he sees it – situating it entirely within the market logic – while also highlighting the corporate logic which we are both effectively operating within as well.

What are they neglecting or exiting from?

As well as who they were responding to: whether me as evaluation Critical Friend, or Frances as manager or 'management' or 'the organisation' the question of what was causing the problem is also relevant. My focus was on responses to evaluation requirements and activities, but evaluation was just one element of a complex set of activities they were expected to do, many overlapping. As one of the Associate Artists put it much later:

> It wasn't really about you or about evaluation, it was just one more
> thing we were being expected to **do**, on top of everything else…
> (Informal conversation with Associate Artist, 22/3/17).

The sense of discontinuity of line between what the artists were told was the priority of evaluation – and specifically creative evaluation and what the underlying messages were is summed up by the ambition given in the workshop on 'what is Creative Evaluation' (see figure 8 below) compared to the reality of priority the 1-2-1 sessions (the core of my work with the artists) were given.

Figure 8: Artist's answering 'What is Creative Evaluation?' – 12/6/13 (photo: author)

This is brilliantly illustrated by the sense of evaluation being squeezed in between everything else in the excerpt below:

Moment 5: Not enough time

> ...I was supposed to have my regular 1-2-1 meetings with the artists today, Got email from Frances first thing saying it could start earlier as the 'Research Project work', which they do with Judith, was shorter, told to come in at 11.30.

> I rushed in and arrived at 11.30, on arrival Frances wasn't there, everyone seemed stressed, I waited –and Frances arrived, said it was "all over the place, disorganised", she seemed annoyed and said that I should see Jevan – he was meeting Lawrence so we should chat in the kitchen. When I arrived Jevan was making coffee and immediately

offered me one, he was more chilled but usually is. I waited, he and Lawrence were clearly in the middle of meeting.

Frances came and said "You have a 1-2-1 with Ruth"

Jevan: "We need to go to the session with Judith"

Frances: "Not til 12, it is running late"

We looked at watches, it was 11.45, both Jevan and I were amused that she thought 15 mins was adequate, then Mandy appeared looking really cross and said "You are aware there is a meeting now in the auditorium?"

More looking at watches, then Frances said "Well you can do the 1-2-1 on the way up there"

Jev and I talked briefly on way up to auditorium – he started by saying "It's not that I don't want to see you but I have to do …. [some course/club for Lawrence] as he is busy"

When we reached auditorium Mandy was waiting outside. I asked if she had time after for a 1-2-1. She was clearly annoyed but not with me – said "it didn't help Frances getting cross with everyone"

Not sure what's going on but clearly Frances had a go at everyone about not fixing meetings with me – not putting time aside. It doesn't seem to actually be helping: They've been at pains to make clear that it isn't me, it's lack of time

Lawrence said: It's not that it isn't useful, or that I don't appreciate your input, I just haven't had time to action the last meeting's agreements

Managed to do a 'proper' 1-2-1 with Mandy, today – that's all, 1 out of 5… (Excerpt from Fieldnotes 3/7/12).

In the sector, evaluation is often characterised as an 'add-on', extra to the 'main business' of delivery, so tends to be the first thing to drop. This wasn't supposed to be true for the Experimental Communities evaluation, which was 'creative' and 'built into' the delivery of the programme, but the examples above show this wasn't always followed and thus evaluation came to be seen as the breaking point in terms of workload.

In terms of the responses around writing the reports, an examination of the context of the situation shows that what could be likened to 'box-ticking' is actually a logical response to the situation. The Associate Artists are being told in words that they should do a full evaluation, which draws on their practice and reflects fully on the project, that it should also be creative which requires the input of creative effort. Inevitably this will take more time than the minimal approach. The moments reflected above were simply the culmination of an ongoing discussion held in Experimental Communities meetings, which included a long debate on 'who is the audience?' for the evaluation, which all the artist later reflected was never satisfactorily answered for them. If the audience is Firstsite, then what is it they want? As Lawrence again sums up neatly:

> does FS really want an evaluation of the structural problems with Exp Comms?
>
> i get the feeling it doesnt'.
>
> we've raised many of the difficulties during Associate Artist meetings
>
> i've spoken to [the director] about some of them and he interpreted the cause of problems v differently to me.
>
> benefit of a full and thorough evaluation of strengths & weaknesses:
>
> - allows FS to improve on Exp Comms and Ass Artist scheme
>
> risks of a full and thorough evaluation of strengths & weaknesses:
>
> - FOR ME, it makes my future working relationship with FS difficult (eg when i need references, support for funding applications to Arts Council)
>
> - FOR LEARNING TEAM it is too personal or painful for Learning Team to absorb and act upon
>
> …what i mean is ... the evaluation, to be useful, is not the written report, it's how the ideas can be implemented in the organisation. so writing the report, one needs to be aware of how the report will be received.

dunno. that's just my current feeling (extract from email: 3/10/13).

Although expressed most clearly by Lawrence, this was a theme that arose with all of the Associate Artists, the tension of a sense of lack of clarity over requirements exhibiting as a cynical shutting down of creative engagement with the process and the decision to do the least difficult, least time consuming thing. Mandy and Beth had wanted to use Prezi as the format for their evaluation report, this was initially questioned as lacking critique by Frances, and they quickly fell into producing a very standard word heavy report format despite agreeing that it wouldn't work for sharing with their stakeholders, the young people's group YAK. Elaine expressed her view that 'the blog' she was writing was her evaluation various times. Similarly to Mandy and Beth this was seen as lacking critique (in both cases it did, but that was down to the content, not the format or structure) and quickly she reverted to doing a word based report although she did use a lot more pictures than would be usual as her way of keeping a distance from appearing totally compliant.

Elaine was very clear from early on in the writing process that she just needed to be told what the requirements were so she could do what was asked. They were positioning evaluation as a requirement as Lawrence later put it:

> In terms of evaluation I thought, you know, this was clear from the beginning that evaluation was part of it so we can't, you know, can't complain about having to do it now. (From Interview)

This was in contrast to my brief, and what the Associate Artists were verbally being told for the entire period of the project to do 'a creative evaluation'. They were never overtly told they couldn't do one, but they were placed in the situation where it wasn't a feasible option over and over again. Lawrence gives a clear explanation for why these moves happened for him, which is likely to mirror the experience of others,

he talked about a suggestion he had about threading story-telling through the reporting and said that he suggested it to Judith who fed back some hesitancy and "that was just enough to make another job move up the list..." (Interview) – the tone there was of retrospective regret that an opportunity for good artistic practice was lost, but recognising that at the time, this just wasn't the place he was in, he was so cynical that anything but enthusiasm from above would potentially indicate a block down the line, so what was the point. Jevan and Elaine both expressed a similar sense of regret that they didn't take the opportunity that was being offered them to do a different sort of evaluation.

Stepping back one more step from the close inspection of Associate Artist responses, and Firstsite core staff's role in this, the role and language of the funder is another factor in the context. Although 'creative evaluation' was written into the bid, and remained a required part of the Experimental Communities project for its duration, in reality the messages were more mixed. In a Nov 2012 phone conversation with the funder's project officer (effectively the conduit of information from funder to Firstsite), updating her on the evaluation I outlined the early ideas of the format of this 'Creative Evaluation' and how the artists planned on reporting. I focussed on the creative approaches to sharing learning that were emerging at the time: for example Mandy wanted to do something performance related, I explained that we knew there had to be a record, for example it could be filmed, but emphasised how interesting an approach that would be. Although she said 'great' she then added: "to go with the evaluation report you mean?" (phone call 22/11/12).

I explained that the plan was that this would *be* the evaluation: that the idea was the artists would evaluate the projects through these 'creative approaches' where the

evaluation was built into the project delivery. She said again "great, alongside the evaluation report these will be really great" (from phone call 22/11/12).

I did query a bit further, but it was clear that she couldn't imagine them, so I decided we needed an explanatory report, which would list planned deliverables and outcomes – and show where they were evidenced through the main part of the evaluation – which would be the artists' pieces. By the end this had developed into the part of the report which Frances wrote, with the artists' pieces as 'appendices' – for the interim report, though they were upgraded to parts of one of the chapters for the final. Still they were 5.3-5.7, out of 6 chapters, and included through a url link - although this was due to size. Frances's overarching report – initially conceived as a signpost to the 'main' reports of the artists was 33 pages long, excluding appendices.

The artists correctly identified that in a lot of cases the talk of creative approaches to evaluation turns into rhetoric once the priorities of operating a grant and deliverables come into action. The trustees of the funder no doubt genuinely wanted a creative evaluation, the Head of Education at Firstsite did, the Director at very least liked the idea. But as these wishes move down the organisations the initial aim can be lost.

A market logic response to a corporate logic levering in professional, state and family logics as required

Although the wider context does make the artists' actions much more understandable, looked at within the traditional organisational control – reaction binary view, these are 'exit' (Hirschman, 1970), 'neglect' (Farrell, 1983) or 'refusal' (Fleming & Spicer, 2007) strategies of the artists responding to organisational control by leaving the situation: opting out of making decisions about how to improve the problem or change working conditions. If the worker actually leaves, this can be constructive for

them, but staying while effectively absenting oneself – as happened in this case as all the Associate Artists did have to complete an evaluation report - is not a logical position: you are still in the setting, still having to carry out the requirement, but not having any say in what you are doing and not producing good work. In this model the Associate Artists are characterised as effectively illogical beings, acting against their own best interests: neither leaving the process completely nor taking some control in changing it. Using an institutional logics framework to peel away this common sense understanding focussing on the actions taken as static points: the management 'does', the artists 'responds', we can explore the underlying set of value logics, which both moves the artists from being powerless recipients of control and I'll argue below, allows a different approach to evaluation which can sidestep these clashes.

Viewed from a logics framework, in most of the examples above, the artists are acting within a market logic: evaluation is a transaction, you have to do it to finish the required work, it is 'part of the job' and needed to show you've done your job. The sources of authority in terms of evaluation move from peer appreciation, as would be the case in their art, to whatever requirements are laid down by funders, the control mechanisms are me as evaluation advisor, Frances as project manager, rather than what other artists might think. In Moments 3 & 4 the conversation quickly turns to a sense of how to get the work done as efficiently as possible, in order to fulfil these requirements, which are seen as passed down (by me or by Firstsite) from some faceless controlling force – 'the funder'.

The operation of this logic, these responses, are actually supporting the self-interest of the artists. Guarding them from a Firstsite operating within a corporate logic which doesn't have the Associate Artists' individual interests at heart, but instead focusses

on the growth and survival of the organisation. However, it is more than a simple clash between the two logics: the different parties lever in additional logics to help legitimise their stance.

Within these examples, the artists frame Firstsite as acting within a corporate logic – usually personified by me or a member of staff. Despite rhetoric and good intentions, the pressures of delivery and funding mean that effectively Firstsite does act within a corporate logic: the artists may be told to do 'creative evaluation' but they aren't given the time or support for this as moment 5 sums up, evaluation is squeezed into short sessions when other things come up. The artists are stretched for time, and evaluation is placed on the list of things needed, but there's no real differentiation of response from management based on how creative the evaluation is: in fact often the opposite is true. Early versions of more creative approaches: Mandy and Beth's prezi, Lawrence's ideas, Elaine's blog based approach are not given the time they need. Creative approaches do take more time, partly based on the fact that they by definition are new, are being created. They also take more interpretation and support for the reader as they will challenge expectations, so they are risky. It is also harder to judge quality when you can't compare quickly to an existing model.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the ways in which the Associate Artists responded to evaluation requirements in ways initially categorised as petty misbehaviours and passive resistance, forms of 'exit' and 'neglect' responses (Farrell and Rusbult, 1992). Analysing them again using the adapted institutional logics framework, developed in Chapter Four, I show that rather than being dyadic management action, artist response through exit or neglect, in fact the moments represent clashes between different logics

that both artists and management in Firstsite are operating within. The artists use a market logic in response to the perceived prevalence of the corporate logic from Firstsite, also mobilising elements of the family and community logics to support their position. This isn't a simple action-reaction process, but a group of people operating within a complex set of logics both responding to and in turn mobilising additional logics to gain some agency in the situation. The 'misbehaviours' and 'passive resistances' are logical within the market logic where artists each have different and changing goals, and these change with the changing goals and needs of Firstsite. Under the market logic's transactional imperative, efficiency in doing what is needed – not just in this job but in life in general - is paramount, and understanding responses requires one to take a broader view than the corporate logic with its focus on organisational benefit gives.

In Chapter Six I move on to considering another set of 'moments', these grouped loosely around when the artists used voice as a response. Again, the re-evaluation of an initial labelling of the responses using the adapted logics framework gives a new insight into the complexity of the responses and actions of artists and management.

Chapter Six: Whose voice is it anyway?: Artists use professional logic to resist a corporate and curatorial logics

Introduction

Chapters One and Two set out the context of this study and identified that further research is needed within the literature on evaluation in the arts, in particular the role of arts organisations as mediators of the requirement to evaluate and as loci of evaluation practice, and how this affects the logics of evaluation, and the response of artists to evaluation. Chapter Three outlined my use of an embedded critical action research ethnographic study over two years within Firstsite's Experimental Communities programme to explore the interaction of evaluation requirements and practice for socially engaged artists working in publicly funded arts settings. In Chapter Four I developed an adaptation of the Institutional Logics Perspective's logic framework from the ideal type model to one specifically adapted to the publicly funded arts sector, and to the profession of the socially-engaged artist using my professional practice and my fieldwork in Firstsite as the focus, but producing a model that could be used across the sector. Chapter Five reflected on five 'jarring moments' when the artists involved in Experimental Communities responded to the evaluation at first view using 'exit' or 'neglect' responses of petty misbehaviours and passive resistance. Revisiting these moments through the lens of the adapted institutional logics framework led to a different understanding of the complexity in action. The artists were responding to Firstsite's evaluation requirement being framed within the corporate logic with use of market logics and family and community logics.

This section explores the jarring moments relating to Hirschman's 'voice' response to evaluation. In these, the Associate Artists challenge the assumptions of the

organisation as to appropriate methods within evaluation, timing and location of evaluation within their projects and whose values count in evaluation. Viewed through the lens of the Institutional Logics Perspective, these moments are shown to be clashes between the professional logic (on the part of the artists) with a corporate logic on the part of the organisation, however neither of these logics stands alone. In some cases the artists respond to the organisation's use of the curatorial logic to counter the artists' legitimacy, in others the state logic is used. The artists respond with use of the community or curatorial logic to bolster their position.

Voice is the most empowered response within Hirschman's model of responses to organisational control and decline as workers "kick up a fuss" (Hirschman, 1970, p. 30) by for example forming trade unions and other worker collectives. Further developing Hirschman's ideas in Spicer and Fleming's view of voice as a 'face of resistance', 'voice' is a resistance to 'manipulation', a struggle around inactivity with the focus of the struggle being what is *not* to be done. An example given is of attempts by management to ensure employees do not deviate from particular management regulations and protocols (Fleming and Spicer, 2007, p. 59). By analogy, within Experimental Communities, Firstsite wants to be seen as a committed employer of artists, ***as artists***, on the payroll, and as engaging in high quality and creative evaluation. The artists rightly identify that at times this is an aspiration rather than a reality and use their own skills to call this to account, seeking to gain access to power by "supplant[ing] and replac[ing] those in authority with an alternative set of organising principles" (Zizek 2004, quoted in Fleming and Spicer, 2007, p. 35)

During the course of the fieldwork there were numerous examples of jarring moments linked to 'voice', times when artists sought to question, clarify or challenge the

dominant values within and around evaluation within the organisation. Viewed from the Institutional Logics Perspective framework, these moments represented overall a clash when the artists were operating with a professional logic which clashed with the organisation falling into a corporate logic. However this was rarely such a simple clash, as both artists and Firstsite mobilised additional logics to legitimise their stances and strengthen their core logic. This chapter explores two particular examples of this: the mobilisation by the artists of a community logic to support their professional logic; and Firstsite's mobilisation of a state or a curatorial logic to support the corporate.

Professional and Community Logics counter Corporate Logic

In the examples in this section, the artists mobilise a community logic to support their professional logic to counter a prevailing corporate logic within Firstsite

Moment 6: Who controls the project?

Despite the many jarring moments noted, and petty misdemeanours and moments of cynicism discussed above, direct conflict between Associate Artists and Firstsite management were extremely rare. However both Jevan and Lawrence came into direct conflict with Firstsite management over control of the project – in both cases in a very similar way.

In the case of Lawrence, it was part of the turf twinning project, linked to Greenstead Street. The project was run in partnership with Voices4Greenstead (V4G), the local resident action group supported by the social housing company in the area. Over the course of the project V4G members had become very confident in their ownership of

Figure 9: Children from a local primary school cutting a turf from Salary Brook (above) and the turf arriving back at school (below) during the third Turf Twinning (photos: Lawrence Bradby)

turf-twinning and spoke very eloquently about the aims of the project which were about using the exchanging of a circle of turf from one part of the town to another as an emblem, and perhaps a real moment of sharing between two groups or two communities. The level of ownership became clear to me during a focus group of a range of project participants/leaders which I held to support the evaluation, one of the members explained the project – which she called "Twin Turfing" to other slightly bemused project participants from other strands. She acknowledged that:

> It's a weird thing to do … and it's going from strength to strength. It's a weird thing to do and that's what gets people interested. (in meeting at Firstsite – from artist notes, Oct 2013)

She explained that it was something she and friends had come to be really attached to, and that she visited the small circle of Firstsite turf in the middle of a Greenstead field which was the first of the twinnings. By the end of this explanation the other project participants were thoroughly on board with the idea and had suggested other places to 'twin with'.

Figure 10: The 'twinned turf' now in situ in Magnolia Field (from Turf Twinning leaflet)

Around this time, the group had decided they wanted to twin some turf from a

particular part of Greenstead – the leafy Salary Brook area on the east side – with a

location in middle class Lexden on the west of Colchester. What happened next is

best described by Lawrence in his evaluation of the project:

> June 2013: A Moment When Views Diverge
>
> We are gathered in Claire's kitchen: Claire …, Debbie …, Jevan
> Watkins Jones, Lawrence Bradby. AH is on the other end of the phone,
> about to set off for the location which he and Claire have agreed to twin
> with Salary Brook. (AH was uneasy about publicising this location so
> we have not written it down). I (Lawrence) report on the phone call a
> few days earlier with …[CG], the businessman who owns the fields
> immediately to the east of Salary Brook. Claire and I are inclined to go
> ahead with the twinning regardless. Jevan and Debbie feel strongly that
> we should not. We talk for nearly an hour, presenting our different
> positions and arguing for different ways to proceed. This is a golden
> moment. There is urgency to each person's position and there is a
> necessity to decide, since AH is waiting on the other side of town. At
> the same time there is patience and tolerance: we want to allow
> whoever is speaking to articulate their position. Floating above us, like
> some malevolent household god, I imagine the huge tweedy face of the
> landowner: a combination of Beethoven, Marx and Michael Heseltine.
> The influence of this disembodied face is curiously positive; by bearing
> down upon us with disdain on his waxy forehead, he forces a
> productive conversation.
>
> July 2013: A Moment of Pressure
>
> We are meeting in the café at firstsite: Debbie …, Jevan Watkins Jones,
> Lawrence Bradby and Frances, firstsite Learning Officer.

> We are discussing how to proceed with the planned Turf Twinning
> between Salary Brook and Colchester Academy. The landowner, [CG]
> had said he did not want to discuss any notion of celebrating land as it
> was 'peculiar and weird' and 'smacked of public ownership' [14]
> Debbie was offended by CG's high- handed attitude, but she also felt
> sure that if we explained in more detail he might re- consider our plans.
> It seemed as though the discussion described in A Moment When
> Views Diverge might lead to a shift in the direction of Turf Twinning.
> The project might develop into a research-driven activity, finding out
> about the ownership and regulation of land which Greenstead residents
> used regularly (Magnolia Field, Salary Brook footpaths, and other
> places) Previously, and in response to the discussion described in A
> Moment When Views Diverge, the three of us working at firstsite
> (Lawrence, [learning officer and Head of Learning]) had met to work
> out a number of routes by which to communicate with CG. At the
> meeting in the café, however, it appeared to me that Frances put
> pressure on Debbie not to make contact with CG. Frances said,
> 'There's these twinnings you've set up already. If you start trying to
> meet up with this man it'll just take you away from achieving the
> twinnings.' (Bradby and Watkins Jones, 2014, pp. 29–30)

This experience was similar to a challenge over the use of Magnolia Field (the large

field at the centre of the estate) for both a local festival organised by V4G, supported

by the Street project, and over the placing of a plaque commemorating the first turf-

twinning there.

The background to these moments, lies in the perception, history and local stories of

the area:[19] a number of residents told the artists about a covenant believed to have

been written by CG, the farmer who sold the land on which the estate is built to

Colchester Borough Council. This document, they were told,

> specifies that Magnolia Field had been 'given to the people of
> Colchester not to the Council; and that means they can't build homes
> on it.' Members of Voices4Greenstead told us about this because they

---

[19] Greenstead is a large estate, built in the 1960s on the eastern edge of Colchester almost entirely in
one go from land bought from one landowner. It had a very negative reputation in the past and is still
seen relatively negatively and part of the aim of Voices4Greenstead was to counter the reputation of
the estate. The landowner who sold the land is currently in negotiations to have further land allocated
for a new 'Garden Town' development of around 10,000 homes to the east of Greenstead and this
scheme was being mooted in 2013 when this discussion took place.

felt that the Council was being obstructive over Greenstead Village Festival, even though, as the residents understood it 'That field is our field. We shouldn't have to ask permission to use it.'" (Bradby and Watkins Jones, 2014, p. 31)

Lawrence identifies that: "In this situation we (LB, JWJ) are participating in two completely different systems of authority and ownership. The residents we collaborated with wanted an ownership system based on use, tradition and local lore. These residents felt at ease with making minor material changes to Magnolia Field. They were aware that to do so might provoke a confrontation with the Council but they were facing the same situation on a larger scale with Greenstead Village Festival.

The firstsite management, as one would expect, adhered to a system that operated through the established institutions of the Council and other statutory authorities.

While prepared to discuss things in private, the firstsite management was reluctant to act in a way which challenged the Council's management of green spaces in Greenstead. And, naturally, it was reluctant for us to act in this way, even if it was consistent with the collaborative practices that we central to our work. This raises the question of where we (LB, JWJ) were situated in relation to firstsite: inside, outside, liminal?" (pp31-32 Street report as above)

Following this – and not fully recorded in the evaluation report for reasons discussed in Chapter Five above – Lawrence ended up in a period of conflict with Frances, the project manager, which as reflected above, affected his view of the limitations of Firstsite, given it was an organisation with all that entails, and of his ability to be an artist and within it.

The conflict initially was framed by Frances as her role in considering practicalities, versus artists getting carried away and following one lead or another. She placed the debate firmly within a transactional focus of herself ensuring the project actually ends at the appropriate time, with "enough" twinnings, as opposed to Lawrence not taking practicalities into account and just wanting to follow ideas wherever they led.

Her framing of it clearly situates her thinking within a corporate and market set of logics: needing to support Firstsite's interests in not overspending in time, and having a completed project, along with market need to ensure 'enough' art is done with a view that a certain number of twinnings were needed. During my first discussion with Lawrence about this, I assumed he was talking about the authorship of the project: that he felt the project manager was interfering in an artistic decision on direction of the project. He was noting this, but it became clear – and is stated clearly in his later write up, that in fact his conflict came more from protecting the ownership of V4G than of his own. As he further reflects in the discussions over Magnolia Field, in fact he is operating from a community logic, where the sources of legitimacy are trust and reciprocity, and of identity are emotional connection and his personal investment in the group is what will be valued. In this case, as laid out in Table 6.1 below, this aligns with the professional logic which gains status from its relational aspects and from myths and stories of artists and how they challenge norms.

Table 6.1: Mapping of the logics behind 'Who controls the project?'

Categories	Institutional Orders						
	Family	**Community**	**Religion**	**State**	**Market**	**Profession**	**Corporation**
Logic Type	Affiliative	Associative	Aesthetic	Redistributive	Transactional	Relational	Instrumental
Sources of legitimacy	Putting family first	Trust and reciprocity	Producing 'real art'	Democratic participation in art	Reputational Capital	Personal expertise	Market position of organisation
Sources of authority	Relative Role in family	Commitment to community values and ideology	Charisma – of critics, curators, the art community	Co-produced assumption that state rules are valid and thus should be obeyed	Funder Requirements	Peer appreciation	Board of trustees, senior management
Sources of identity	Role in Family	Emotional connection and reputation	Association with 'artists' and galleries	Social Class	Faceless	Being an artist	Bureaucratic roles
Basis of norms	Membership in Household	Group membership	Acceptance of 'the Canon'	Accepting social responsibility	Self interest	Accepting Myths and stories of artist identity	Employment in firm.
Basis of attention	Being a good parent/partner/child	Personal investment in group	Reviews from certain critics, curators	Status of Interest Group	Status in Market	Status in profession	Status in hierarchy
Basis of strategy	Make life more secure and meaningful for family	Increase status of members and practices	Increase acceptance of this particular approach to art as being 'the norm'	Increase community good	Increase efficiency and return on investment	Increase reputation of your art and socially engaged art in general	Increase size and diversification of organisation
Informal control mechanisms	Family politics	Visibility of actions	Critics, reviews	Backroom politics	Consultants and Evaluators	Myth and Stories - Notoriety	Organisation culture
Construction of Evaluation	Extra work – taking you away from family time.	Way to ensure you are delivering the best you can to and with the community	Impossible and undesirable	Obligation to show difference made to the public good with public money	Transaction to evidence efficiency and return	Learn from your work and share learning	Part of your job so as to support the organisation

Within this table, Lawrence and Jevan's logical categories are coloured in dark red, Firstsite's position – implied through the actions of Frances or management – in pale blue[20]

Jevan's example included a similar clash of logics. During the planning for the

exhibition Facing Recovery, which showcased the work of the soldiers that emerged

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[20] In B&W printing these should show as dark with white text (Associate Artist) and light grey with black text (Firstsite)

from the Garrison Project, Jevan as the Associate Artist leading the project initially assumed that the work of the soldiers belonged to the soldiers themselves. He spent considerable effort thinking about how to describe his role in the process, as he curated the exhibition, but the actual artwork of the project wasn't the artefacts in the exhibition, but the relationships and co-production of the work that arose through these relationships. We later discussed this in depth in a conference paper which grew from this conundrum. What he hadn't considered was the right of the soldiers to claim ownership of the work. In fact, the Ministry of Defence (MOD) initially assumed they had the right to vet every piece of work shown publicly, with the clear understanding that they probably wouldn't approve some (presumably if they were felt to go against the interests of the MOD – not just if they contained state secrets). The director of Firstsite became involved in this discussion and responded by agreeing to all the MOD's demands. This completely fits with his positioning within the corporate logic, thinking of Firstsite's long term interest (not wanting to get into what could be a tricky conflict in public terms, and wanting to secure longer term relationships for future work), and assuming that as Director he had the right – through seniority of position – to make this commitment.

This is problematic for an artist, through the professional logic, as there is an understanding that the authorial voice gives them rights beyond their place in the hierarchy at least to be heard (indeed, it is extremely unlikely that the director would have agreed to anything with the Garrison without consulting the artist involved if that artist was an outside artist being shown at Firstsite, rather than someone on the staff team). Effectively Jevan's personal expertise as an artist, was not being seen as a source of authority.

By this point, all the Associate Artists were ground down by the situation so Jevan might not have contested the demands too much if it were simply a question of him ignoring the perspective of the professional logic: he could have returned into the corporate logic of just doing his job and accepting the hierarchy and organisational culture of Firstsite. However in this case, there was another logic at play which was stronger in influence. The exhibition was specifically designed to meet the soldier participants' main aim for the project, which was to explain to others what being a solider meant, being heard and seen by the 'people of Colchester'. This had been a request from the beginning and features in the aims for the recovery centre as well as aims for at least two of the soldiers I spoke to. Thus Jevan had an extra role than artist/curator, through his work which was specifically about using drawing as a basis for dialogue and sharing, he had moved himself into a position where he had the obligation (as well as wish) to act as the advocate for the soldiers within Firstsite. One of the soldiers in particular raised the issue and felt aggrieved about what he saw as another incursion of distant members of the MOD into his life (his experience of MOD support in recovery wasn't great). Jevan discussed the situation at length with me, he had personal concerns in pushing this as it impacted on his time (all his work for the exhibition was at fixed cost and the allotted time was quickly used up, effectively any negotiation was extra time) and on his future relationship with Firstsite, remains a major source of household income for his family. The professional logic, played out in his right to authorial voice, was at this point definitely secondary to the community logic, arising from his membership of the group of participant soldiers, his sense of commitment to community values providing the authority to act against his employer and the fact that he was basing actions on trust and reciprocity giving him legitimacy to act.

This personal investment in the group, and the actions he took to increase the status of the practices of the group, and the visibility of the group, were recurrent themes in the soldiers' discussion of Jevan and his work. Every single one mentioned his commitment, the actions he'd taken, and the way in which he placed their interests first (along with teasing about his arty ways and ideas which again speaks to group membership).

In these two examples, the Associate Artists mobilise the community logic to support or run alongside the professional logic in countering their perception of a corporate logic operating within Firstsite. Although in neither case was the artist entirely successful – the Salary Brook turf twinning was left with V4G to take forward if they wanted and without direct support from paid artists the project drifted, all work in the exhibition was vetted (and approved) by the MOD – the mobilisation of the community logic changed the response of Firstsite as an organisation. Management did recognise that the issues weren't as simple as originally put forward, and for example during the launch of the exhibition the director explicitly noted Jevan's artistic expertise and the role of the soldiers as artists.

State logic used to support Corporate logic against Professional logic

In the next 'moment', the Associate Artist's challenge to evaluation models which are framed within the professional logic, is countered by Firstsite through mobilisation of a state logic to support the corporate logic.

Moment 7: Elaine clashes over data gathering

In a three-way meeting about Elaine's project, (Frances, me and Elaine), we got onto the subject of how Elaine should find out the audience's response. Frances pushed

increasingly strongly for some sort of direct questioning of them, while Elaine

resisted in a range of different ways:

> Frances: I wonder if as part of the evaluation we should ask someone
> who is taking part in Holly's thing... with the pebbles. Getting
> somebody external ... what they thought ...
> Ruth: I think it would be good to find out what they all think
> Frances: and if we don't ask them we'll never know, we'll just be
> grappling at it... but if it's not useful we don't have to use it
> Elaine: we can't ask those people, it's a bit awkward, they're just trying
> to do an art activity and after everyone choses grab them an go "by the
> way, what do you think of that"
> Frances [talking over her] You just choose three people
> Elaine: why did you do it? why did you stop? how do you feel about it?
> [interrogating voice]
> Frances: it's about doing it as a chat, informally, isn't it? [appealing to
> Ruth]

> Ruth: have a chat about it... i reckon you should try having a chat
> Elaine: what do you really think they are going to say though? "yeah it
> was good, i enjoyed doing it" what are they really going to say that's
> going to add to it.
> Ruth: I would ask them about ...
> Frances: well find out and see, that's what you think they are going to
> say but you might get something more valuable
> Frances: it's really interesting for you and how you engage with people.
> To have a dialogue with the public isn't generally how you've been
> doing this. You put things in front of people and see. I think this would
> be you testing something too
> Elaine: you just want to put me in an awkward position don't you,
> Frances
> Frances: go on, you can do it Elaine [both tongue in cheek - but there
> are undertones of truth/belief there] (excerpts from meeting transcript)

Elaine's range of reasons not to do it could be characterised – as she and Frances do –

as some sort of lack of confidence in her ability to do it, but further questioning

brought out a more complex set of reasons which are there in her initial sarcastic

characterisation: the value of the work lies in its entire structure. You are approached

by Holly and asked if you want to take part in:

SELECTED BRITISH PEBBLES

A Celebration of Aesthetic Superiority

By artist Holly English

As Holly explains the project: 'The shortlist has come out of a culmination of over five years of research, and now a public vote will decide which single pebble receives the accolade of the archetypal modern British pebble against which all future pebbles will be measured. Come and have your say and join in the vote on Tuesday 30th April in the Mosaic Space, firstsite, Colchester.'" (from press release April 2013)

You are shown 24 pebbles, which comprise the shortlist, and asked to choose your favourite. Holly found that people really engaged with the idea, discussing their reasons for the choice and at times having heated conversations with their friends about which to choose and why.

Figure 11: Visitors interacting with Selected British Pebbles April 2013: photo Elaine Trimley

Mapping the different assumptions, beliefs and practices visible in the discussion above and practices it represented against the adapted logics grid (Table 6.2 below) allows us to spot multiple logics being mobilised.

Table 6.2: Mapping of the logics behind 'Elaine clashes over data gathering'

Categories	Institutional Orders						
	Family	**Community**	**Religion**	**State**	**Market**	**Profession**	**Corporation**
Logic Type	Affiliative	Associative	Aesthetic	Redistributive	Transactional	Relational	Instrumental
Sources of legitimacy	Putting family first	Trust and reciprocity	Producing 'real art'	Democratic participation in art	Reputational Capital	Personal expertise	Market position of organisation
Sources of authority	Relative Role in family	Commitment to community values and ideology	Charisma – of critics, curators, the art community	Co-produced assumption that state rules are valid and thus should be obeyed	Funder Requirements	Peer appreciation	Board of trustees, senior management
Sources of identity	Role in Family	Emotional connection and reputation	Association with 'artists' and galleries	Social Class	Faceless	Being an artist	Bureaucratic roles
Basis of norms	Membership in Household	Group membership	Acceptance of 'the Canon'	Accepting social responsibility	Self interest	Accepting Myths and stories of artist identity	Employment in firm.
Basis of attention	Being a good parent/partner/child	Personal investment in group	Reviews from certain critics, curators	Status of Interest Group	Status in Market	Status in profession	Status in hierarchy
Basis of strategy	Make life more secure and meaningful for family	Increase status of members and practices	Increase acceptance of this particular approach to art as being 'the norm'	Increase public good	Increase efficiency and return on investment	Increase reputation of your art and socially engaged art in general	Increase size and diversification of organisation
Informal control mechanisms	Family politics	Visibility of actions	Critics, reviews	Backroom politics	Consultants and Evaluators	Myth and Stories - Notoriety	Organisation culture
Construction of Evaluation	Extra work – taking you away from family time.	Way to ensure you are delivering the best you can to and with the community	Impossible and undesirable	Obligation to show difference made to the public good with public money	Transaction to evidence efficiency and return	Learn from your work and share learning	Part of your job so as to support the organisation

Within this table, Elaine's Artist logical categories are coloured in dark red, Firstsite's position – implied through the actions of Frances – in pale blue.

Although Elaine's argument is mainly reflecting the professional logic: the assumption that her expertise can allow her to understand the response through the design and practice, which shows through her experience and relationship with Holly. She also uses elements of the curatorial logic, her argument that approaching

someone after that experience – which is complete in itself - to ask questions about it would affect the sense of the experience. This reflects the curatorial logic position that the value lying in the location of the work, in a gallery, via a curator, the basis of attention being in terms of reviews from peers (in this case Elaine as she is the curator of Holly's work), not feedback from public.

Frances counters this verbally not with a corporate logic (you have to do what I say as I am your manager), but more of a state one, a sense that the legitimacy of a piece of work lies in its democratic nature – that a range of people should receive value from it, whatever that be. Asking the public about their experience values them and assumes evaluation is linked to an obligation to show the difference to the public good made with public money.

However, looking a bit further, Frances's words are not the only telling part of the conversation. Her presence and role within the conversation are also important. This was a 1-2-1 session, which all the other Associate Artists did with me alone – or as a pair if they worked on the strand together. Frances attended Sitting Room 1-2-1s as she was officially part of the delivery of the Strand since it involved changing the way in which different departments of Firstsite worked together. Effectively I was placing her with Elaine as a co-recipient of evaluation support, in the same way that Mandy and Beth for Airlock, and Lawrence and Jevan for Greenstead Street met with me as a pair. In practice, that wasn't the role she took, and this was noted at this particular meeting when after Frances left (called away to another meeting) Elaine said: "Why do I have to have Frances at my meetings? Everyone else gets to see you alone."

Frances in the excerpt above, is using her role in the organisation to ensure that Elaine

does the right sort of evaluation, she also involved me and used me to reinforce her

view and authority. This is important as Frances was neither the evaluation expert,

nor the artist, but the project manager, the person whose job it was to ensure the

project was carried out to the needs of the organisation and the funder requirements:

for this reason as noted above she became the purveyor of the corporate logic, and in

this case mobilised a state logic of the rights of the public to have a say as part of this,

but within her role as above Elaine in the hierarchy of Firstsite and particularly of

Experimental Communities.

I gradually realised that Elaine wasn't actually scared to ask people questions, as

implied by them both, but had an artistic objection to it which fitted within her

practice, after pushing her for a further ten minutes or so, Elaine explained:

> Elaine: I don't want to take away the simplicity of the project, and how nice it is. it seems like for the same of bloody evaluation you're pushing something to its limits when really it's a neat and sorted and contemporary... I feel like [the Firstsite Senior Curator] right now [very precious about her exhibitions, usually not someone Associate Artists would aspire to] like "lay off the talk, let me put the art out there". But I think that there is a huge value in expression and body language, can you not build a picture of how people enjoy an activity by watching their reaction, does it have to be verbal?

> Ruth: [agrees] I think the question is: are you able to find out what you need to find out to get a sense of why Sitting Room worked without talking to people? If you can do this by another route than by asking questions then go for it. (Excerpt from meeting transcript)

With this statement, Elaine's approach to her art and thus a way of evaluating within

her practice became clearer to me. I 'switched sides' and according to Elaine later

> had a big argument with Frances about it which was hilarious, I was like a kid enjoying watching the adults fight with each other rather than get at me (Excerpt from Interview 17/7/15)

Elaine is actually using the professional logic within this example: she knows what the right way to approach the art is, in this case as a curator of Holly's art, but as part of her wider Sitting Room work which all took a similar approach. Her legitimacy in designing this is her personal experience, and she sees the value coming from peer appreciation, which in socially engaged art would require a strong engagement of the public with the work. It would be that engagement which would be needed to judge efficacy, not the feedback in words from participants afterwards. She also needs to protect the value of the artwork and give it the respect that other pieces of art would have in the gallery – with the experience coming first, any feedback about that experience not encroaching on the experience itself. This is needed to support the basis of strategy of the professional logic which is to increase the reputation of socially engaged art within the art world.

Frances's response of mobilising some elements of the state logic to support the corporate logic are mirrored in the final example in the moments around 'voice': the mobilisation by the organisation of a curatorial logic to add legitimacy to their use of the corporate logic.

Obviously in actual practice, this argument wasn't so clear – the recourse to a state and community logic appeared at different points, and on both sides there was a regular return to discussion sitting within the corporation logic: "it's your job to do it", "if you tell me to do it, I guess I have to do it". Although this was just one occasion, like many of the jarring moments, it represented the clear playing out of an underlying conflict that I didn't fully notice until that point. The other Associate Artists didn't have Frances so fully involved in their discussions about method, but what she represented was constantly raised, and looking back at many of the

discussions we had, this issue of the corporate logic being strengthened by recourse to state logic (summed up as 'public good' and 'for the public') was behind a lot of the issues Jacqueline had with method, as well as Mandy and Beth, and the way we ended up overcoming what began to seem a moral imperative – framing the need to give the audience voice through state logic terms – was by building research within the community logic (as well as professional logic) which allows us to consider public good, but from a much more clearly framed 'public' – the community of participants.

Curatorial logic mobilised to legitimise the Corporate logic in a clash with the Professional logic

In the two 'moments' described below, the Associate Artists use a professional logic to challenge Firstsite's mobilisation of a curatorial logic to support and legitimise the corporate logic. The question of the Associate Artists' legitimacy and voice as artists, as opposed to simply employees within the Firstsite hierarchy was a constant backdrop to all considerations during Experimental Communities: it affected the evaluation in that there was initial stress about what was (or wasn't) part of the job, but it also brought out some of the clashes which might otherwise have been subsumed into just getting the job done.

The clash between the Associate Artists and 'Firstsite' as an artistic entity centred in the attitude of the Senior Curator who came from a contemporary visual arts background, situated right within what I've characterised above as the curatorial logic. This contrasted with the Associate Artists who situated themselves within the Socially Engaged Arts world, or as participative artists. At the start of Experimental Communities, the Senior Curator was a relatively lone figure: important within the

hierarchy of the organisation and bringing a clear legitimacy to Firstsite in the eyes of some critics and potentially Arts Council England (a major funder), but more junior within the hierarchy, and corporate logic, and also within a professional logic than Kath Wood, the founding director, who is widely recognised as a curator herself. Kath valued Socially Engaged art, and the Associate Artists as artists, their appointment and Experimental Communities itself was set up within this logic.

With Kath's departure very early in the programme, the Senior Curator's role became more influential as initially there was no senior officer with more artistic experience than her, and later the new director made it clear he greatly valued her view, partly as he saw it as satisfying the Arts Council who were increasingly challenging Firstsite's performance. The Associate Artists, particularly Lawrence, noted this tension between the way in which they had been appointed – in a model that was at the time almost unique in a gallery setting of having artists, employed as artists on the payroll – and the way in which they were being valued within the job role. His piece of work for associative enquiries was about this tension, and that of artists working within a formal publicly funded arts organisation:

Moment 8: Artists on the Gallery Payroll

> Anecdote (LSB)
>
> Just here, you can see the line of a door that has been blocked up and plastered over. It connects this Learning Studio to the space beyond which is a gallery or a store room or a project space.
>
> I was organising a tour of the building as part of a national festival of architecture or design or dance. I requested that this door, which at the time was locked but not plastered over, be unlocked for half an hour.
>
> My request was communicated via the hierarchy of gallery decision-making. The answer came back: no.

> Some time later I again asked if the door could be unlocked. After this the door was blocked up. I did not have any direct conversations with the decision makers. (Bradby, 2013b, p. 2)

Written as part of his 'Artists On The Gallery Payroll' series (Bradby, 2013a), looking at the relationship between an institution and the artists that it employs, and performed at a discussion day as part of an alternative tour of the building, this excerpt sums up a lot of the issues felt by the Associate Artists in terms of their role within Firstsite. Although the 'regular pay check' was definitely valued by the Associate Artists at the time, they did feel they had a right to discuss the issues with and limitations of the model of their employment. In the example above, as in many other examples which arose during Experimental Communities, the Associate Artists came to see their role as not quite employees, but not quite 'artists' not having the sense that they would have their questions answered or suggestions taken seriously.

The fact of Lawrence deciding to put together a piece of work specifically discussing the role in this way, corroborates my sense of jarring around the artists' response to their roles. This piece of work felt challenging when first discussed. It wasn't blocked by the gallery, but was characterised as part of Lawrence's eccentricities – perhaps him being 'deliberately difficult' given how valuable (and unusual to him) the regular income was. Similarly Elaine's Associative Enquiries research pieces "Do not touch" and "How to behave in a Contemporary Art Gallery" (see Stewart., 2013) also question the self-promotion of Firstsite as an organisation that challenges the norms of traditional galleries.

The reality of this position between roles, and the way both Firstsite and the Associate Artists mobilised different logics to challenge and control the situation is illustrated through the farcical situation of Elaine's chairs:

Moment 9: Elaine's chairs

Elaine had wanted to get chairs in the gallery (for people to sit at to read the books and guides, for disabled or older people to rest in what is a huge space) since she arrived and discovered it was one of the most requested things by visitors. This seemingly innocuous suggestion had been thoroughly blocked by the Curator who didn't want seating anywhere in the (very large) gallery space.
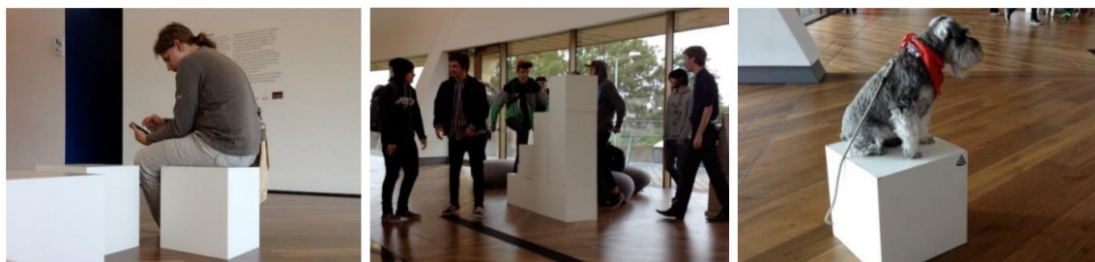

Figure 12: wifi cubes in action (photo: Elaine Tribley)

The first Sitting Room installation - wifi cubes - were basically wooden cubes, slightly lower than usual seat height with the idea that people could do what they wanted with them: build with them, rearrange them. In fact what they did was sit on them. The cubes were then removed at the 'end of the installation'. Elaine then made the second Sitting Room installation by turning the cubes into chess boards and accompanying seats – this was allowed for a short time – people used them for chess but also for sitting. During that time, one of the artists commissioned for the main gallery saw Elaine's cubes and how they were being used and commissioned cube cushions (pouffes) with her artwork on them as part of her show, they had parts of naked bodies on them, but nevertheless were very popular as seats, leading to the disconcerting experience of older people sitting on what was basically a naked bottom and legs with their shopping propped on the side. Later the Curator produced beanbags as part of one of her heavily curated shows which showed that she knew there was a need, but would never credit Elaine with any of the ideas, nor would she

allow chairs or any seating to be permanently placed. It had become such an issue that when a pregnant gallery assistant was given a chair I commented on it joking about her getting a special favour and she said it had required her to raise Occupational Health concerns to get one, and that the Curator had said she had to carry it with her as she moved around the gallery so it didn't affect the overall feel of the space.

This wasn't the only absurd example: when a group of older people with some mobility issues came to the gallery as a key part Printed Yarns (discussed further in Chapter Seven), because it was a long way from one end of the gallery to the other (and there were no chairs) people had to walk along behind them with chairs so they could sit down from time to time. I missed this but it was described as almost worthy of being a performance piece – a comic recreation of a royal progress. Even despite this, organisation culture acted as an informal control mechanism to prevent discussion and change.

Elaine repeatedly raised the issue of seating with the Curating team, and kept us up to date as part of her work (her project was about the gallery itself, hence her role here). It became emblematic of the sense of powerlessness that the Associate Artists had with respect to the gallery space, and the lack of recognition that they had as artists from the Curator.

When, finally, some chairs appeared in the gallery we all congratulated Elaine, who'd given up trying to push it months before. Table 6.3 below maps out where the responses and actions of Elaine and Firstsite (mostly operating via the Curator) sit within different logics.

Table 6.3: Mapping of the logics behind 'Elaine's chairs'

Categories	Institutional Orders						
	Family	**Community**	**Religion**	**State**	**Market**	**Profession**	**Corporation**
Logic Type	Affiliative	Associative	Aesthetic	Redistributive	Transactional	Relational	Instrumental
Sources of legitimacy	Putting family first	Trust and reciprocity	Producing 'real art'	Democratic participation in art	Reputational Capital	Personal expertise	Market position of organisation
Sources of authority	Relative Role in family	Commitment to community values and ideology	Charisma – of critics, curators, the art community	Co-produced assumption that state rules are valid and thus should be obeyed	Funder Requirements	Peer appreciation	Board of trustees, senior management
Sources of identity	Role in Family	Emotional connection and reputation	Association with 'artists' and galleries	Social Class	Faceless	Being an artist	Bureaucratic roles
Basis of norms	Membership in Household	Group membership	Acceptance of 'the Canon'	Accepting social responsibility	Self interest	Accepting Myths and stories of artist identity	Employment in firm.
Basis of attention	Being a good parent/partner/child	Personal investment in group	Reviews from certain critics, curators	Status of Interest Group	Status in Market	Status in profession	Status in hierarchy
Basis of strategy	Make life more secure and meaningful for family	Increase status of members and practices	Increase acceptance of this particular approach to art as being 'the norm'	Increase public good	Increase efficiency and return on investment	Increase reputation of your art and socially engaged art in general	Increase size and diversification of organisation
Informal control mechanisms	Family politics	Visibility of actions	Critics, reviews	Backroom politics	Consultants and Evaluators	Myth and Stories - Notoriety	Organisation culture
Construction of Evaluation	Extra work – taking you away from family time.	Way to ensure you are delivering the best you can to and with the community	Impossible and undesirable	Obligation to show difference made to the public good with public money	Transaction to evidence efficiency and return	Learn from your work and share learning	Part of your job so as to support the organisation

Within this table, Elaine's Artist logical categories are coloured in dark red, Firstsite's position – implied through the actions of the Curator – in pale blue.

This example shows the mobilisation by Firstsite management of the curatorial logic to bolster the corporate logic: the view was that the gallery needed to prove its artistic credentials as a leading contemporary art gallery to ACE, thus securing its position as an organisation. This gave the Curator a higher level of influence in the hierarchy than she would have had from an organisational flowchart (see above) – where she was at the same rank as the Head of Learning. She set her own agenda, which was an extreme contemporary arts approach, and saw herself as the guardian of good arts practice through her knowledge of the canon and how art ought to be practiced.

Elaine focusses her sources of legitimacy and norms and the basis of attention within the professional logic: claiming her right to comment, and knowledge of the needs of visitors, as well as what is appropriate in a gallery as arising from her personal professional experience and tied into the value that socially engaged arts have in general. Her arguments also inhabit the community logic (with the community being visitors to Firstsite) which her work has shown include the need to sit down. Within her argument over the chairs there was a stating of the importance of a commitment to responding to what people asked for (chairs) and claims her knowledge of what people need arise from ongoing work she'd done in the gallery (Comment Alley where the demand first came up, then the Wi-Fi cubes) building an emotional connection with the visitors. Finally in the community logic, she highlighted the importance of visible actions, if Firstsite wished to take the public along with them – to join the community of arts organisation visitors – then they needed to make the public and visible commitment, and show reciprocity (by providing chairs).

Lawrence's work on Artists on the Gallery Payroll mobilises logics in a similar way: he situates the 'I' in the piece (which he identifies with but isn't only him) clearly in

the professional logic, with the profession being that of 'socially engaged artist'. The group is a relational network, which gains legitimacy from personal expertise (not external verification from the canon and producing 'real art'), the myths and stories which make up artistic identity thread through his piece, including the element of self-identification through the othering of the arts establishment, implicating certain colleges and galleries as part of the establishment:

> I have a BA but not from Central St Goldslades, Royal College of Chelsea or any other prestigious Higher Education institute.
>
> …
>
> My work has been shown in an artist-run project space. My work has not been shown in a commercial gallery with branches in London, New York and Köln. (Bradby, 2013b, p. 1)

So a clear line is made between to what is 'in' his profession (e.g. artist-run project spaces) and what is 'out' – the myths and notoriety acting as informal control mechanisms, but clearly in response to his perception of the informal control mechanisms of the establishment being used against him. This piece is interesting as he appears to attack (or more probably defend) on two fronts – from the pressures of employment, and from the assumptions of the art world. Although at first sight these don't seem related, another look at the logics operating within the world in which he is working makes the link clear. Lawrence's piece is a defence from a perception (or recognition?) of the fact that Firstsite as an organisation is effectively using the Curatorial logic: assuming the existence of, and privileging 'real art', alongside the Corporate logic.

As well as through this performance, the Associate Artists responded through their professional practice: the use of art to act as a communication and integration of participants experiences into the gallery. Through giving people wandering into the

gallery the opportunity to use the cubes for whatever purpose they wanted, Elaine drew out the latent wish for seating (which was also expressed in the audience feedback surveys), and created a living installation which acted as a prompt for artist Anthea Hamilton (who was seen as a 'proper artist' within the curatorial logic) to make her seating cubes. To a degree, Elaine did change practice within Firstsite, and although she almost certainly didn't change the view of the curator as to her legitimacy as an artist, she did effect change in another artist's practice through her installation which Anthea Hamilton must have taken seriously enough to have mirrored in her work.

This example shows another logic which Firstsite mobilised probably without any intention: the curatorial logic, which implicitly gives legitimacy and attention to what is considered – or claims to be – real art. During my time at Firstsite, this was personified in the Curator, who seemed to genuinely believe that her view on contemporary visual art was 'the view', that she knew how it should be done, and had a clear idea of what Firstsite needed which didn't include any respect for the Associate Artists as anything but an arm of gallery education/interpretation. This was difficult for all the Associate Artists, as she had a position above them in the hierarchy and thus had authority within the corporate logic. However, she had an extra power which went beyond her official position: Judith was at the same level as the Curator in the hierarchy, yet there was an assumption within the organisation that the Curator – represented the interests and knowledge of art. It is difficult to tell how much this related to the person of the Curator, and her interests, she was very clearly of a certain circle in contemporary visual art, and had extremely strong views about what was in or out. It seems likely to me that the reason for the strength of the curatorial logic within Firstsite at the time was that it is fundamentally a strong logic

within the sector as a whole, influencing the board, the funders and the senior team, and what is interesting is how effectively it worked as a pairing with the corporate logic to strengthen its legitimacy.

The artists' responses to this mobilisation of the curatorial logic, along with the corporate logic, were to stop pushing, whether in the example above with the chairs, or in trying to use the mosaic space (the transition point between commercial-gallery mix and gallery only space – see map) to exhibit or perform their art. There is an element of resignation here: echoing a transactional logic of 'return on time investment' as discussed above, but in later discussion in response to my question about why he didn't push more to use the mosaic space for turf-twinning Lawrence actually situates this in a professional logic response:

> LB: "I think partly that's to do with being pragmatic and not wanting to spend a large amount of time on something that you, that then doesn't happen at all ... like asking to, or trying to put something on the mosaic space in order to give the work a particular visibility. It would be, it would be interesting if you were interested in institutional critique and that's really to make it work about but if you didn't, why spend all the time on that? And that's certainly not the concern of the people we were working with outside the gallery...."
>
> … it's interesting because it fits in with the idea that [artists] are, should be, disruptive but there's a balance between being disruptive and being pragmatic, getting things done, making things and making a point. …
> And you want to do both. (Interview)

He notes the pragmatic and return on time investment element, but then moves on to talking about the need to make a judgement about what is ***really important***: is that the 'artist myth' of being disruptive? Or it is 'getting things done' which in this case isn't instrumental, but is actually about working with the participants: they wouldn't care about where the work is shown, they would care that the work happens. Lawrence in this example is putting his identity as a socially engaged artist working with the

community, above what he sees as a simplistic view of the artist as a disruptor. Turf twinning was seen within the socially engaged arts community as a really exciting piece of work, and as stated above, was meaningful to the participants so 'succeeded' in various criteria one might use to evaluate it. By stepping outside the corporate and curatorial logic frame which would have logically placed Lawrence either in a position of giving way to demands, or more likely fighting for status within the curator or director's view, effectively he was able to make a successful project.

This is in practice a similar model to the clash of logics around Elaine's chairs: when faced with a mobilisation of corporate and curatorial logics by Firstsite initially she takes the direct confrontation approach: both lay claim to status as an 'artist' within the curatorial logic and challenge the curator's role via the hierarchy. When neither of these work, she simply carries out her own practice as an artist in the space and time she is allocated. The participation of the public with the work via wifi cubes and chess boards gives credibility within the professional socially engaged artists logic. This is recognised by another artist (peer recognition – part of the professional logic) which then leads to the curator seeing the potential to combine art and seating, slowly effecting the change in practice of the organisation which was Elaine's initial aim.

The inevitability of a logics clash

So what does this tell us about evaluation in the arts? If you consider the two simplistic 'extreme case' constructions of evaluation within the corporate and curatorial logics, developed at the end of Chapter Four, they are:

'***Part of your job so as to support the organisation***' and '***Impossible and undesirable***'.

The first thing you notice in combining them is inherent contradiction: 'your job is to do that which is impossible to do and which we don't want to be done'. Going beyond that as a loyal employee, you see that what is important is to support the organisation and be seen to 'do evaluation'. Thus the content of the evaluation becomes meaningless, it is the action of doing that is important – even more than with the market logic of the evaluation as transaction to show that you've done the work – where you at least have to show you've done the work – the end result of combining the corporate and curatorial logic is that you only have to be seen to do 'the evaluation' – being seen to do is enough. This realisation began to explain to me some of the contradictions around evaluation in the arts: as it isn't always clear what the funder, or manager means by 'doing the evaluation', and under the curatorial logic you are told doing meaningful evaluation is impossible. The response is to do whatever you can, but minimally. The 'report on the dusty shelf' (Morariu and Emery, 2013) far from indicating failure in evaluation, might, under the combination of a curatorial and corporate logic taken to extremes actually be the ideal case: you have the report to show you've done your job, but its position, forgotten on a dusty shelf ensures there's no risk of it affecting the purity of your practice.

Of course, there is a competing set of logics operating within these moments: the artists' mobilisation of the professional logic legitimises the evaluative practices within their socially-engaged art: reflecting, sharing with peers and seeking their esteem, privileging the needs and experience of the participants to the art, which requires a more complex evaluation approach, which is used (otherwise there are real ethical issues in wasting participants' time in collecting data). The community logic

partners well with socially engaged work, where the artists join and develop the community in which they work.

These last two chapters have focussed on three of the EVLN responses: Exit, Voice and Neglect (Rusbult, Zembrodt and Gunn, 1982; Farrell, 1983; Farrell and Rusbult, 1992)(1970), but when we recognise (as stated above) that most responses are more accurately categorised as 'loyal' – Hirschman's third response – the inherent clash of logics for a socially engaged artist, operating as an artist largely within the professional and community logics (with an inevitable market element in there too), within a publicly funded arts organisation hierarchy that tends to operate within a corporate and curatorial logic (with element of state logic) seems inevitable.

Moment 10: Duty Bound

This clash of logics is most clearly expressed by Judith Merritt's Associative Enquiries piece "Duty Bound" which she created as a performance where she talks to a filmed version of herself on an iPad, creating two talking (arguing) heads. Neither head has a fixed role, but challenges and refines what the other says. In a way, this piece almost literally shows the clash between at least two logics: corporate (as manager) and profession (as artist) but also brings in some of the curatorial logic, and illustrates more than anything I've seen or experienced the multiple roles and assumed identities of artists and arts managers within an organisation.

> *Duty Bound*
> (after Peter Handke) Judith Merritt
> Why has nobody asked to run the building?
> Why has no one asked for my job?
> No-one has requested £1000
> No artist has trashed the toilets
> No-one has paint splattered the walls

Why has no one demanded a new name?

Why has only one asked for an exhibition?

Am I duty-bound to say yes?

I am duty-bound to say yes

I am duty-bound to be up beat

I am duty bound to have an opinion

Duty bound to challenge the quo

Duty-bound to remain a constant

I am not surprised

I am living for a time when I will be again

I am duty-bound to

I am remitted to

I use their language

I use the words we all want to hear (what do we all want to hear)

Why have I not been constantly surprised

Why is the offer of 'do anything' not enough

Why am I not the artist

Why does no-one see anything I do as art

Why do I see art in everything I do (Curses)

I am duty-bound to

I am bound to see art in typing

I am duty-bound to value

I am unable to undermine

I am unable to negatively criticise

I am here to keep stuum

I am here to keep my business quiet

I am duty-bound to appropriate

I am duty bound to hegemonise

I proport to be in charge

I am in charge

I am duty-bound to charge (5 pound per session)

I am duty-bound to value the process

I am duty-bound to challenge

I am duty-bound to offer an alternate

I am alternate

I am creative alternate

I am creative alternate distance

I offer a creative distance from:

evaluation, budgets, close monitoring, time, discipline, institution, institutionalisation, failure, success, self, self accusation.

I am bound by the rules

I am to break the rules, yesterday I wrote the rules

I am then encouraged to encourage others to break those rules

I am the contradiction

I am the yes man

I am the no person

I am the maybe woman

I am consuming subject that engages these capitals in the production of identity

I am the self alone too

I am inclusive of all the selves

The manager self, the creative self, the artist self, the audience self, the generating self, the interpreting self.

I am bound by this inclusion

I control by this inclusion

I am controlled by process

I choose to control this process

I choose to negate the product

I choose to value more, the symbolic

I choose to disregard the economic

I sustain us

I am sustained by us

I am duty bound to sustainability

I am bound by sustenance

I have made up your mind now

You are duty-bound to.

(Merritt, 2013)

The first time I saw this performed I was jolted by how much it summed up all the contradictions I'd been noting among the artists (hence its inclusion as a 'jarring moment'). As Judith identifies, it is initially ironic that this was expressed by the manager, not the artists themselves. However a little more thought recognises that there are lots of 'artists' within the arts organisation, Judith being a performance artist, in a visual arts organisation, doesn't usually programme work, but being an artist is part of her identity, and perhaps more importantly, a key element in her practice. This piece shows how you can construct various elements of her job: management, compliance, monitoring, evaluation, ensuring ambition, ensuring quality of process and product (balancing importance of process and product), as an artistic practice. The inclusion of the symbolic words of evaluation: value, economic, sustainability, monitoring as well as evaluation itself chime with my findings of how and where evaluation are placed by artists with respect to their (artistic) practice. In this piece, Jude places these terms in the 'other' self (the corporate logic self) – the one her artist self is duty bound within the professional logic to challenge, but the corporate self is also herself – she inhabits the corporate logic and mobilises that, as well as the professional logic in order to get her job done. And, as she concludes, now we've been told all this, we are duty bound to… too.

This chapter has explored some of the ways that the Associate Artists used 'voice' as a response to Firstsite's evaluation and other requirements. Unlike exit, voice doesn't need to be either disempowering or final, it can be used to effect change. However, all

the responses in this chapter were initially framed as negative clashes: examples of binary positions between one view and another: Lawrence or Jevan's position of supporting the participants' wishes, Firstsite's of closing it down. Elaine's position of not wanting to do questionnaires, Frances' insistence that that was what is needed; the Associate Artists wish to be taken seriously within programming at Firstsite, the Curator's inability to see their value in that way. Looking at the moments again, through the adapted Institutional Logics framework lens, recognises that these positions are not fixed: Frances initially took a corporate logic position on data collection (it is the way), but then in response to Elaine's mobilisation of the professional logic to support her right to do it her way, Frances turned to the state logic of cultural democracy. As with the chairs, Elaine used the professional, community and market logic successively to counter the Curator's use of a mix of corporate and curatorial logics. The chairs' final arrival was likely to be down to a mix of market and corporate and curatorial logics as the mix of visitor complaints and health and safety concerns meant that the Board will have decided to overrule the Curator, but the reality is that her position on the unsuitability of seating in a gallery was also challenged by Anthea Hamilton (a 'real artist' within the curatorial logic) both learning from an Associate Artist's idea, and including seating within her installation.

As with the findings in Chapter Five around exit moments, this chapter shows that no actions within the operation of evaluation and reflection within the arts can be seen simply as they are all affected by multiple logics. Through recognition of these, and the way they interact with each other, we can move from Judith's endless dichotomy of duties to a more nuanced approach to evaluation which brings in the best of all the logical positions, and adapts to the particular logics in action in each setting.

Building on these conclusions, in the next chapter I move on to considering how starting from a logics approach - specifically focussing on the artists' own logics, and on their artistic practices – can enable the development of more appropriate and effective evaluation models in the arts.

Chapter Seven: What could logic-led evaluation look like?

Introduction

The previous two chapters built on the adapted logics framework developed in Chapter Four and showed how this framework adds a new level of understanding of responses to evaluation in the sector. In Chapter Five I showed that what initially seemed petty misbehaviours or passivity on the part of the artists, could be seen as a clash of logics between Firstsite, operating within a corporate logic, and the artists in turn responding with a market logic and mobilising family logics to support this. In Chapter Six, the range of ways in which artists used voice: potentially constructed in a denigrating way as causing trouble, moaning or trying to derail Firstsite's priorities, were shown to arise from the artists' mobilisation of professional and community logics, in response to Firstsite operating through a mix of the corporate and curatorial logics. In all these cases, the importance is not to characterise which logic is being mobilised in response to which other one, but to recognise that artists and organisations are operating within and through a range of different logics, switching between them and combining them as needed to gain agency within the organisation and wider sector.

This multiplicity of logics at play, particularly around evaluation, along with a recognition that evaluation is a practice, interacting with other practices, explains some of the reasons why it has been so difficult to come up with an accepted model to 'measure cultural value' (O'Brien, 2010; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016). In addition to the difficulty in defining cultural value discussed in Chapter Two, there is the difficulty in defining what 'measuring' it would look like.

Reframing the 'problem' from the need to define or evidence cultural value, to the need to "[make] a programme work and [assess] how far it has worked, to 'improve' or to 'prove'" (Stern, 2014, p. 159), we change the focus to the practice and use of evaluation, not its outcomes per se. This gives opportunity and support in developing evaluation practice in the arts, alongside the continuing cultural value and evidence base debates.

Despite the focus on the clashes and issues with evaluation within the previous two chapters, there was some excellent evaluation practiced within Experimental Communities. The fact that the Associate Artists were tasked to do a 'creative evaluation' of their own projects, developed alongside project delivery, and with support from me as evaluation Critical Friend meant that evaluation was far more embedded in practice than is usual. Although within the actual production of the Experimental Communities evaluation and particularly in the structure of the final reports, there were serious limitations in the extent to which this 'creative evaluation' happened, the work between myself and the artists did begin to outline ways in which a different approach to evaluation could happen.

The artists themselves felt they gained greatly in terms of their own reflection and evaluation confidence and capacity, the project reports were rich and reflective, and the commitment to continuing working in this way at least within the artist team is clear from the continued contact they have with me and requests for 'reflection chats' or input to elements of their practice which I still receive four years after the official end of Experimental Communities. This Chapter builds on the previous findings, and the work undertaken by and with the Associate Artists, to propose alternative ways of looking at evaluation. These focus not on the outcomes to be measured, but on the

practices which will achieve these and draw from the recognition that artists do evaluate all the time, within the logics in operation and through their practice.

Initially this chapter outlines three different approaches which began to be co-developed within our working practice: Jacqueline's 'making to reflect', Elaine's 'placing and watching' and Jevan's 'dialogistic relationships'. Each approach was developed within a series of conversations – both during and after the fieldwork, and each of the three approaches used has been discussed with the artist involved. These have been chosen as they are different from each other, and reflect artistic practices (and art forms) which are relatively common in the sector. They don't cover all the artists, and there's no implication that they represent the best of the evaluation practice arising within Experimental Communities - indeed I have left out Lawrence's work, which stands alone well as a piece of evaluation (Bradby and Watkins Jones, 2014) partly because he was already so able to engage in the evaluation debate so in some ways is less representative of the 'typical' artist within the sector.[21]

For each approach, I start by describing the artist's practice: artistic, engagement and evaluative, then I analyse how they fit with the frameworks developed in this these, and reflect on the operation of logics within these. Finally I move on to considering how they could be put into practice within the arts sector more generally, in particular how arts funders could use these alongside existing approaches.

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[21] There is a huge amount of extremely thoughtful work produced within the socially engaged arts sector, by artists and artist-academics, as well as a few academics working with them (Hull, 2007; Hope, 2011a; Raw, 2013; Schrag, 2015; Tiller, 2017) but there are also lots of artists whose practice is not tied to words and find it harder to express their learning in a way funders can engage with.

I then move on to considering my own evaluation practice, and my role within these new approaches to evaluation, concluding that rather than 'making myself redundant' as an evaluator, in fact a more complex role arises - that of translator and navigator between the different logic positions and different sector roles.

Making Evaluation – Jacqueline's approach

> I needed to make something in order to know, to know what it was, what the project was. That [tea-towel] isn't the art work, no, but until I made it, and the teapot and everything, until I was making something, the project didn't make sense to me (Jacqueline Davies Interview: 10/2/14).

From the start, Jacqueline found the requirement to do reflective evaluation difficult. It wasn't a case of being unwilling, but more that it wasn't something she was used to. She had done plenty of evaluation in the past but it had been "form-filling and getting keywords" (from interview 10/2/14). The requirement within the group to reflect on what creative evaluation might look like, along with the level of articulation in terms of socially engaged practice, or reflexivity was something she found intimidating. However she did welcome my support in what was a difficult project to get off the ground and was using the Associate Artist employment time to refocus her work to take a different approach to her practice, so she could see the value to be gained from working with me and we developed a close working relationship.

Figure 13: The 'Old Heath teapot' used for all events (photo Jacqueline Davies)

Jacqueline's strand of Experimental Communities, called eventually 'Printed Yarns' was a project about building community in the Old Heath area of Colchester. It was never clear to me (or Jacqueline) why this area was chosen as it is a bit of a disparate

Figure 15:Jacqueline making Doilies with the Friendship Group (photo: Firstsite)

community, not seen as particularly disengaged or low income. It could be due to its low engagement with Firstsite despite being a short walk from the gallery itself. There weren't obvious community spaces, so Jacqueline tried different ways

of getting into the community, via existing groups - which were mainly older people's groups. Her project evolved over time to suit the specific issues she found, and her growing confidence in using her own skills and interests to develop relationships locally. Over the time of the project she developed a 'nattering' approach – having

chats with people wherever she met them about what mattered to them. She developed relationships within the local care home resulting in residents coming to visit Firstsite for the first time and have a '1940s tea party'. She

Figure 14: Local home residents enjoying the Sophie von Hellermann exhibition (photo Jacqueline Davies)

began to attend the only cafe in the area after it opened partway through the project and got people to write about their experiences on doilies.

Jacqueline describes herself as "a painter, a printer, and a maker of things. With a passion for pattern and all things Mid-Century her work is often described as happy" (Davies, 2014b). Her work on Printed Yarns was all done within a model of 'making an old-fashioned tea party' – with participants entering the process at various points – from making the tea pot and tablecloth, to making the food, to partaking in the feast. The outcomes included the development of a series of stories about this area of Colchester which isn't particularly discussed usually, yet has its own history and experience. By placing the stories she was given on doilies and tablecloths, people who don't usually know each other were able to share and build on each other's stories.

Figure 16: Jane planning, arranging, screen-printing and looking for inspiration (photos Jacqueline Davies)

In addition, there was a particularly fruitful and intense relationship with one participant, Jane, a local resident who had been labelled learning disabled in childhood and now worked as a cleaner. Jane was totally new to the arts, yet got enthused by the project and became Jacqueline's helper and to a degree collaborator, particularly helping her with running the tea party and hand printing the tea-towels which became the culminating artefact of the project. It was the analysis of this relationship - and the

role of making within it – which helped galvanise Jacqueline's understanding of how she was evaluating her own work.

Within Experimental Communities, Jacqueline was constantly stepping beyond her comfort zone – in both productive and negative ways. For example, going into an area uninvited (as opposed to by invitation to run a class) was totally new to her, she found it challenging but slowly adapted to it. She was also less used than the others to carrying out long term amorphous projects with no clear timetable and a need to be self-regulating, and the lack of structure led to a sense of drift. I felt at the time that the drift, and her lack of clarity over her purpose in being in Old Heath and looming pressure to report to funder, was actually affecting Jacqueline's wellbeing. As a result, I took the decision to push her for some clarity over aims, which evolved into me taking a more project manager style role than with the other strands, and held regular meetings where we discussed progress, plans and timelines. It would have been interesting to see what she would have evolved alone, but even in retrospect I think this was the right decision, and Jacqueline certainly saw it that way in looking back. Thus this evaluation approach simultaneously shaped the project aims and design, as well as vice versa. As with the other strands, the various pressures of expectation and time meant that instead of the opportunity to develop a method-appropriate 'write up' of the project (in this case probably something 'made') based on her artistic and evaluative style, Jacqueline felt expected to write a report. Thus the official evaluation report from Printed Yarns strand is a written report, relatively conventionally structured albeit with a lot of photos, and including some stories as well as lists of aims and reflections on how they were achieved.

This report, while interesting to read, doesn't reflect the actual evaluation which was taking place within the project. It took a while for me to be able to sum up what this was as Jacqueline's practice isn't about words. As we revisited the project ideas during a follow up interview in Feb 2014, it became clear to me that Jacqueline had actually carried out a different evaluation which would have been hard to articulate within Experimental Communities' timescale, but which nevertheless supplied a lot of the reflective learning of the project and is reflected in project delivery and outcomes.

Jacqueline self-defines as a 'maker of things' which is a beautifully open description of herself as an artist, but is also a description of how she reflects and thinks. Her growing understanding of the area of Old Heath, and her relationship with the people there, was all mediated through making things with them. This is articulated by her sense of acceptance in the Friendship group when she admitted that she couldn't embroider:

> I asked them to write a word, a phrase … any thing that came to mind in pencil on the cloth and [mentioned] that I couldn't embroider. "That's ok I'll show you dear" said one of the ladies. Many of them did show me. Thread was passed around amongst the tea orders. There was tales and laughter and the session passed by so fast. Many of them said it had been a long time since they had done this and how they had enjoyed themselves and asked 'when can we carry this on? 'I felt as though this session we had a major break though. There was a very natural exchange of memories, sharing skills, creative flow and enjoyment (Davies, 2014a).

In this session they were already working on one of Jacqueline's 'made things' – a tablecloth that she'd made by ironing on photos of the area and comments from other residents on doilies. This 're-making' with their (expert) input, and the concomitant development of the relationship was a breakthrough in the project, but for Jacqueline was also a breakthrough in her understanding of what the project was about – as she

explained to me why this felt like such a step forward she included the phrase 'making together' and realised that part of her assessment of success, her ***valuing*** of the project, was measured through the extent to which making happened, and how. Likewise, in her relationship with Jane, initially the idea was to talk about things: that Jane would act as a guide to the neighbourhood she'd lived in for years. However, Jane doesn't like to talk about things much, Jacqueline and she developed their relationship by doing things together, with Jane helping in the setup of the project, and slowly gaining confidence in talking to others through this. Outcomes for Jane were very clear and measurable through traditional social impact measures (see the evaluation report) but my discussions with Jacqueline led me to see that she had another set of measures for success in terms of Jane's involvement. She identified feeling the project was working at the point at which Jane began to make things together and the sharing they did in a long session of hand printing 200 souvenir copies of the tea-towel design (which sounded quite gruelling from my later interview with Jane) – when Jane was placed in the co-producer role – another 'maker of things'. In her later reflection on why it was so hard to get started on Printed Yarns she reflected that it felt wrong that with Experimental Communities there was an assumption that there should be no artefact production element by her, other artists were focusing on doing with or talking with people. She needed to find a way to make with people in order to feel the value of the work produced.

This approach to evaluation draws on the professional logic: her design and crafting expertise giving her the confidence to go in and make in new settings where the ideas were initially alien, but more importantly, Jacqueline's emic evaluation draws on the community logic – the sense of collective action and shared experience, giving

participants the best outcome possible, which she 'measures' instinctively through their engagement in the creative process along with her – the making.

Evaluating while/through making

Trying to generalise from this example to suggest an evaluation model based on making focuses the attention around other elements of the action research cycle than are the usual focus for an evaluation (e.g. within my work, observing and reflecting were the primary focus). In this case, the evaluation would need to focus on 'acting', and the observation and reflection would arise through the 'act' of engaging in the practice. An artist evaluator would focus not on what the participants said or experienced as outcomes ***after*** participation, but on how they participated ***during*** the process itself. A socially engaged artist who is working with or as part of the group should be able to tell the level of involvement and investment in the process which the group has. They might need support to express this understanding in a way that an external reader who hadn't experienced the 'making together' would be able to grasp, however I find that most committed socially-engaged artists can tell when co-making was or wasn't working, and discussion of this – perhaps while making something in turn – with an external evaluator to help reflect and plan changes – and thus continue the action research spiral would help overcome this.

Principles for this evaluation approach would include the necessity of 'making' – whether crafting, drawing, film, acting, singing, building etc. – as central to the evaluation creation. Any evaluation data gathering session would be built around making in some way – and in fact would be unlikely to appear to be a data gathering session in any sense. Focussing on the visual arts, the production of a meaningful material artefact, holding meaning to the participants and having shared creation –

between participants and artist-evaluator would also be key. This has been done effectively by Sophie Hope working with residents in North Greenwich to evaluate a Big Lottery Reaching Communities Scheme. The evaluation was carried out through the group working together to make a regular 'magazine', mostly using collage techniques so as much visual as verbal, which commented on the project (Hope, 2011b). In terms of the performing arts, this artefact would be replaced by performance of an action/movement as appropriate to the setting. I did a mini-trial of this with a group of dance teachers I was training in evaluation[22], I asked them to each do a movement which expressed how they felt about 'evaluation' before the session, which we worked into a shared dance. At the end we revisited the movements and then adapted them to suit how they now felt (effectively an evaluation of the effectiveness of the training session). I could tell from the change in movements alone that they had engaged in the session, and felt much more confident and positive about evaluation by the end. I didn't record the movements but I guess I could have and used this to show change to a funder or outside source.

Following these discussions, Jacqueline was really keen to try out this idea: that she could entirely carry out an evaluation through her practice. We have agreed to look out for funding to make this work in practice at some point.

Watching Evaluation – Elaine's approach

As is no doubt clear from discussions elsewhere in this thesis, my relationship with Elaine was one of the most complicated experiences I've ever had as an evaluator, yet at the same time a very fruitful learning experience for me as an evaluator and in

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[22] For an evaluation of Stopgap Dance Company's Seafarer Project, running from 2016-19.

terms of my analysis on organisations and valuation. There were many issues in terms of Elaine's strand of Experimental Communities, not least that this project more than any other Experimental Communities strand was specifically designed to directly interact with, and effect change within the programming model of Firstsite as a gallery. Elaine's strand:

> Colchester's Sitting Room ['Sitting Room'] was a series of pop-up spaces, devised by artists and non-artists such as hobbyists and informal learners, to construct social cultural events in communities and at Firstsite that change the nature of gallery visiting and the way people engage with contemporary art (Tribley, 2014, p. 3).

The pop-ups took place within the public spaces of the gallery – mainly the 'non-curated' Mosaic Space – over between one day and a couple of weeks, approximately every three months.[23] The strand focused on the aims of building co-curation and sharing between Firstsite teams, and between Firstsite and the people of Colchester. This required a willingness to change within the curation team of Firstsite which wasn't in place at the time, along with a supportive senior management structure which was lacking coherence due to the number of changes of Director and approach. In addition, the nature of the work – a collaboration between different teams within Firstsite – meant that it was agreed that Frances, the overall Project Manager for Experimental Communities, was also part of the Sitting Room delivery, leading to a dynamic which wasn't like the easy collaboration of the pairings on two of the other strands. Frances was seen by Elaine as 'the boss', rather than a collaborator, and certainly Frances saw herself in a different role, with a certain authority, so took a strong line in designing the evaluation, overlapping (and clashing) with my advice to

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[23] For a fuller description of the work see Tribley (2014).

Elaine. Many of the meetings we had involved this odd interchange and Elaine

explained:

> I found the dynamics between you and Frances hysterical. And I
> would, you know, [play you off and] refer to that and I just, you know
> ...whereas as a grown-up, you know, in any other situation I wouldn't
> have found that hysterical or found it an issue. It would've just been
> you're asking me to do this, Frances's asking for this and that's no
> problem.

Although in retrospective mode she ascribes finding it 'hysterical' to her 'teenager'

response to the whole situation (see Chapter Six above), actually, she was right in that

it was a challenge for me to maintain a calm approach to the situation as I needed to

be the external person supporting a difficult dynamic, not part of the problem

allowing Elaine in her 'teenager mode' to play us off. The result of my response to

these clashes placed me in a translator/advocate role for Elaine's emic evaluation

style. As with the other Associate Artists, the final report produced was a compromise

and was weaker as a result, however the conflict and discussion – which seemed

totally pointless to Elaine:

> It was to me like 'what the hell are you going on about? You want all
> this chat to happen and this evaluation when there's fuck all to talk
> about because nothing's happened!' That was what it was to me. It was
> like 'where is the stuff I'm evaluating, you never let me do anything!'
> (Elaine, interview Jul 2015).

Was extremely elucidating to me about her approach to evaluation. This was the case

to the extent that feeling that the issue Frances was facing was a lack of

understanding of the approach – as Elaine wasn't being particularly articulate - I

offered to write up what I thought her methodology was, as I could see her approach

to evaluation as fitting totally within her practice. Whether for reasons of trust, or

simply not caring, she was happy for me to do that, and then used the entire text, with

only a couple of very minor changes, in her report. Retrospectively I realised that this

was an example of me stepping into my preferred evaluation role as translator or navigator of evaluation – discussed further below.

Elaine's practice often involves placing objects (or in some cases in Sitting Room, happenings/small events/interventions) in a space which is public and where people are passing for other purposes, and observing their response to these. Her practice involves the gathering of the ideas from the locality

Figure 17: 'Enchanted Wood', 2006, cut vinyl, roadsign, foamex and traffic cone, Outside @ Cuckoo Farm, Colchester (www.elainetribley.co.uk/exhibiting)

(she's worked in schools, council offices, and parks amongst other places), making something from them – usually to provoke thought, and then seeing how people respond to them. This final aspect, which doesn't really feature in the initial descriptions of her practice, is always there once you discuss it a bit further.

The conflict between Frances and Elaine over the 'evaluation of Sitting Room' lay in the extent to which participants or passers-by need to be asked to in order for us to know how they responded to the work. Elaine had an instinctive aversion to any attempt to specifically question participants about their experience. Frances's response was around the need to allow the voice of participants to be heard, along with practical solutions to 'hearing it'. As shown in Chapter Six, she mobilised a mix of the corporate logic and the state logic, to both explain why people should be asked

– using the democratic right to participation and a sense of the need to create public

good – and require – through the hierarchy and organisational roles - that evaluation

be done the way she thought. Elaine's response was within the professional logic,

emphasising her expertise and skills, and with recourse to peers and their responses.

Unlike Frances I didn't see not asking gallery visitors their views as a problem

intrinsically, either in terms of the lack of 'empowerment' of the participants, or in

terms of the quality of data collected. We had agreed there should be a different

approach to evaluation taken, if Elaine's approach had evaluation in it, then that

should be fine. The issue was to work out whether and how what she was doing was

evaluation. In some of the pieces, an opportunity for feedback was built in: for

example, in the 'Enchanted Up-Dos' project which:

> …materialised from a visit to a performance event and being witness to
> a young visitor plugging her straighteners into a floor socket to finish
> styling her hair. This seed was taken on board by a local hairdresser
> found by chance when browsing the internet. Several conversations
> later an all-day 'pop up hair salon happening' was curated along with
> an exhibition of work which was displayed for one week prior to the
> day and several weeks after (Tribley, 2014, p. 15).

Figure 18: Enchanted Updos, Elaine Tribley, Summer 2013

In this project, the cliché of the chatty hairdresser asking lots of questions was used to

gain feedback 'naturally' from participants – that is, within the delivery of the

artwork. Another pop-up 'Comment Alley' was in form a simple comments board –

the artistic element lying partly in the fact it was the first time (and remained the only

time until it was itself revived) visitors had been offered any space to comment[24], but mainly in the way that they could respond to each other's comments as all comments were left on the board so that in many cases people 'replied' to others, and in a few cases a proper conversation began to take shape. In this case, the opportunity to feedback was at the heart of the work, but Elaine's observation was of the board itself – through a series of photos of the co-curated artwork of comments, not of the people writing on it.

Figure 19: Comment Alley, Elaine Tribley, Winter/Spring 2012

Elaine's practice is iterative and interactive, showing signs of reflection and evaluation of the experience and response of the audience or participant. However, despite being extremely articulate on a personal level, she doesn't articulate this at all, either in person or in writing, for example her website has almost no words of explanation – just photographs of her work (Tribley, 2017). When I asked her about this, suggesting it might be on purpose, as part of her approach to her art, she claimed she hadn't noticed and didn't particularly reflect on it. I decided that if we were to solve the clash between Frances and Elaine, which I was now in the middle of, I needed to articulate her evaluation practice. I thus began to observe and discuss with

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[24] A comment from Elaine on Firstsite's apparent lack of interest in visitors' experiences, despite all rhetoric to the contrary, developed further in her 'How to behave in an Art Gallery' piece, both part of the Associative Enquiries strand.

Elaine what she was doing through her observation of responses. Elaine didn't just put out the objects and then leave them (as Frances feared), in fact she took photos on a systematic basis (for example, once a day at the same time) she wrote regular observation notes, and generally operated within a traditional observation model of seeking to observe, but not to interfere with the experience (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). She shared these reports (within the Experimental Communities team) on a blog – and clearly saw them as part of the work. In my write up of her 'methodology' (see in Appendix 3 below) I conclude that she is effectively taking a hermeneutic approach to observation, recognising that "understanding is not a matter of trained, methodical unprejudiced technique, but an encounter... a confrontation with something radically different from ourselves" (Outhwaite 1991:24, cited in May, 1997, p143)

This approach is reflected in her engagement with the artist peer review/support sessions I put in place as part of the Experimental Communities work.[25] Elaine always used these sessions in a similar way to her artistic practice. She would place some information (usually photos of the latest pop-up, or blog posts) in front of the group, then let us look at them and comment on them. She might describe the item, but didn't attempt to explain why it was relevant beyond a "here's some flowers we used at the flower arranging, and some photos" or what she'd done at the event. My difficulty in dealing with an extreme case of this is discussed in Moment 2 above, but looking back I can see this as an exact reflection of her practice where the artistic

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[25] 'Convince Your Peers' happened at every monthly Exp Comms meeting, they involved speaking for no more than 7 mins about recent challenges or approaches, then there were 7 mins of clarifications and quick questions and 15 mins of discussion. These were very popular with the artists.

process includes the meaning creation of the audience or participant as they interact with the objects/pop-ups. In practice, the other Associate Artists did rise to the challenge and the conversations were just as lively and useful as any prompted by a more traditional presentation.

Our arguments about how she should do evaluation lay in my view that evaluations require that next step to allow sharing of the conclusions of the evaluator about the data. She does that thinking herself – in her reflections on 'what worked' – but didn't engage in ensuring it was shared with others, not even with Frances as project manager. In terms of this project, many of the reasons she responded in this way are explored above and become understandable within her logics, however this is her stance about most projects: she is very happy to discuss the work, the responses, revisit the work and responses and discuss what they mean and show as we do so, but didn't want to engage in 'standing back and summing up' or whatever form of recording or concluding evaluation traditionally requires.

Revisiting the central principle of this research: that the object of study is evaluation as a practice, we can reframe this stance so it is no longer seen as a lack on Elaine's part: she doesn't write it up so her evaluation isn't complete. Instead she is purposively resituating evaluation as a ***practice***, to engage with the evaluation requires 'doing evaluation' – not reading the evaluation report. I realised that Elaine's evaluation practice reflected the professional logic beyond simply defending her authorial rights. Her aversion to 'asking people questions' within the evaluation fits with her artistic practice – her practice does not involve direct interaction with the public, they interact with the intermediary object – which is an artefact, but isn't the entirety of the piece of art, as the art also lies in the public's interaction with it. Her

evaluation is more than built into the work – her work is about starting off a reflection/evaluation process in the audience, their response and reflection affect her reflection, and that shapes the next intervention. For example, with the 'wifi cubes', Elaine simply put out some white wooden cubes in the gallery, people chose what to do with them – mainly sit on them – which acted as their evaluation of the work (and of the gallery) and that built into her next piece 'Chess Cubes' which involved sitting, and the next which involved bean bags, and the process which evolved into Firstsite having seating in the gallery.[26] To a degree, this whole process is the heart of Sitting Room, and could be seen as an action research project on Elaine's part, with us all (including gallery visitors, Curator and the rest of senior management) playing roles as co-researcher participants.

Placing, watching and reflecting evaluation

Thinking about designing an evaluation arising from Elaine's practice, there seems to be so much potential for something truly creative to come about. Starting with placing evaluation *as* and *in* the process of evaluating, not the output of the report, the artefacts or actions which form the core of the practice, along with photos, blogs and other observations of what happened (all collected routinely as part of the practice) form the action, which are experienced and responded to – reflected on – by the participant, whose response in turn is responded to by the artist. This would be an iterative process, with the artists' reflections reflected on by participants who are also reflecting on their and other participants' reflections. The learning from the project is shared by all the participants through their involvement – you learn by and through

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[26] Discussed in Moment 9 in Chapter Six

reflecting. In its purest sense, in this model, 'evaluation' lies in 'doing the evaluation', there is no 'conclusion' to the evaluation, as it doesn't conclude: as I engage with it, I am evaluating, so I take the learning further. This has obvious problems in terms of 'sharing' the evaluation further: in order to share the learning, the funder (for example) needs to become part of the evaluation.

Being more pragmatic, in any artistic project there are outputs which aren't 'the art itself' – Elaine's photos, write ups and blogs, pieces by other artists discussing the work. This documenting approach could be used for the evaluation practice as well as the artistic practice: but with the principle that the written down version is viewed as the documentation, not the evaluation itself. Use of a photo only version, or image and statement mix, or series of reflective texts, perhaps with an explanatory introduction as a translation tool would preserve both the non-concluding nature of the evaluation: any reader of a report interprets and affects what they read, the reader of a report done in images or other non-traditional style will both be more aware and more reflecting of this, and there's less risk of the 'report' coming to be seen as 'the evaluation'.

This sort of evaluation would work well from several perspectives on evaluation and what it is for. Under a professional logic, around sharing learning, there would be the advantage both of the gains through active learning, and the inherent adaptation of the findings to the reader's own needs and priorities. Under an 'curatorial' logic, there is no external measurement set, and each viewer becomes the judge of success or failure, as with any piece of art. Under a community logic this is a more participative evaluation as the project participants are completely part of the evaluation, acting as co-researchers and co-creators of the evaluation along with the project.

However, there are clear challenges for this approach from a market, corporate and possibly state logic. In terms of the market, it includes a huge inefficiency in requiring time and focus for the funder to engage with the work, contrasted with the efficient approach a traditional evaluation has in outlining in more or less clear terms whether the project did what it was supposed to. The corporate logic would face similar challenges as the evaluation can't be bound by the corporation's norms and sources of authority, as each participant in the evaluation practice brings to bear their own logics and priorities. In terms of the state logic, one could argue that you can understand public good through the public's engagement with something, what this approach would fail to do is offer a way of making a case for culture funding on a large scale, which, as discussed above, is still needed in the sector (O'Brien, 2010, 2012; Cooper, 2012). It would also make it difficult for the learning from these projects to be included in summaries of learning which are produced intermittently and undoubtedly influence policy (Bunting, Hutton and King, 2010; Carnwath and Brown, 2014; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016).

This approach does not in any way remove evaluation from the power structures in which it traditionally sits – what is shared and recorded will affect the evaluation process and practice, as with any piece of work, the less powerful participant can come to their own conclusions, but it will be the conclusions of the more powerful funder, or more likely some evaluation intermediary who concludes in lieu of the artists' own conclusions, which influence future funding. What it does do is remove a lot of the bureaucracy from evaluation, and embed evaluation fully into delivery, the artist is thus able to input to the evaluation, without having to take an 'evaluator role' – in fact the 'evaluator role' almost completely disappears here.

Talking Evaluation – Jevan's approach

From early on, Jevan was keen to engage with me and gain as much from my input as possible. This reflects his character and style of practice, as his main collaborator within the project said:

> Jevan is always enthusiastic about everything … we had a joke at the centre that we would try and tell him something which didn't make him go 'Wow, that's amazing!' (Informal interview with Garrison participant 9/7/13).

The approach we evolved arose through an ongoing exchange of ideas, and to honour this approach, as well as to highlight how hard it is to represent, I have chosen to run his account of the practice of evaluation alongside mine, granting it weight in its own right, albeit officially as a long 'quotation'. The text below can be read iteratively starting either with Jevan's version (on the right, in italics), which he read out verbatim at a conference we presented at (Melville and Watkins Jones, 2014) or mine (on the left).

……………………………………………

Jevan claimed that he wasn't good at writing, and it hadn't been previously been a large part of his practice. He also had relatively little experience of evaluation, certainly no positive experience of it having a value for him. This coupled well with my lack of confidence in drawing – which is Jevan's central art form – and formed

In this section I describe artworks produced in the project as 'outputs'. WIS is the military acronym for wounded and injured soldier (an uncomfortable label) and the word 'draw' to extract meaning from as well as in the literal sense of this drawing project.

The three headings addressed here are selected from seven Learning Points summarised in the project evaluation report.

In this particular context [of the conference] they are re-formed to examine the specific impact of my relationship to Ruth to whom I refer as R

part of our relationship as I claimed 'I can't draw' (I can't) while he gleefully noted every example of visualisation I made – mainly diagrams in my notebook. At the end, his report was one of the most lyrical pieces of evaluation I've read, showing a definite ability to express himself through the written word.

Jevan's project started a year later than the others, due to access and other administration issues, and lasted almost exactly one year. The strand was called Garrison and involved working with the recovery centre for wounded and injured servicemen as they prepared for transition to civilian life. The soldiers involved in the project had all suffered serious injuries, some of them had been in recovery for several years (seven in one case), and were all negotiating the extremely emotional experience of

throughout, and its impact on the drawing project at Chavasse VC House.

Moving with them:

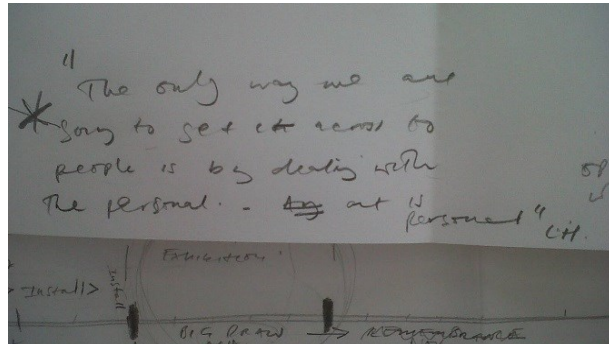*Figure 20: "The only way we are going to get it across to people is by dealing with the person. Art is personal" LH (WIS): Jevan's notes*

Working with R as a critical friend helped shape the understanding that I could work close yet present differently - as an artist and not soldier. This seems obvious but camouflage is often easier. My fortnightly meetings with R enabled me to remain on the outside of the experience (as artist) whilst being in it and being empathetic as a fellow human. Lawrence Brady (fellow Associate Artist and collaborator) describes my practice possessing a 'sensitivity to different states of being'.

Arguably, through my reflective journal, I had created a conscious separation from the hard-hitting witnessing of soldiers' individual experience but the objectivity and level of criticality (active interest) that R brought to our meetings challenged my assumptions of what had happened week to week and the power of the unfolding dialogue in the context of where art meets life.

This gave me confidence to belief in the active role of reflection and analysis as a function of this socially-engaged project and its outputs; as well as evidencing the

leaving what they'd seen as a career for life. In addition, there were numerous issues arising from dealing with the Garrison itself – and the Ministry of Defence bureaucracy it was part of, as well as the charity 'Hope for Heroes' that ran the centre. The project (called Garrison, and culminating in an exhibition called Facing - recovering) was extremely well received locally and the local MP (up to that point a fierce critic of Firstsite) organised for it to be shown at the House of Commons, it also generated a lot of positive press coverage (Colchester Daily Gazette, 2015b) rare for Firstsite. It had a huge effect on the soldiers taking part, with more than one ascribing improvements in serious

projects strengths and weaknesses in a digestible yet lively way for the funders.

This photo shows some of my early drawings of injured soldiers and artist reference on canteen table (setting out the stall).

Figure 21: Jevan's drawings of WIS and arts resources laid out on canteen table at Chavasse House (photo: Jevan Watkins Jones)

Occupying the soldiers (or having an offer in place) seemed an important part of the regime of centre life. WIS are still employed by the MOD.

'Drawing with Jevan' became one of Tuesday's fixed offers. I made myself available within that structure but offered no set task to carry out. "He just sits and chats with us really. He doesn't make us draw", was the message being sent out.

I sat, observed at close quarters, I drew, I set pictures out on canteen table for those passing (casting a net), chatted to staff, resident WIS and visiting WIS and staff, listened and wrote notes – built up a picture of daily rhythms and individual roles in the mix. I became a different constant (in their eyes), an accepted presence.

Again, R helped me see that. The fact that she did not intervene in the relationships (until an appropriate time much later in

mental health issues directly to taking part.

Garrison started with Jevan going to the recovery centre every week, and initially sitting and drawing in the canteen (advertised as 'Drawing with Jevan', who was soon known as 'that beardy weirdy artist'). He didn't run specific 'classes' but gave out good quality drawing pads and pencils, and offered support in technique as well as positive feedback and an ability to view the artistry – rather than the technical accuracy – of the work:

> [Jevan] says 'Oh no, no, these hands and feet, they've got so much... they're awesome, they're great, there's so much to them.. And I'm like 'Ah, they are squiggles. His little toe's bigger than his big toe!' (Informal interview with Garrison participant, 15/10/13).

His patient presence eventually attracted those who had never talked about art, including one of his main collaborators who initially claimed to

the project through meeting them at the gallery) helped me keep a clear division and focus whilst carrying new knowledge from our conversations back into the project situation (the recovery centre).

Evaluation became an active agent of change, a creative device not something, classically, to deal with later and after the event that I had been used to on other arts projects. R became a Tide Staff (a measure) to measure the changing water levels of these fluid relationships and swelling aims of the project.

Un-forcing:
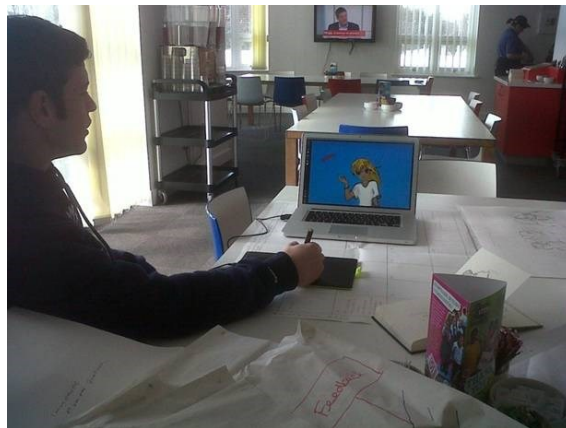
Figure 22: WIS demonstrating Manga drawing technique to Jevan

We (R & I) began to recognise that the skills of the artist, away from the tradition of placing the artist centrally in data collection, were more closely related to that of an ethnographer – listening, watching, observing, recording.

I understood it as a way of exploring cultural phenomena where by the researcher observes society from the point of view of the subject of the study.

I understand this as being a social science yet valuably for me I identified with it as something I do naturally. I was being an ethnographic artist. And where as before I

be 'in it for the free drawing pad' and the fact that unlike everyone else who came into the centre, Jevan didn't try and hassle him to take part. From the start, the main priority for the soldiers was in changing the impression of the military among the civilian population which they felt was unjustly negative. Responding to the wishes of the soldier participants, Jevan, organised an exhibition of the work at Firstsite. To be able to exhibit at a major contemporary gallery was particularly important to the soldiers. The artefacts of the project were films, drawings and photos produced by Jevan and the soldiers, along with the exhibition and exhibition guide, but the artwork clearly also lies in the relationship between Jevan, the 'beardy weirdo artist' and the recovering soldiers and their co-creation which Jevan describes it as a 'dialogic relationship'. This was a new

had seen my use of words as being subsidiary to the visual I was now seeing them as woven into the fabric of a visual narrative.

Figure 23: Still from 'Interlocking Arcs of Fire' Jevan Watkins Jones collaborative film made on mobile phone. [WIS drew diagram of arcs of fire practice on Jevan's hand while explaining it. Film forms part of 'Face – of Recovery' exhibition]

Here, we see the result of a drawing interaction with an injured soldier – the first moment in the project where artist and soldier met in collaboration.

Constancy of contact gave rise to a depth of experience in which I was a conduit for the cultural identity of this small group of injured soldiers having voice in the space of the project and what evolved to become the exhibition. R had handed me the ethnographer's baton, remaining herself as a constant, a touch-stone, on the edge of the relationship that I was central in - this new ethnographic landscape where mutual shaping (by artist, WIS and R) was evolving in an un-prescribed fashion.

Engagement in evolving ethnographic landscape was deeper than drawing alone. R's placing of action-research at the core of this and all the projects of Experimental Communities gave rise to expanded notions of what art is in a socially-engaged context and participatory sense.

approach for Jevan as it was the first project where he hadn't created the art as an artefact. This element was where my involvement started, and the second 'dialogic relationship' formed.

In one of my regular (monthly) one-to-one meetings with Jevan relatively soon after he started work at the centre, he mentioned how new everything was to him – both the setting and culture of the military, and the slow approach he was taking. He felt this was the right approach to take – what he later called 'un-forcing' but it didn't give him any sense of progress or outcome. The predominant logic within the evaluation discussions at the time was the corporate one, with an emphasis on the need to do your job, get on with it and meet targets. A meeting with me (as Evaluation Critical

In reality we were involved in a 'Community of Practice' where the perceived success of the project depending on finding a common ground, yes, most importantly between myself and the soldiers but also the centre staff, the gallery staff and R as a consultant tasked with supporting a reflective process.

By definition a community of practice (CoP) is, according to cognitive anthropologists Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger, a *group of people who share a craft and/or a profession. The group can evolve naturally because of the members' common interest in a particular domain or area, or it can be created specifically with the goal of gaining knowledge related to their field. It is through the process of sharing information and experiences with the group that the members learn from each other, and have an opportunity to develop themselves personally and professionally* (Lave and Wenger, 1991).

Drawing-out words:

Figure 24: Still from Cinzia Cremona's Film of Jevan drawing WIS while interviewing him: shown in 'Face - of Recovery' exhibition

Words became drawing and drawing became words - interwoven. My original intention had been to draw more myself in the situation, directly from them and their

Friend) was constructed as a place where you reported on that, and thus this was at the forefront of his mind, there was also a time pressure which resulted from the politics and logistics of the programme. In addition, working in the centre was emotionally difficult, and the soldiers were beginning to share their experiences and worries with him.

I suggested he make fieldnotes, in an ethnographic tradition (Crang and Cook, 2007). These would serve both as a place to reflect and note progress and changes, and as a space to explore his emotional response to the experience. I explained the value ethnographers have gained from writing reflective fieldnotes in challenging situations (Warden, 2013) and suggested taking a systematic approach to fieldnotes, completing them on a regular basis, and initially using some guide questions (Emerson,

stories. I had intended to create an active studio space where drawings were left on the wall of the canteen. This was not allowed on the new centre walls but also it became less relevant.

The space I had created appeared to have founded itself upon talking together. Talking about soldiering and art and liminally the human relationship between these two - me and them. I say me and them (though I often listened more that spoke) because it was still the offer of 'Drawing with Jevan' that instigated that space and my job to draw the visual out in a relational way. I was my duty in this instant not theirs. They didn't have to participate or even turn up. The only way that could happen was to keep hold of these conversations as best I could in note form in order to draw on them (verbally) in weeks to come.

R talked about ways of separating out types of conversation/interaction in order for my palette of experience not to become muddied. This didn't quite happen but key events were up most in my mind and these became drivers or more rewardingly rapport with a few individuals dictated the course.

A pivotal moment in the project was when one WIS had returned to a set meeting with me the following week with a bunch of drawings he had done in his room of evening. He had expressed an interest after a period of circling the wagons – wondering 'why hasn't he given me a sketchbook?' he later revealed.

I filmed the arising conversation on my mobile phone and was aware of the eloquence with which he spoke about his emerging imagery. He was speaking like a 'true' artist. I played the video back to R

282

Fretz and Shaw, 1995, 2001). Jevan responded to this with his usual enthusiasm and for the entirety of the project wrote several pages of notes and reflections after each session (usually on the train home, showing a discipline I have always found difficult).

After the first month he sent them to me, and I was really interested and asked him some questions about the situation and his reflections by emailed reply. His next fieldnotes addressed my questions, and we developed a process of him writing and sending me the notes, which I replied to or commented on, with him responding to my comments. Thus we accidentally developed an approach of using ethnographic reflection and response as an iterative process, which

(you see no face in the video. WIS were still unidentified to R) in a twilight meeting that evening. R shared my excitement at this turn of events, speaking about the methodology of re-positioning the student as expert where by the student is no longer the passive recipient of knowledge but the one constructing it. (An approach to teaching and learning known as Mantle of the Expert, invented and developed by Dorothy Heathcote at Middlesex University in the 1980's).

What we were seeing was that the slow gentle approach of being a constant presence, demonstrating an interest in their experience as soldiers, finding common ground between being a soldier (wounded or not) and being artist through talking together had brought drawing (in collaboration as a main aim) to the fore.

Figure 25: drawing by injured soldier with PTSD of a male insurgent he took down in Iraq in 2006 (the vision in his flashbacks)

Drawing had naturalised through talking. My field notes, as a reflective journal, detailing these processes were self-evidencing a shift in my practice as a visual artist, where words (written and spoken) had not only become a significant part of my working methodology, but also my output as an artist. The sum of both producing qualitative data suitable for evaluation purposes.

we reflected on in a conference paper (Melville and Watkins Jones, 2014) placing the interchange between us as the object of study, as well as part of the analysis session as per the dialogic approach of Fletcher and Dyson who use ethnography as a tool in building an evaluation as a work in progress, with the evaluators' ethnographic reflections forming part of the evaluation (Fletcher and Dyson, 2013).

Jevan's evaluation of Garrison largely arose from this interaction, by email and in person, along with discussions with the soldiers and other artists.

In conclusion, evaluation had been embedded to become an active and relevant agent of change in the project in a practice based methodology – a creative lever in the projects duration and not one imposed and dutifully fulfilled after the event as I had experienced, unrewardingly, on other arts projects.

A special finding for us was that Ethnography whether written or visual is an art as much as a social science. It relies on the best of human sensibilities to interact with others in way where influence is creative and not obstructive to any group's core beliefs and life-style choices.

(Jevan Watkins Jones, in Melville and Watkins Jones, 2014)

…………………………………………

As should be clear from the two accounts above, Jevan credited me heavily in the thinking on the evaluation but also in the project itself, where he credits the 'evaluation' experience as fully shaping the artistic practice. I in turn gained from his reflection into the development of evaluation practice. This reflects the full intermingling of the evaluative practice and the artistic practice, meaning Jevan moved his practice to include a much more verbal written element (along with me adapting my research practice – as discussed in Chapter Three above). The diagram

we produced for the conference sums it up well – representing the project (not 'project plus evaluation') as a pair of relationships based on iterative dialogue.
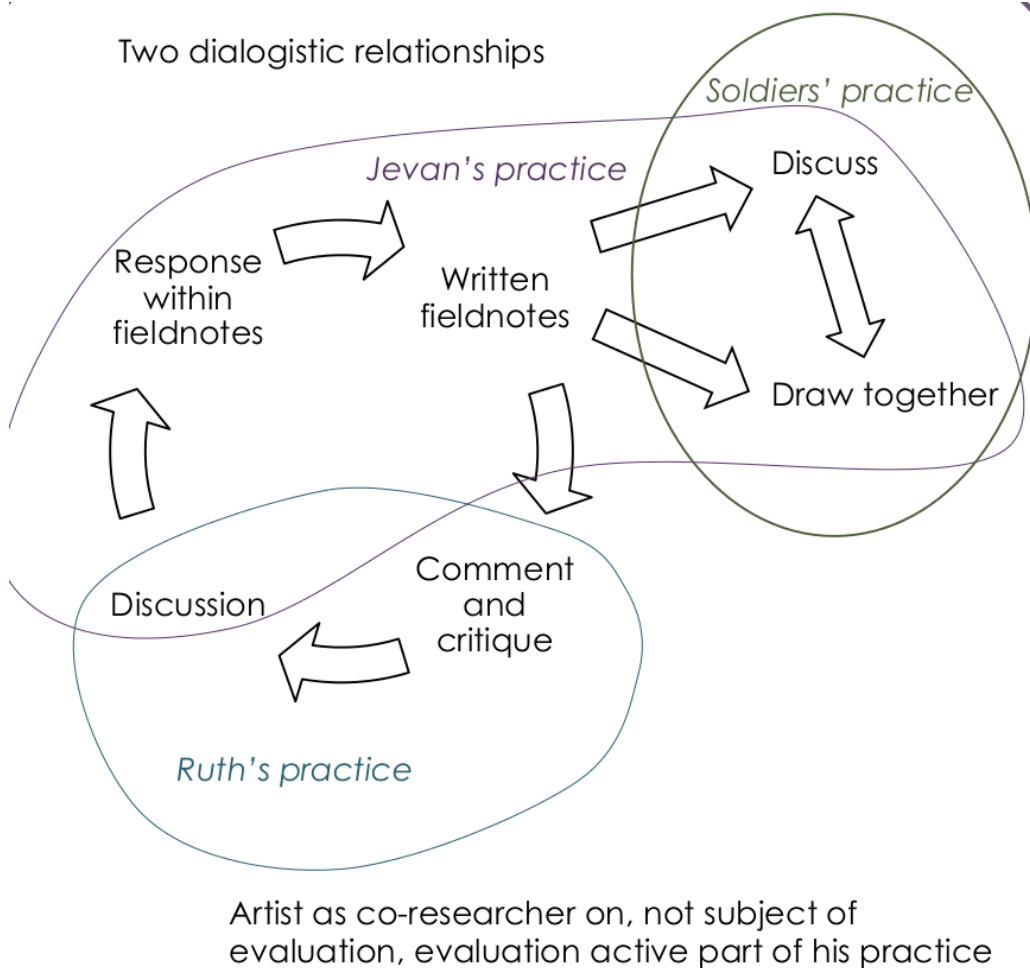
Figure 26: Relationships of practice- Garrison Project (Melville and Watkins Jones, 2014)

In this project, Jevan and I developed a dialogic practice which was a mix of evaluation and practice, which in turn intersected with Jevan's dialogic artistic creation practice with the soldiers. Although not shown in the diagram above, as I was introduced by Jevan to the soldiers involved, I began to discuss and reflect with them, which in turn fed back into my questions and dialogue with Jevan and his back to them. This approach led to the involvement of what were effectively extremely vulnerable participants in the shaping and design of Experimental Communities'

evaluation, an unusual level of participant engagement and influence in evaluation in my experience.

This work took a very gifted artist to manage, Jevan's ability to engage with and form meaningful and lasting relationships with people in complex transition situations is amazing, and relied on his skills and enthusiasm. Furthermore the development of the level of trust that led to the soldiers becoming comfortable within Firstsite (bearing in mind all the issues of its status in the local area) so that by the end of the project participants would ring the Learning Team and arrange to use the studios on days that Jevan wasn't available, is unusual, but what is interesting is that it didn't take years to achieve. It developed in a year of consistent 'Tuesdays at the Garrison' which Jevan committed to. The evaluation approach which developed alongside this builds on similar skills and commitments - Jevan's systematic note taking and enthusiasm in engaging with any input I made, the joy of reading his notes which led me to honour my commitment during what was an incredibly busy time for me.

This approach to evaluation: based on a dialogue between artist and evaluator (and possibly linking to one between artist and participant) situates evaluation within the professional logic of learning from practice, reflecting and sharing with peers. It also brings in the community logic where trust and reciprocity are key sources of legitimacy, and emotional connection is part of identity. My respect for Jevan as an artist and for his operation within his professional logic, was mirrored by his for my professional practice of evaluation. However, as well as this, it was the emotional connection, trust and reciprocity which really made the approach work. I was introducing a totally new approach to evaluation to Jevan (he had previously only

experienced it as post-hoc and 'box-ticking'), this approach required a massive time commitment for him, so he did need to trust me.

Dialogic Evaluation

The wider application of this approach wouldn't be as hard to justify to funders as the previous two approaches, partly in that it operates through words (although it might be more spoken than written for other artists who aren't as comfortable at writing). This produces a visible (sharable) output, even if it would be hard for a casual reader to engage with Jevan's notes file (which rivalled the length of my thesis by the end).

The approach has the advantage of operating within the two logics artists feel most comfortable: the professional and the community, and if framed appropriately this approach could fit within the curatorial logic – certainly Jevan's strand was the one the Curator felt most comfortable with due to the production of artefacts and the choice to put on an exhibition. Dialogic approaches are central in the thinking around socially engaged practice (Kester, 2004; Schrag, 2015), and the Garrison work would fit easily within socially engaged practice as currently defined (Hull, 2007; Hope, 2011a). Building an evaluation method which reflects the practice in which it operates is both appropriate and likely to gain more support in its use.

Practising 'dialogic evaluation' would require the commitment of the artist involved, and considerable time on the part of both the artist and the evaluator – or perhaps 'interlocutor' – however she terms herself. The 'evaluation' is a co-production of the artist and evaluator, never belonging to either alone. In many cases the intersecting dialogues with participants will give some authorship of the evaluation to the participants as well – which would have been the case in Garrison if the work had had longer to develop. The process of the evaluation is the reflection on practice, which is

shared and reflected on, then that reflection reflected back on while practice continues. There are advantages to doing the 'reflection' elements of this through writing: the structure of regularly recording reflection alone, and uninterrupted, helps generate an initial open stream of thought, not guided by evaluator assumptions. The evaluator then has the structure of the text (and photos/images) to reflect on. For practical reasons, Jevan typed all notes, then emailed them to me, I wrote comments and questions in the text, in a different colour. He sometimes responded in situ in a further colour, but more often mentioned the comments or responded to them in the next week's reflections.

The process is the evaluation, and might be sufficient in itself – echoing Stern's first role of evaluation: to improve – rather than feeling we need always to move to 'proving' (Stern, 2014, p. 159). If there is a need to share this, learning in particular can be shared verbally through a further dialogue of sharing ideas with peers – as Jevan did in 'convince your peers' and 'critical pairing' (see below). It can be written up with the evaluation report – or whatever format is required – shaped by the thinking, or drawing directly on the word usages developed in the dialogue. Some of the phrases Jevan coined to describe the Garrison work (for example 'un-forcing') developed over a few weeks of to and fro within his notes and my questions. This dialogue – particularly the formal written interchange – might not form the only element of an evaluation, and later in the project we spent a lot of time talking and sharing that way – an evolution of the dialogue, but not necessarily better – as well as informal conversations with the soldier participants and discussions within the artefact co-production which was a fruitful mode of gaining reflection (fitting within

Jacqueline's reflecting by making model above). The dialogic relationship, rooted in the formal to and fro of ideas, does act to form a strong core to an evaluation.

A new perspective on evaluation in the publicly funded arts sector?

These evaluation approaches offer a way of moving forward within research in cultural measurement and evaluation away from some of the circularity and definitional debate of the literature on what cultural value is (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2014, 2016). With these approaches I am not entering into this debate, but I am bearing in mind some of the warnings arising within it particularly around the risk of the reification of value and the reduction of an understanding of cultural value to that which is measurable (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008; Walmsley, 2012b; Belfiore, 2014). These approaches do not answer the need for large-scale validated measures which can be used to evidence one or other aspect of the value of culture (Brown and Novak, 2007; Marsh, MacKay, Morton and Parry, 2010; Barnett, 2011; Brown and Richards, 2011; Marsh and Bertranou, 2012; Bunting and Knell, 2014b; Barnett and Melville, 2016; Knell and Whitaker, 2016), nor do they unfortunately give civil servants at the DCMS their silver bullet evidence to argue for spend on culture versus other Treasury priorities (Cooper, 2012).

They do however bring the new perspective on value suggested by Graeber's (2001) anthropological theory of value - focusing on valuing as a process, rather than focusing on the value, to a consideration of evaluation within the arts, recognising that this valuing practice (evaluation) has impacts on how organisations function, as well as how they value (Harvie and Milburn, 2010; Stevenson, 2013a). Through this recognition, some of the reasons for ineffectual and inappropriate evaluation requirements and practices in the sector can be understood (Davies and Heath, 2014;

Raw and Robson, 2017). Coupling the new lens to understand and map institutional logics in operation in the arts offered by the analysis and development of an adapted framework (Appendix 2.2) with this process-focused approach to evaluation, offers a new perspective on what evaluation could and should be in the sector. This perspective places the process of art and artists – the core business of the arts - at the centre (Stewart, 2007; Hope, 2011a; Raw, 2013; Schrag, 2015), but brings in the experiences and practices of participants as well as policy-makers, funders and management through an understanding and analysis of the various institutional logics (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012) operating in the setting.

Navigating Evaluation – Ruth's approach

Finally, I turn to the lynchpin – or maybe the problematic gatekeeper in evaluation in the arts – the evaluator. This role and skill set offers the opportunity to help shape these new perspectives, and in particular to disseminate them through the sector, showing their value to funders, policy-makers, arts organisations and artists, all of whom the most influential arts evaluators work directly with. However, they are potentially the problem, operating within the market logic of supporting evidence of return on investment from their 'expert outsider' position of informal control mechanism (see adapted logics table in Appendix 2.2), or falling into the comfortable mode of fitting with the corporate logic's hierarchy and job requirements. Simply by providing the 'supply' of easy, ineffective but unchallenging evaluation, evaluators can be maintaining demand for this sort of work.

I need to hold my hands up here: I am a consultant evaluator. Admittedly, my consultancy work is as a reluctant evaluator, increasingly rarely agreeing to 'do evaluation' as it is often neither interesting, nor useful – all too regularly used to 'tick

the box' on the funding form. As a result, I have moved almost completely to 'supporting evaluation' – including four roles using the term 'critical - and really only 'doing evaluation' where it is possible to either effect change within the evaluation using an embedded critical action research model (Sykes and Treleaven, 2009) or develop or pilot a new approach in the sector (for example SROI, see Barnett and Melville, 2016). I have also made a commitment to share learning and attempt to effect change: joining panels and programme steering groups, and agreeing to speak at practitioner conferences around some of the challenges with evaluation within the arts. Through these I aim to move the policy and practitioner debate on to accepting that there is a need for something: to justify the public value arising from public money, at least in the current political climate, but not then accepting 'anything'.

Reason for this is a growing realisation of the effect being in the middle of an illogical situation has on me, as well as artists – I too am affected by different logics: my professional logic not all that dissimilar from that of the socially-engaged artists. My community constantly needing to be identified and reflected on: the organisations I work with, their participants, individual artists, other evaluation practitioners, academics?

I've come to realise quite how much my 'evaluation practice' is shaped by the organisations and people I am working with, Jevan showed me how much I used drawing and diagrams in my work, teasing me when I claimed to be totally un-artistic by flipping through my notebooks and pointing out all the diagrams and doodles there. Elaine's placement of objects and observation of responses has shaped my approach to running reflection workshops, reflection on why Lawrence's questions were quite so influential has led to me focussing on putting together some challenging

questions for artists and other practitioners to use in self-reflection. I also notice my practice more – all arising from the conversations I had during my fieldwork and after. At the time of writing I am working with a dance organisation for the first time, suddenly movement has become incorporated so much more in my way of thinking and approaching research design (I'm also currently working on a dementia project which by inference could explain the state of this thesis).

In a series of useful email exchanges with an artist I met at a conference – who was also completing a PhD at the time - in response to my angst over the role of the evaluator, what it is and what it should be: evaluation and performance compliance officer, accountant of monitoring requirement fulfilment, additional time-resource drain (particularly when asking them to do evaluation more creatively and richly), voice of the conscience, witness, judge, friend, co-creator of the work. I suggested I was effectively working to put myself out of a job – a phrase I use to many potential clients when discussing work: I think I've failed if they need to get 'another evaluator' in next time they do a similar project – they should have moved on and be asking a new question and working in a new way. His suggestion was that the role I describe should be as "… a navigator and translator between the 'institution' and the 'artist …'" (from private correspondence with Anthony Schrag, 2014).

This was effectively the role which I took in Experimental Communities. Reflecting back, I can categorise five types of intervention I did, four of which I think are potential future models for evaluation professional of the future - the 'evaluation navigator'. The last is probably inevitable given the dominance of the corporate and market logics in evaluation still but is something I actively work to avoid.

Translation to sector

From the start to the end, I acted as the 'translator' and interpreter of funder requirements, evaluation jargon and academic learning for Firstsite, for the Learning Team and for the Associate Artists. This is a common role in the sector and feels an important one for evaluators to retain. It draws upon their personal expertise as experts within the professional logic and interacts with their status in the hierarchy - usually more fluid than other actors in the setting – in the corporate logic. This role feels like a moral necessity for me personally given my views on the lack of good quality guidance on, and poor usage of evaluation reports in the sector (Carnwath and Brown, 2014; Davies and Heath, 2014) and the need, shown through this thesis to redefine and re-angle evaluation practice.

In practice this often involved listening to unspoken fears and assumptions about what evaluation has to be, and helping interpret particular phrases in guidance to show they were actually more flexible than the artists or managers feared.

Translation from the sector

An increasingly important role in my job is the translation, and re-packaging of arts organisation and artists' emic evaluation practices into a language that makes sense to policy makers and funders. This is the reason I wrote a 'methodology' for Experimental Communities (included as Appendix 3 below) and why I took on writing the first 'Learning Document' for Creative People and Places, summing up the outcomes of the programme from a mix of artists stories and case studies and an incomprehensible 'meta-evaluation report' commissioned at great cost (Melville and Morgan, 2015). The fact that this report, and its 2016 successor, written in the same way but at more length, (Robinson, 2016) are seen by the arts press, peers and Arts

Council England, the CPP as the funder as the definitive source for understanding the outcomes of CPP, is a sign of the need for this sort of role.

Within Experimental Communities (as for most of my work) this role operates throughout the process. From the beginning, I took a role in seeking clarification from the funder (including challenging their implicit assumptions), and from Firstsite management on behalf of the programme or artists. During the process my role with respect to supporting the understanding of the artists' approaches is encapsulated in the extreme situation of Elaine's clash with Frances, but in fact was something I did with all of them. I also supported Frances and Judith to make the case for Experimental Communities to the Board of Firstsite, and used my 'expert role' in discussions with local councillors and the media to share the benefits of the work. At the end of the work, the role can range from editing an artists' text to help it make the case it is trying to make (in cases where they aren't comfortable with writing) to writing something for or with them. In this way I have produced two co-authored conference papers with the artists which have enabled their work to join the academic and practice debates (Melville and Watkins Jones, 2014; Melville, Hull and Roberts, 2014).[27] The 'extreme' cases of me writing the evaluation report are not what I would aim for, but in practice this is something that artists and organisations find very useful given that they do need to produce something formal. In some cases, this translation involves changing the very understanding of what evaluation practice is. As for

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[27] In both cases the artists responded to my general call out about the conferences and request for anyone interested to let me know. I then worked up the paper with them, in Mandy and Beth's case doing nearly all the writing after we'd decided together what the points were and how to present it (a prezi!) and in Jevan's case with me doing 'the academic' and structuring work, and Jevan writing his script and both of us producing the diagrams and poster.

socially-engaged art itself where the 'art' lies in the process, rather than (or as well as) the artefact produced, in this new perspective on evaluation, the 'evaluation' is not the report – or any other specific evaluation artefact. It is the process of evaluating. That is where the learning, and sharing best lies.

Reporting the evaluation, while not resorting to writing a report as a default can often gain from the artistic practices it is situated in. For example in Beth Hull's 'In Between' she maps the audience position (seated) at an event, and then the movement of people in between sessions, using a series of dots and lines to represent individuals and their movements. In these cases, the co-production is of a performer and audience and they aren't sharing the making, but the visualisation could work well for recording and sharing the evaluation.

Audience Performer
A record of the audience positioning during Associative Enquiries event at firstsite

Betwixt and Between
A record of the movement in between Associative Enquiries event at firstsite

Figure 27: Audience Performer & Betwixt and Between, Beth Hull (Beth Hull 'In Between' in Stewart., 2013, pp. 35–36)

I try and take a mix of these two roles in conversation with funders and senior managers (and with ACE in particular), advocating for the value of the work arising from artists' practice as valid and useful forms of evaluation.

Curating opportunities for reflection and sharing

During the Experimental Communities work, I found that the Associate Artists really valued being forced to talk through their reflections, and building on these developed a number of formalised ways of doing these. The fact that these continued to the end, in a programme where compliance was very hard to achieve is an indication of their value to the artists.

Critical Pairings:

Each of the Associate Artists and Learning Team members was matched with another with whom they'd not worked before and weren't sharing a strand. Frances and I did this 'scientifically' – based on these criteria and she wasn't initially sure some pairs would work due to the real difference in styles and artforms. When I announced them at the first session I said we could swap partners in 6 months (in case it didn't work) but when the time came they were finding them really fruitful and agreed to continue.

Figure 28: A critical pairing 'in action' – Mandy and Jevan insisted on sitting 'in an artistic fashion' for this session which was a reflection on the value of the critical pairings – in critical pairings

The format of the session – which was given 30 minutes at every quarterly meeting and artists were encouraged to do it in between – was for each to talk for five minutes, then they would discuss something that had come up in those discussions. I always had to go around and chivvy them to return from wherever they had gone in order to move to the next part of the day so there was definitely a real value felt, however they almost never met in between when I didn't build it in.

'Convince your Peers'

These were held quarterly as part of the review days and were so named after the artists raised how difficult it was to do evaluation to an unseen audience 'the funder'. In a conversation with Lawrence I said "just say what you'd say to convince your peers about the value" and he immediately opened up. The idea was to share learning from their practice evaluation of their projects, with the 'convincing' element changing the tone from a usual description of activities, to a listing of and reflecting on what it meant. The format was that the artist of the quarter (usually two per quarter if there was time) would 'present' for seven minutes. I encouraged them to present an issue they were having, or something that surprised them (previously we had had endless lists of activities done). Following this we would ask any questions and get clarification (usually needed given the work was so complex and seven minutes really difficult for the artists as they usually included some sort of interaction in their presentation. We then had about 15 minutes of discussion on the issue, shared learning, what the lessons were. I made a joke of the timing aspect with a very loud kitchen buzzer and abruptly cutting discussion off, which was annoying in the moment, but actually very positive as a whole as we moved from endless tiring monologues with people wandering off mid-way through to quick, engaging and

useful discussions. Interestingly, although the 15 minute discussions were interesting at times, all the artists felt they got the most from the requirement to present for no more than seven minutes on their findings. In this way, we reframed an externally imposed 'evaluation requirement' into a discussion amongst peers, with a clear audience.

There were various other ways in which I 'curated' the reflection and sharing of learning: encouraging artists to present at practitioner (and appropriate academic) conferences, noting where two people had a shared issue or could benefit from discussion and getting them together, if necessary with me there. I adapted most of the evaluation approaches following observation of the artist's preferred style and suggested who and how they could develop it. I also ran reflection and writing sessions at the end of the process where we booked three whole days at the university (to give a bit of change and a new environment) and mixed reflection sessions and individual or paired writing. During these three days – along with my researcher colleague who helped – I spent time with individual artists as needed, encouraging, helping reflection and often 'cracking the whip' as I know the experience of prevaricating around writing up.

The learning I gained from reflecting on this whole element as a practice has greatly increased my confidence in insisting on building in formally scheduled reflection sessions for projects I work with (in my Critical Friend role for CPPs I have to help ensure reflection and learning spread through practice so I have a real opportunity to make this happen). This can be heavily resisted based on time and confidence, but where well supported most projects have begun to work with me on this and report that they benefit from it.

Sounding Board and Mentor for Evaluation

Linked to the roles above, the involvement of an evaluator on a project, offers the insider-outsider view on the work. Evaluation requires inhabiting this role and 'activating the hyphen' as Humphrey describes it (Humphrey, 2007), but this position can offer something very useful to the organisation or artist as well. As Jevan notes above:

> he fact that [R] did not intervene in the relationships … helped me keep a clear division and focus whilst carrying new knowledge from our conversations back into the project situation … R became a Tide Staff (a measure) to measure the changing water levels of these fluid relationships and swelling aims of the project (Melville and Watkins Jones, 2014).

This was a role I took with all the artists, and with Frances as project manager in her understanding and management of the project and evaluation and, that 'critical friend' role is increasingly being used and seen as valuable in the arts sector.

Evaluation Compliance Officer

The final role I inhabited during Experimental Communities, as is apparent in many examples above, was a compliance and enforcement role. Sometimes this was on purpose - I was seen as 'nice' and there was a level of trust between me and the artists which sometimes wasn't there with management, so at times Frances did explicitly give me this job on the basis that "they'll do it for you but not for me". This was something I didn't strongly refuse, though I tended to resist it if possible as it inevitably has an effect on relationships. The reason we might see it as a legitimate part of the evaluator's wider role, is the extent to which it interacts with the earlier work. The more that the real requirements of evaluation are understood, and taken on board, the more that alternative approaches are used, the less the need for enforcement. However, it is not something that arises from nowhere and when seen

through the lens of the adapted logics framework, my placement in this role (whether through my behaviours, or the perceptions, assumptions and behaviours of others) shows evaluation as situated in the corporate logic, or perhaps the market one, rather than arising within the artists practices (which tend to inhabit the professional and community logics).

Conclusion – what does artists' emic evaluation look like?

This chapter develops three alternative approaches to evaluation practice which arise from and within artists' practice, and discusses the role of the evaluator in supporting these new approaches.

These approaches are developed from my practitioner experience and particularly in a collaborative dialogue with the Associate Artists during Experimental Communities, and as such they are not mine alone, but are co-created with the artists involved. My role in sharing and translating them to an academic, policy and funding context is part of the evaluation navigator role I developed in the last section of this chapter.

Each practice builds on an understanding of the logic clashes which took place within the Experimental Communities work, which are described and explored through the lens of the adapted logics framework in Chapters Five and Six. Each also is constructed within the understanding of evaluation as a practice, rather than the search for an outcome, which means they fit well with programme evaluation, the prevalent evaluation in the sector (Mertens and Wilson, 2012).

Of course, these three alternatives are examples only of the many ways in which evaluative practices can be embedded within artistic practice, turning evaluation from an externally applied bureaucratic requirement(Raw and Robson, 2017), to an integral

and owned part of an artist's work. In this way, they offer an opportunity to step away from the ongoing debate on the definition and measurement of cultural value (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016), to begin to map out a new perspective on evaluation in the arts, based on evaluation as a practice (Harvie and Milburn, 2010; Stevenson, 2013a) which draws on and interacts with the practices of art.

Within this new perspective, the role of the evaluator, far from being redundant, increases in importance with the need for a critical, creative practitioner to 'navigate evaluation'.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions and What Next?

This thesis presents the research and analysis carried out in my collaborative PhD with Firstsite contemporary art gallery from 2011-17.

In Chapter One I explain how I approached the PhD based on previous academic and practitioner evaluation research, building on the partnership with Firstsite and my own position in the sector. I chose to take a personal approach to research and writing, and interweave learning from practice with data from two years of ethnographic fieldwork in Firstsite's Experimental Communities Programme. In particular I involved Firstsite's Associate Artists as co-researchers in my work in the critical action research tradition (Sykes and Treleaven, 2009). In this chapter I outline the setting and its particularly political nature during the period of my fieldwork, and explore the contexts in which Firstsite and the study sits: the publicly funded arts sector; socially-engaged art; and the definition of evaluation in the sector.

In Chapter Two I review the main literature to which my research will contribute and which it draws on. The cultural policy literature on measuring value in the arts centres around a discussion on the possibility, implications and practicalities of measuring 'cultural value' (O'Brien, 2010; Belfiore, 2014; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016). There is a huge amount of evaluating done in the arts (Carnwath and Brown, 2014), and regular reviews undertaken of the evidence base (Bunting, Hutton and King, 2010; Carnwath and Brown, 2014; O'Brien and Oakley, 2015) however there is a consensus on the lack of quality of much evaluation, and no agreement on the best way to define or measure cultural value (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016). I note the focus in this literature on the definition and measurement of the object of cultural

value, with less on the process of measurement, and the experience of those involved in the measurement, specifically around the ways in which practice and evaluation affect each other. Futhermore there is a concentration of research at the micro- or macro-level, on project evaluations (Melville, 2013; Carnwath and Brown, 2014; Wood, 2014) and on sector-wide analysis (Belfiore & Bennett, 2007a; Stanziola, 2012). There is less consideration of the organisation as a locus of evaluation requirements and practice. Bringing in research from other disciplines I note the effect that evaluating has on performance (Otley, 2003) and suggest consideration of evaluation as a practice – researching valuing, rather than value (Harvie and Milburn, 2010). Finally I explore the way logics are framed as operating and suggest the value of applying frameworks from the institutional logics perspective (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012) to research in this area. Drawing this literature, and my practice and research commitments I develop three research questions:

- What are the logics of evaluation in the arts organisation?

- How do artists respond to and engage with evaluation within and through the multiplicity of these logics?

- How could recognising the logics at play, and starting with artists' values and practice to design measurement affect the efficacy and value of that measurement?

In Chapter Three I explain the methodology I developed which was based on critical action research (Sykes and Treleaven, 2009) and autoethnography (Marechal, 2012) and drew on my prior and ongoing practitioner work (Drake, 2011). I explain the setting and process of my fieldwork, a two-year embedded project working as

evaluation critical friend to the Experimental Communities programme at Firstsite, with my focus on the experience and responses of the artists involved in the programme. This work generated a wealth of data collected through ethnographic fieldnotes and reflection sessions with the artists as my co-researchers.

In Chapter Four, I outline a systematic adaptation of the institutional logics framework from Thornton et al's (2012, p.73) ideal type, to the specifics of the publicly funded arts sector and the socially-engaged artist profession. This adaptation is explained in detail, with reference to how the seven logics of the institutional logics manifest within this sector.

In Chapters Five and Six I discuss the ways in which the artists responded to and engaged with the requirement to evaluate. I discuss this through the use of 'jarring moments' of particular discomfort or jolt within my perception. These examples group into artists using 'exit' and 'neglect' strategies of petty misbehaviour and passivity (Chapter Five) or 'voice' strategies of complaint or challenging and reframing the debate (Chapter Six). Revisiting these moments, experienced at the time, and framed by participants in the moments often as negative responses, by applying the adapted institutional logics framework developed in Chapter Four, are shown to be much more complex. These jarring moments, seen through a logics lens, are revealed to be instances of the operation and mobilisation of a range of different logics by artists and management, each iteratively responding to the last. This alternative view allows both a more complex understanding of what is at play, and the opportunity to take a more constructive approach to overcoming some of the resistance to evaluation evident in the sector.

Developing from this, and reflecting the work co-produced by myself with the artists around the Experimental Communities evaluation, Chapter Seven begins to map out practical alternative evaluation models. These focus explicitly on the importance of evaluation as a process, with value in and of itself, not simply in its outputs. They also build on the recognition that artists carry out evaluation all the time, within their artistic and socially engaged practice and in their balancing of home, art, and the need to earn money which arise from an understanding of the framing of evaluation within the multiple logics. I outline new methods based on the artistic and evaluation practices of three of the Associate Artists and developed within our work together on Experimental Communities. Finally, I turn to reflect on my role in these new approaches to evaluation, concluding that far from making the evaluator 'redundant' a focus on the process of evaluation, and building from artists emic evaluation practices requires an evaluation 'navigator' to translate, facilitate, support and advocate for evaluation.

Contributions

This thesis makes four main academic contributions, three analytical and one methodological:

Development and application of the Institutional Logics Framework to understanding the UK publicly funded arts sector

Through the work developed in Chapter Four, and its application in Chapters Five and Six, I show the value of the application of an adapted Institutional Logics Perspective framework (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012) to understanding the interactions within publicly funded arts organisations. The current cultural policy literature tends to focus discussion on either the sector-wide implications of measuring 'cultural value' (O'Brien, 2010; Belfiore, 2014; Crossick and Kaszynska,

2016), or specific project level and methodological issues (Bunting, Hutton and King, 2010; Marsh and Bertranou, 2012; Bunting and Knell, 2014a; Carnwath and Brown, 2014). The role of the arts organisation as a locus for evaluation translation and the logics within this is less discussed, and partly as a result, there is little research about why the sector faces both a paucity of good evaluation (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016), and yet is drowning in evaluation requirements (Stanziola, 2012; Raw and Robson, 2017). Viewing Firstsite as an organisation, and the sector as a whole, through the lens of the logics in operation, gives a new perspective on where the problem (and potentially the solution) lies: the clash between funders, management, artists and arts intermediaries at all levels acting within different logics. These actors are both affected by the logics of the context in which they operate, and mobilise them in turn to gain agency in the situation. This thesis applies the framework adapted to the sector to one specific locus of conflict: the responses of artists within an organisation to the requirement for programme evaluation. However, responses to other issues, and of other staff within the organisation are inevitably intermixed in the examples as evaluation doesn't stand separate from practice. This recognises the role of the organisation (in particular, the gallery with all that that implies around validation) within the intersection of identity and practice for artists, and thus how a pressure from the organisation to evaluate becomes enmeshed with responses linked to identity and meaning making: artist logics. Thus, there is scope for the application of the logics framework to understanding responses across the range of artists and arts intermediaries: curators; arts learning officers; evaluators and senior managers, who work with and in publicly funded arts organisations in the UK.

Deeper understanding of the responses of artists to evaluation

Academic research on the experience of being part of evaluation as an artist; whether as a subject, recipient or agent within the evaluation, is relatively scarce (Raw and Robson, 2017). This study contributes an in-depth picture of that experience, and the responses to it, with the focus on the artist's receipt of the evaluation imperative, their responses to it, and their agency-taking within it. It discusses that experience using first an EVLN analysis (Rusbult and Zembrodt, 1983; Farrell and Rusbult, 1992; Naus, van Iterson and Roe, 2007), finding the artists at various time exhibit each of the exit, voice, loyalty and neglect responses to the requirement to evaluation. It then explores the responses through an Institutional Logics Perspective framework (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012) and shows the artists mobilising a range of logics in response to the logics of the organisation with evaluation acting as a particular focus for clashes of logics. Through these two analyses, this study shows that evaluation is best viewed not as an outcome or separate activity within the arts sector, but an iterative practice, embedded in the practice and delivery of the art, within and part of the management relations and logics of the organisation. It shows that there are multiple actors within the evaluation requirement: participants, funders, peers, management, the organisation, external experts, and multiple logics operating amongst and between these actors. Far from being passive recipients of a management imposed requirement to evaluate, this research shows that artists are both affected by the logics, and able to mobilise them to affect others' involvement and responses. This contributes to a growing body of work on the experience of the artist as a practitioner, recognising them as agents of social change and challenge, as well as situating artistic practice as a locus of learning and reflection (Sullivan, 2005;

Glinkowski, 2008; Zinn, 2011; Raw, 2013; Lowe, 2014; Schrag, 2015; Thornton, 2015).

New approaches to evaluation *within***, rather than** *of,* **art**

From the understanding gained through taking a new lens to consider evaluation within the arts sector, focusing on the multiple logics operating for and around the artists, and on the artists' own evaluation practices, this study proposes a new approach to evaluation within the arts, as an additional way of viewing and constructing evaluation.

As shown above in Chapter Two, there are two focuses for the debate on measurement of impact and evaluation in the arts: the lack of agreement on what is being measured, and on which methods are most appropriate to use. This is explored at length in Chapter Two and involves debate on what the evaluation is measuring and whether it can be measured, (Belfiore and Bennett, 2007b; Bunting, Hutton and King, 2010; Walmsley, 2012b; Stevenson, 2013a; Carnwath and Brown, 2014; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016) as well as how to measure it (O'Brien, 2010, 2012; Bakhshi, 2012; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016).

What I highlight are two further issues: the fact there is too much evaluation in the arts; and the emphasis within the literature on the 'value' as the focus of discussion, rather than consideration of the 'valuing' as a process

The fact that there is too much evaluation in the arts, often low quality and not used or useful, although discussed within some research reviews and articles (Carnwath and Brown, 2014; Raw and Robson, 2017) and well recognised anecdotally, by arts organisations and even the funders that require the evaluation, is not the focus of

much research. This is a pressing issues in the sector, for example in particular, when applied as a bureaucratic requirement, evaluation leaves organisations and artists feeling "Besieged by Inappropriate Criteria" (Raw and Robson, 2017).

Furthermore, a focus on 'cultural value' as the unit of study leads to a need to define what many view as undefinable (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008) and a debate which although academically interesting, isn't easy for the sector to use to improve practice. A focus on *evaluating* or the ***process of evaluation***, allows us to move the debate forward into discussions about what sort of evaluations should and could be done, where these evaluations should focus their interest (which often wouldn't be whether 'cultural value' was produced) and how artists, participants and the wealth of arts intermediaries, as well as all their practices, affect and are affected by evaluation practices.

This work suggests a different model to approaching evaluation in the arts, to be used alongside large-scale impact analysis and in-depth research, and particularly of use within programme and project evaluations where a participative or socially engaged arts approach is used. This is not a single static model, but a set of principles and approaches to understanding evaluation: seeing evaluation as a process, not an outcome. Recognising that an ongoing practice of evaluation operates as part of artists practice, and can be used to understand the value of the art and the difference it is making to people. In this model, the evaluation practices would include reflection and action, and would be fully embedded in the project delivery, so artists and participants were co-creating 'the evaluation' as they co-create, share and engage with the art practice. It gives a central role to the artist as evaluation practices lie within their artistic and engagement practices, but also involves the participants as

evaluators as their reflection feeds into the creation and practice of the evaluation, as it would in the artistic practice. The role of the evaluator in this model changes from an external assessor, to an internal support to reflection, and a translator between the process of the evaluation, and the external requirement for some sort of explanation or guide to how to engage with it.

A methodological contribution in terms of 'Jarring Moments' analysis

During the analysis of my fieldnotes I developed an approach I called 'jarring moments' through the use of my own emotional reaction to an event or moment that arose in the course of everyday practice. This approach builds on the understanding from narrative analysis that we view the world through a series of narratives, which generate a shifting sense of what is 'normal' -where events follow the accepted narrative (Devereaux and Griffin, 2013). If these narratives are broken then we have an emotional response: being upset, unsettled, shocked. It is similar to Poulos' (2008) conception of the way we feel on coming upon what he calls a hierophany, a thin-place between reality and imagination "a sacred spirit-realm, a realm of space-time where the ordinary, everyday rules of embodied life are suspended, if only for a moment. Our ways of thinking— and being and moving and knowing— to which we have grown accustomed simply do not apply." (Poulos, 2008, p. 83).

These moments of broken narrative, this stumbling upon a hierophany, induce a feeling of dislocation from normality. In my experience nothing as exotic as Poulos out of time moment, but nevertheless disorientating, 'jarring'.

Riach (2009) recognised something similar which she termed 'sticky moments' during her reflexive interviews. At certain points, the conversation seemed not to

work as well – moments of silence, speaking over each other, looking back at the transcriptions, Riach found that they represented times when the participants stepped outside their traditional role to comment on the process, she noted that "whilst these moments were picked out by myself as researcher, the reflexive considerations were participant-led." (Riach, 2009, p. 361). Furthermore, these moments were often triggered by the research theme itself. Acting as a marker of a moment where reflexivity would be particularly useful.

Riach's method (2009) requires the transcription of the interview, the sticky moment noted within the text that arises, often something which the transcriber needed to be specifically instructed to include: the hesitations and gaps, the overspeaking (Riach, 2009, pp. 361–2).

This method can't be used as easily in ethnography where most data is recorded in fieldnotes which don't include much direct speech, and certainly not the hesitations which might not become clear or notable until afterwards. Instead I developed a method which relied on the 'jar' that the moment of disruption of the norm itself would bring, along with the recognition of the role of my 'self' within the research process and analysis. Prompted by the ethnographic strategy of beginning "with some "high point" or an incident of event that stands out as particularly vivid or important" (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 1995, p. 48), looking back without reference to my fieldnotes, in one session I wrote a list of all the times when the situation during the research felt 'vivid', 'wrong' or 'weird' – jarring and thus likely a time when the norms were disrupted.

I used these moments to identify the central focus of the research, which evolved into the recognition that these represented clashes of logics, as set out above (Ch 5 and 6).

This list was reviewed and in a few cases added to following my rereading of the fieldnotes, but in essence it remained the same over the next two years of analysis – showing how effective the use of memory was in capturing those points of disruption.

This method proved an effective way of dealing with the mass of data which arises from an embedded autoethnography, offering a way of placing marker points down into the data, without requiring one to step far outside the process. This approach also uses the reflexivity essential for ethnographic research, particularly with the researcher an insider-outsider to the setting (Warden, 2013). The researcher 'self' is a participant in emotionally responding to the interactions, conflicts and tensions of the setting, responding with and as one of the researched. This approach also allows a participant (artist) influence on the structuring of the data analysis – my emotional responses are part of a group experience, it is that experience that gives the 'jar'.

This approach needs working up further and discussing with reference to other analysis approaches which place emotional responses as the starting point for looking for patterns in the data (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001; Poulos, 2008; Riach, 2009; Devereaux and Griffin, 2013; Warden, 2013) but it offers a methodological contribution as an analysis approach.

Practice applications of the work

As with any piece of work I take on, I designed this PhD within a critical action research model: observing and reflecting, then commenting, is never sufficient, there is a requirement to be a change agent. This was clearly carried out within the Experimental Communities programme itself, with a very impressive set of evaluations carried out – albeit not as 'creatively' presented as some might like, and

in no way meeting my aspirations in terms of the extent to which they were embedded in the practice. More important is the change in practice that has happened since: both in terms of the artists involved, and myself as a practitioner of evaluation. Finally, I touch on the way in which this work can influence wider changes in the sector.

The Associate Artists as evaluating artists

The former associate artists report that they still use the approaches to understanding and developing their practice within their current art, several years on. While all of them were reflective practitioners, with what this thesis recognises as evaluation built into their own practice before this time, only Lawrence really had the confidence to frame it in this way. Following the work, they are more confident to challenge 'bad evaluation': as Jacqueline calls 'box-ticking and writing things after' and advocate for the value of their own reflection within their practice as an evaluation practice. This isn't some complete change: I doubt any would use the word 'evaluation' itself for this sort of evaluation, and rightly so as it still is understood as an external judging and bureaucratic process. What has changed is more subtle and more embedded in their practice: Jevan's greater confidence in his use of words to convey the process of his practice as art, and as important in understanding the meaning generated (Watkins Jones, 2016); Jacqueline's access to a new way of thinking about reflecting through making as a way of understanding the value of her work, and her wish to develop this further as an idea; Elaine's trust of an evaluator to not just place unreasonable demands on her and her willingness to put the time into thinking further about the meaning making in her work and how that can be conveyed; Beth's thanks for "reminding me that I have a practice" (from personal email after discussion on sharing the contents of this thesis). I don't claim to have 'made these happen', the

Experimental Communities evaluation was co-created, with the artists taking a lead role, this thesis recognises the artists as my co-researchers within the critical action research tradition (Sykes and Treleaven, 2009). I do believe the shared experience of the Experimental Communities evaluation, and the Associate Artist role itself, was a catalyst for enormous change and creativity within this artist group.

We continue to work on maintaining that reflection and thinking: most of the artists have read or intend to read the full thesis, I am working with Jevan to try and develop work based on the Garrison strand, I am discussing with Jacqueline how to develop the making-reflecting methodology, and have input ideas into evaluations for Beth, Mandy and Frances, and discuss ideas with all of them when I get the chance.

As a collaborative project, with Firstsite co-funding the PhD along with the ESRC, ideally, I would be including the applications of the work to Firstsite itself. From the beginning, I tried to ensure that there would be impact within the organisation that would leave a legacy for the work, and support individual staff in continuing in the changed approaches they learnt through the process. Unfortunately, I am not able to say that there has been any sustained change within Firstsite as a result of this work, although the general applications to any arts organisation, covered below, would apply there. It is true that Experimental Communities left a legacy which continues through the work with young people who use the outside space, they have been encouraged to come into the gallery more and collaborative pieces have been developed. In terms of evaluation practice, the effect of the Experimental Communities work was clear when, during the 'Circuit' project, a successor to Airlock in which Firstsite partnered nationally, the young people from Firstsite were said to be by far the most comfortable with evaluation, and in fact the evaluator

commented on how they immediately felt able to challenge the approach in an articulate and useful manner. As an organisation, Firstsite went through so many changes in management and direction in the time period of Experimental Communities and its aftermath, including a decision to scale the Learning team down to almost nothing which meant that Judith left, that there really was no space for this learning to continue. Individual staff and artists still apply the ideas within their practice but momentum and a real opportunity to be a leader in the change was lost at the organisation level. I will keep the communication open and follow up as I have more time.

A new lens to my practice

I have continued to work as a freelance evaluator and evaluation advisor throughout this PhD process, initially it was only a few days a year to 'keep my hand in', but latterly as the funding ran out and the needs of life took over it has increased to being my main work. The ways in which the learning from this practice have fed into my PhD study are discussed above, what is also increasingly clear to me is how the learning from the PhD is beginning to feed into my practice. I do relatively little work which could be described as direct 'project evaluation', and even where I do I pick projects carefully where I think I can make a difference to the organisation or sector networks in which it sits. Over the last few years, I've moved most of my 'evaluation' delivery or advice to an evaluation as process model: focusing on creating space for reflection and evaluative thinking within the project delivery, and my role as facilitator of this, summing up and pulling together what seems to have been discovered to date, and coming up with creative ways to convey this. Recognition of the multiple and regularly conflicting logics at play within the setting has become part of my assessment within the planning and analysis of work. Although I've never so

far explicitly mapped them on the logics grid, I have used the terms to explain to people what I think is happening and seek their reflection on this, which some have found useful. I plan to develop this further – see below.

A new approach to understanding the value of arts projects: applications for arts funders and organisations

The last and most important way in which this work can be used in practice is to change the very approach taken to evaluation within the sector. The interchange between academics, policy-makers and practitioners is well developed in the arts, and academic debate within Cultural Policy involves and is used by policy makers and major funders in the sector (Jancovich, 2015; Neelands *et al.*, 2015; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016). On a personal level I had meetings with the research team at the Department for Culture Media and Sport at the beginning of this PhD as they were keen to see the learning and work on how to apply it so there is an 'open door' to ensure this work has impact beyond the academic debate.

As discussed above, the main contribution of value to the sector is in reconsidering evaluation on an everyday and practical level, moving from what can seem a distant and abstract debate on 'cultural value' to applications in practice: both in terms of what evaluation funders should require, and what organisations should do. Currently the requests I and other freelance evaluation colleagues receive for input and support (both from funders and organisations) are almost entirely phrased in terms of 'methods' and particularly 'tools': what are the most recognised, effective and easy to administer tools or methods to 'do our evaluation'? Although some useful compilations of evaluation in practice have been put together (Davies, 2017) Within practice circles as well as in academic ones there are non-conclusive debates on the

best approaches and whether any evaluation can be valuable or acceptable in the sector, as well as uses for advocacy.

My proposals developed through this research for new approaches to evaluation practices: situating them in the artistic practices of the delivery, not external or post-hoc add ons, could have immediate application in the sector. They offer validation to the many artists already working in this way, and language to help convey this work to others. The focus of my efforts will be with the funding and policy organisations, though, as currently they are at least the conduits, if not the cause of arts organisations feeling "[b]esieged by Inappropriate Criteria" (Raw and Robson, 2017).

Building on previous advisory roles for Arts Council England, DCMS and various city councils, from 2015 I have been part of the Steering Group for Creative People and Places, Arts Council England's flagship engagement programme, seeking to increase arts engagement in those areas of country with the lowest arts attendance figures: also areas with the lowest indicators on aspiration, social cohesion and (although not intentionally) the highest percentage Brexit vote (Robinson, 2016). The programme delivers largely, though not exclusively, through socially engaged or participative art and arts organisations and is framed as an action learning programme (Melville and Morgan, 2015). This role has already given me the opportunity to contribute to discussions around monitoring and programme evaluation with Arts Council England research and senior management teams, and although famously slow to respond, influential staff have been interested in the ideas which this work has helped me raise. I have been asked to present this work at an evaluation consultant gathering in December 2017, and plan to write up ideas from the thesis in various formats which make it accessible to sector practitioners.

Potential directions for further research

As with any study, the writing up leaves out as more potential areas of investigation than it can include. The data arising from my fieldwork, along with the ideas developed within this thesis offer several interesting avenues for further research, some of which I will follow:

The role of the evaluator within this new lens on evaluation is briefly touched upon within this thesis, particularly in Chapter Seven, but there wasn't enough time to go into the detail I would have liked to. There is some literature on the role of the evaluator (see e.g. Mertens and Wilson, 2012), but it tends to be a chapter within a wider study and tends to focus on practical and ethical issues (Anderson, 2005; Kara, 2012; Hojlund, 2014; Tsiris, Pavlicevic and Farrant, 2014). There are ethical questions arising in terms of ownership of learning, informed consent of participants, as well as epistemological questions around the type of knowledge generated and how the limitations in either are conveyed. There are also a whole set of practical questions if the evaluator is repositioned as a facilitator, navigator and translator of evaluation. In addition, the subjects of the research: evaluation consultants working in the arts, along with those that commission them, are a challenging, reflective group, so it would make a very interesting study.

It would be valuable to consider what I have classified as 'loyal' responses (Hirschman, 1970) to evaluation requirements through the systematic application of the adapted institutional logics framework. There wasn't time in this thesis to write up the analysis I began on this, and it wasn't the focus of the work which took 'jar' and 'clash' as its starting points, thus tending to draw out the seemingly more problematic responses. However as stated above, all the artists did respond 'loyally'

as do most in the sector, and bearing in mind that they do this while navigating what have been shown to be regular clashes in logics is interesting and would benefit from future research.

Finally in terms of suggestions of potential future research, is the experience of management within the organisations, and influential staff within the funding organisations. The views and responses of some of Firstsite's senior managers – which included Judith – are included in this study as the logics they operate within and mobilise affect the artists' responses, however I explicitly decided to place the focus on the artist, as a less studied agent within the setting (artists as arts organisation workers) and thus the experience and logics of management are treated as peripheral. In terms of funding bodies, conversations and interviews with senior officers within both public bodies (ACE, DCMS, local authorities) and major trusts and more arms-length funders (Paul Hamlyn Foundation, Youth Music, Spirit of 2012) have made it clear that a range of complex logics are operating in the decision-making process which the use of the adapted institutional logics perspective framework could elucidate usefully.

Final Thoughts

This PhD offered me the opportunity to study and reflect, supported by the challenge and privilege of the academic rigour of the PhD structure, and an excellent supervisor. However as for artists, and many of my PhD colleagues, my work life is permeable, the boundaries of work, study, family and particularly leisure are so blurred as to be almost imperceptible at times. I couldn't remain unaffected by the problems at Firstsite which delayed and threatened to derail my fieldwork many times, by my own mental and physical health and issues with my son and family

which meant I needed to intermit for six terms in total (the maximum allowed). This PhD was also affected by the practical need to earn money and thus a continuing and increasing part time freelance consultancy career and by my personal relationships with the artists who were the main participants and co-researchers on this study. All of these had a negative, but also a positive effect on this PhD. My experience of life over the six years of PhD study inevitably fed into the design, data collection and particularly analysis of the work, and fundamentally affects the contents of this thesis.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Structural and methodological issues:

1.1 Information Letter to artists

firstsite

Colchester's visual arts organisation: making contemporary art relevant to everyone.

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Re: Ruth Melville PHD research: Measuring the Unmeasureable: exploring the impact of measurement on value in the UK arts sector.

Dear firstsite Associate Artists and Learning Staff,

firstsite is delighted to be working alongside Ruth Melville on the above project. As you already know Ruth will be conducting research during 2012-3 as part of this work. This letter is to clarify your input in this regard.

Where Ruth will consider using information, interviews or documentation which involves us as part of her research she will make it clear and will be asking verbal permission from each participant. firstsite Associate Artist and Learning staff are therefore given the opportunity to choose to allow information gathered to be used as part of the research or not.

It is intended that the research continue after September 2013. The current cohort of Associate Artists will of course finish contracts then. firstsite does not expect or require you to continue to input into this project but you may wish to do so as part of your own practice.

Please do talk with Judith if you have any queries in this regard.

Yours,

Judith Merritt

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1.2 Jarring Moments – initial list

My first draft list of 'jarring moments' – produced in a brainstorm session after a discussion about the approach with my supervisors is listed below – along with how they were used. From this it is clear that many of the first set of ideas remained throughout the analysis period. The other 4 examples developed into clear 'moments' as I was asking myself why these felt important and what else came to mind.

Initial 'jarring moment'	Notes on how used
Can we move away from the emphasis on <u>words</u> in evaluation?	Fed into analysis in 'voice' responses and reflection on my practice
Frances vs Elaine evaluation approach in terms of the need to ask people	Moment 7 in final version
Lol and Jev 'visual' chapter – where did it go	Reflected in discussions around moment 3&4
People not doing as told – Jude's view on it as my fault	Decided wasn't focus: for future research on role of evaluator/management
Jev – me creating extra work for him – true for all – at end, how much work it took	Fed into the family logic development, and moment 3&4 discussion
Gillian from PHF – 'as well as the report'	Reflected in discussion around 'time' and 'context' in Ch 5
Rory, socially engaged practice should be judged/evaluated within the same framework as any other art – ie via critics	Decided wasn't focus of this study
'what's the audience' discussion – is anyone going to read it. Not published.	Fed into the discussion around moments 3&4
Bill miller – his approach is to get data from artists and then he analyses and reports	Not focus: for future research on role of evaluator
Elaine being 'naughty' over the data	Moment 2
Challenge is a positive on the wheel of wellbeing	Decided wasn't focus: for future research on role of evaluator/management
Tell us what we have to do – word count, outline.	Moment 3
I want you to do it within your practice – Foucauldian control – Zizek's modern parent	Not focus: for future research on role of evaluator

Lol vs Frances who controls projects – artist vs manager vs community	Moment 6
Jev clash moment over ownership MOD vs manager vs community	Moment 6
Jude wanted WOW, how to make that happen. She wanted them to choose to use it. Or me to make them choose to.	Not focus: for future research on role of evaluator/management
Jev's 'script' – me and Jev's relationship	In chapter 7
Jude, multiple roles.	Moment 10
Critical pairings – how useful they all found that approach	Fed into thinking on Ch 7.

Appendix Two: Institutional Logics Perspectives Tables

2.1 Revised Inter-institutional System Ideal Types (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 73)[28]

X-axis: Institutional Orders / Y-axis Category	Family	Community	Religion	State	Market	Profession	Corporation
Root metaphor	Family as firm	Common boundary	Temple as bank	State as redistribution mechanism	Transaction	Profession as relational network	Corporation as hierarchy
Sources of legitimacy	Unconditional loyalty	Unity of will. Belief in trust and reciprocity	Importance of faith and sacredness in economy & society	Democratic participation	Share price	Personal expertise	Market position of firm
Sources of authority	Patriarchal domination	Commitment to community values and ideology	Priesthood charisma	Bureaucratic domination	Shareholder activism	Professional association	Board of directors, top management
Sources of identity	Family reputation	Emotional connection. Ego-	Association with deities	Social and economic class	Faceless	Association with quality of craft,	Bureaucratic roles

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28   This table is a literal copy of the version in the book, the 'revised' is reflecting that it is the 4th iteration of the table in their work.

X-axis: Institutional Orders / Y-axis Category	Family	Community	Religion	State	Market	Profession	Corporation
		satisfaction & reputation				personal reputation	
Basis of norms	Membership in household	Group membership	Membership in congregation	Citizenship in nation	Self-interest	Membership in guild and association	Employment in firm
Basis of attention	Status in household	Personal investment in group	Relation to supernatural	Status of interest group	Status in market	Status in profession	Status in hierarchy
Basis of strategy	Increase family honor	Increase status & honor of members & practices	Increase religious symbolism of natural events	Increase community good	Increase efficiency profit	Increase personal reputation	Increase size and diversification of firm
Informal control mechanisms	Family politics	Visibility of actions	Worship of calling	Backroom politics	Industry analysts	Celebrity	Organisation culture
Economic system	Family capitalism	Cooperative capitalism	Occidental capitalism	Welfare capitalism	Market capitalism	Personal capitalism	Managerial capitalism

2.2 Adapted Table – adapted by author to fit socially engaged participatory arts sector (adapted from Thornton et al, 2012, p73)

Institutional Orders Categories	Family	Community	Religion	State	Market	Profession	Corporation
Logic Type	Affiliative	Associative	Aesthetic	Redistributive	Transactional	Relational	Instrumental
Sources of legitimacy	Putting family first	Trust and reciprocity	Producing 'real art'	Democratic participation in art	Reputational Capital	Personal expertise	Market position of organisation
Sources of authority	Relative Role in family	Commitment to community values and ideology	Charisma – of critics, curators, the art community	Co-produced assumption that state rules are valid and thus should be obeyed	Funder Requirements	Peer appreciation	Board of trustees, senior management
Sources of identity	Role in Family	Emotional connection and reputation	Association with 'artists' and galleries	Social Class	Faceless	Being an artist	Bureaucratic roles
Basis of norms	Membership in Household	Group membership	Acceptance of 'the Canon'	Accepting social responsibility	Self interest	Accepting Myths and stories of artist identity	Employment in firm.
Basis of attention	Being a good parent/partner/child	Personal investment in group	Reviews from certain critics, curators	Status of Interest Group	Status in Market	Status in profession	Status in hierarchy
Basis of strategy	Make life more secure and meaningful for family	Increase status of members and practices	Increase acceptance of this particular approach to art as being 'the norm'	Increase public good	Increase efficiency and return on investment	Increase reputation of your art and socially engaged art in general	Increase size and diversification of organisation

Institutional Orders							
Categories	**Family**	**Community**	**Religion**	**State**	**Market**	**Profession**	**Corporation**
Informal control mechanisms	Family politics	Visibility of actions	Critics, reviews	Backroom politics	Consultants and Evaluators	Myth and Stories - Notoriety	Organisation culture
Construction of Evaluation	Extra work – taking you away from family time.	Way to ensure you are delivering the best you can to and with the community	Impossible and undesirable	Obligation to show difference made to the public good with public money	Transaction to evidence efficiency and return	Learn from your work and share learning	Part of your job so as to support the organisation

Appendix Three: Experimental Communities Methodology

Produced as part of the Experimental Communities Final Report by Ruth Melville

Overall Evaluation

Principles

The evaluation of Experimental Communities was designed as an integral part of the delivery process and built upon the artistic practices and principles of the artists themselves. As such the methods used varied by strand, and so are reported in the sub-sections below.

All approaches shared the same key principles:

- A peer-led model, with participants informing the process throughout

- An artist-led model avoiding the traditional separation between the reflection undertaken as   part of the artistic process and work needed to gather data for evaluation.

- An 'experimental' model, with the aims and evaluation models developed by the artists themselves, in an evolving approach to fit the local situation, participants and their practice, with the support of the evaluation Critical Friend

- A regular regard for best practice and potential to share learning through in built partnerships with University of Essex and via sector forums such as engage and plus Tate.

Delivery and Support

As it was decided to embed the evaluation in the delivery and artistic practice, the traditional model of 'external evaluator' was replaced by a more flexible 'Critical Friend' role. Ruth Melville, a researcher with 15 years of experience in the design, development, implementation and management of research and evaluation programmes, was appointed as 'Critical Friend'. We decided to use an embedded evaluation approach and Action Research/Participatory Action Research principles (Kindon, Pain, & Kesby, 2007; McNiff & Whitehead, 2011), which would fit with the principles of involving participants, and ensure that any learning from the reflection and evaluation be used to improve delivery. In addition the Associate Artists and Project Manager also were supported to develop their evaluation skills and confidence, leaving a legacy of greater 'evaluation literacy' within the organisation and the wider artistic community.

The approach I (Ruth Melville) took was to fully inhabit the interesting title of 'Critical Friend' – a duality we used in other aspects of the evaluation. I both worked with the Associate Artists and Programme Manager to develop their confidence and

skills to design, deliver and write up the evaluation, and also tried to add a level of critique to the process. This was at times needed when deadlines loomed and evaluation, reflection and the experimental nature of the approach might be under threat. Most of the work was carried out through regular one-to-one meetings, but there was also a programme of regular quarterly group sessions and a few other specific sessions. In addition to the support role, to the extent possible, I gave an external and independent view on the progress, outcomes and development of the project in conversation with the Programme Manager, Head of Learning and Strand lead artists. In line with the action research approach, I fed back any findings and issues arising, including the production of a commentary report at the early formative stage of the project. It was not deemed necessary for this sort of commentary later in the process as the artists were taking a lead in reporting themselves.

Evaluation Support Activities

After initial meetings with the artists to assess need, I developed the following programme for the first stage of the evaluation, with the aim of developing a clear set of aims and outcomes for each strand:

1. A two day 'training' session – delivered in a workshop fashion, looking at key words and phrases used (and often misused) in evaluation, the criteria and outcomes for the whole programme, and the past experience and views of the artists themselves. During these sessions we decided that each strand should have its own evaluation approach, building on the practice of the artists delivering the strand, but that regular interchange between the strands on experiences and learning was essential. Attendance: Associate Artists and Learning Team

2. Quarterly review and reflection meetings – these were half day sessions, held throughout the delivery of the programme. They evolved in form as suited but basically involved three elements:

   o Sharing of practice and learning ('Convince your peers' sessions focused discussion on one strand for an hour and were very useful, '5 minute buzzer sessions' were the opposite – each strand had 5 minutes to outline progress and key issues, then 5 minutes for questions/comments – equally found to be really useful at different periods).

   o 'Training' by the 'Critical Friend' – usually informally delivered in response to a request for help – this was more common later in the programme when artists began to ask about, for example, analysis of data.

   o One-to-one critical review of work – Associate Artists and members of the Learning Team were 'paired' according to approaches and experience so that they worked with someone they usually didn't. In these pairs (which after discussion remained the same for the whole programme) they were given an hour to share issues and progress, and challenge and support each other – echoing the 'Critical Friend' dichotomy which was already working well.

1. Not all of these elements happened each time, but the regular quarterly meeting did give both a sense of progress and urgency to what could otherwise have tended to become a delayed element of the programme, and also fostered good relationships in terms of sharing issues and good ideas in research and evaluation between the Associate Artists.

3. Regular (approx. bi-monthly) one-to-ones with each strand - after 'experimenting' with various approaches it was found that meeting for an hour at a time, with people involved in each strand was the most useful way of developing the evaluation for the strands. These meetings were called one-to-ones (i.e. Ruth Melville plus strand artist) but in many cases were regularly one to twos on strands with more than one active artist. These sessions completely followed the needs of the artists, but focused on initially developing the aims of the strand, then the evaluation plans linked to these, then thinking about methods to gather data and reflecting on their use in practice. Later they were used as part of the writing up process. The artists reported on finding these useful and requested additional help when it was needed. Regular evaluation support meetings were also held with the Programme Manager.

4. Final 'writing up' workshops - It was agreed that the artists needed some specific time set aside to write up the work, with support from researchers. So a series of three whole days were set aside (a day per week for three weeks during the last month of their involvement) and rooms and internet access were provided by the University of Essex so that they could work in a different environment. Ruth Melville and her associate researcher, Paul McCabe, were available for structured and ad hoc sessions to help with report structure and feedback on style and approach.

Developing the Methodologies

Although each strand took a different approach, the overall way in which they approached the evaluation design was the same: a review and consideration of the aims of the strand; the development of a set of clear objectives linked to these; reflection with the Critical Friend on their artistic practice and plans for delivery in the strand; co-design of a range of data gathering methods that would fit within or alongside this practice with the minimum additional work.

This approach was needed as the initial aims for each strand – set out in the bid document – were not clear, and it was agreed that there was no need for each strand to achieve on all areas of the overall aims. Lead and support artists for the strand discussed what they wanted to achieve, then reflected on the following questions:

- What do I want to have happened as a result of the work in this strand?

- How will I know this has happened?

- What 'evidence' could I provide to an outside audience that it has happened?

These questions most straightforwardly link to objectives | outcomes/outputs | data and proved helpful in focusing ideas.

Following agreement on all strand aims, a grid was creating mapping 'strand aims' to 'Experimental Communities SMART objectives' showing clearly that all of the programme objectives were being delivered in several (but not all) of the strands (see 6.4 Aims Mapping). After this process, it was clear there was a further 'aim' arising from most of the Associate Artists work of stretching their own practice, which fits with the 'experimental' element of the work. In practice, all of the evaluation participants, in particular the Critical Friend, found their practice challenged and stretched by this process.

Data Gathering and Analysis Methods

Artist-led methods

Methods for data gathering selected by the artists mainly drew upon participant observation which is ideal for those located within a setting (May, 1997), along with focus group approaches which are good for drawing out views of those already in groups (May, 1997) but did also include use of a range of arts based research techniques (Barone & Eisner, 2012). These really drew on the experience of the artists as practitioners.

The data collection and reflection process also drew heavily on recent practitioner research ideas (Drake, 2011; Kara, 2012) recognizing the value and need to spend time in reflection, discussion and artist development. Gradually we came to realize that learning from the work is a large part of the programme, and that ensuring that understanding (community of firstsite and vice versa) is embedded is also important. This can be a challenge in a culture (ie the arts) which tends to focus on delivery. The 'Critical Friend' and 'critical pairing' approach supported this process as well as time specifically set aside on a regular basis to discuss work and act as challenge and support to each other.

External data gathering

These self-led approaches to individual strands were complemented by some external evaluation and data collection conducted by Ruth Melville and/or associates and volunteers. Those which are strand specific are discussed below, within the strand, but there were also some programme wide focus groups held:

Participant Focus Group

It was decided to hold a group session for project participants, with the most active participants from each strand invited to the session. In the end, illness meant that only three strands were 'represented' with two young people from airlock, the key participant from Street-Old Heath, and one of the main participants from Street – Greenstead. Ruth Melville ran the session as a relaxed focus group of about 90 minutes, starting with a round table presentation by each of their own strand (which worked to establish them as experts in the process), using photos and other artefacts as props, there was then a round table discussion of the outcomes of the strands,

which led to a useful discussion on what each could learn from each other. Finally the group went on an informal walking-discussion around firstsite building as a way of starting discussion about how they feel about the organisation. This final session worked particularly well in giving a chance for the quieter group member to talk in a less formal setting. Findings from this focus group were written up and have been fed into the appropriate strand reports.

'Aims review workshops'

At the end of the programme we ran a workshop approach focus group for each of the five objectives (aims) from the overall programme, plus the 'additional aim' of developing and challenging the artist's practice. These took the form of round table discussion, with the 'objective' written in the middle of a large sheet of paper on the table. People were invited to speak (with note taking) or writing notes or comments on post-its or directly onto the paper. This approach facilitated discussions among people with different learning/reflection styles. This meant that the artists as key deliverers of the programme were supported to reflect on the programme as a whole, rather than in their individual strands. The results from these were used as part of the overall report.

Airlock

Mandy Roberts and Beth Hull, the lead artists on the airlock strand, shared a commitment to collaborative practice and an avoidance of written output – for inclusion as well as temperament/comfort reasons. They naturally developed an action research approach to the evaluation which was fully embedded in the cycle of action, reflection, adaptation and action which formed their artistic practice. The relational nature of their practices - Mandy in facilitation of action/change, and Beth in development of and reflection of new links, activities and inhabitations of space - leant themselves well to this approach. As such, the evaluation of Airlock used a variety of qualitative data collection tools: comment boards, film, photo, post-it notes and other accessible methods to draw out the ideas and reflections of participants.

The artists themselves shared their experiences and reflections in shared session reports, over time with support recording more reflection and critique.

The form of the report was important to Mandy and Beth, and, had time allowed, a less formal and more accessible format than a word document would have been used. Nevertheless, the report itself reflects their approach and practice and as such there is a greater emphasis on pictures, short statements (manifesto), key words and film, rather than longer passages of narrative and interview. The use of this approach ensured that participants, usually young people with little time or inclination to read long passages of text, could play an active role in the reflection and critique. For airlock artists and participants, the pictures are more than illustration, they are valuable statements of intent and achievement. The Airlock film, part of the legacy of the strand, is an important element of the 'evaluation' of the whole strand.

Members of YAK. took part in the evaluation across the whole period of the project – contributing to the regular reviews (discussed above) and also attending both a session on evaluation. This was run by Ruth Melville to help develop a data collection strategy for some new elements of the work at the request of YAK members (three hours, interactive workshop, creative comment board approach

decided on at the end). They also attended the participant focus group held for all strands. Data from both of these was made available to Mandy and Beth in writing up the report.

Garrison

For Jevan Watkins-Jones, the lead artist on the garrison strand, the act of putting pencil to paper is a catalyst and space for sharing; a 'drawing out' as well as 'drawing of' a dialogue, not an observation alone. Thus his evaluation design needed to draw on this, and be true to his underlying beliefs. Early in the project, during an evaluation one to one, it became clear that he was thinking about and reflecting on many things in the time after his visits. I (Ruth Melville) suggested that he should write up each visit as 'ethnographic fieldnotes' (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995) giving him some tips for how to approach these, and this form became the key data collection and reflection tool over the course of the project. This method drew on Jevan's own reflexivity and interest in all around him, as well as the unique opportunity he was given in getting close to a group of very articulate, reflective men at a crucial stage in their transition. As such, the evaluation became what could be described as a collaborative autoethnography (Chang & Faith Hernandez, 2012), drawing on and in a range of collaborators, with their stories and reflections (soldier collaborators, administrators from the garrison and recovery centre, firstsite staff and myself) but fundamentally routed in an unflinchingly honest self-reflection and critique. Rightly reflecting this, Jevan wanted to forefront the words and images of the soldiers themselves. We discussed approaches to this, drawing on feminist epistemology and research (see e.g. Humphrey, 2007; Lather & Smithies, 1997) and Jevan decided to give emphasis to their words specifically.

> "As an artist tasked with carrying out an evaluation of my work, I have reflected extensively on how to carry this obligation out in such a way that was both true to my own principles/practice/approach and also used my skills as an artist to overcome many of the shortcomings of evaluation reports and allow the value of the experience to come through. For this reason this text puts the stories, pictures and words arising from the project to the fore, and purposely uses a more lyrical and less structured form than might be traditional. I have emphasized a description of the approaches and methods used as well as my reflections on these and the outcomes. These, as mentioned above, are interspersed and blocked in light grey. Photographs, drawings and facsimiles of pivotal documents are to be understood as 'vignettes' – they should be read as being fully as important as the prose between."[29]

In addition to these notes, one interview and a number of observations and informal interviews were carried out by Ruth Melville with the soldiers, as well as a focus group being held with administrators from the Recovery Centre, one of the soldiers, firstsite Learning team and Jevan, facilitated by Ruth Melville. Data from these is used in Jevan's report.

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[29] P8 Colchester Garrison, Jevan Watkins Jones: The Drawing Project at Chavasse VC House

Sitting Room

The methodology for the evaluation of this strand of Experimental Communities is rooted in the practice of Elaine Tribley as lead artist of the strand. Elaine's practice involves placing made and found objects/artefacts in a specific space and place, and observing the interaction of passersby with these objects/artefacts.

She has taken this approach in her firstsite specific practice, with the space and place being firstsite's public areas. Responding to site specific issues she looked at the following: visitor requests; user behaviour etc. with wifi cubes, which morphed into chess cubes; a magazine library and reading room; a hair salon; 'gallery 5'; and more.

The evaluation of Sitting Room thus responds to this focussing on observing responses to situations both everyday and jarring, and questioning how this work changes the way visitors see and experience firstsite, contemporary art, and how and whether it is possible to offer co-curation with passersby in a contemporary art gallery.

Observation is the best method here as it fits with Elaine's artistic practice, allowing the research to become/remain part of her practice and not an add-on which lacks meaning or value. Her socially engaged practice does not play out in real time interactions between artist and participants but in a turn taking approach, where the objects/artefacts act as intermediaries in the process of engagement. The removal of the artist from the point of participant interaction allows for a more 'natural' engagement of the passerby in the creative process

Within this style of practice, words lose their hegemony as the main means of communication of ideas and understanding. The more subconscious and subtle areas of communication: actions, body language etc. are given more weight.

Observation can be done within a positivist (empiricist) tradition, seeing human action as natural phenomena that can be observed and understood by the researcher – in much the same way as other biological phenomena (photosynthesis etc.) – but it can also be carried out within a hermeneutic tradition, recognising that "understanding is not a matter of trained, methodical unprejudiced technique, but an encounter... a confrontation with something radically different from ourselves"(Outhwaite 1991:24 cited in May, 1997).

Social scientists, and thus social research itself, privilege verbal communication in enhancing understanding, yet it is core to an artist's approach that there are other potential communication options, and perhaps the confrontation with the radically different can be most effectively carried out through a visual or tactile experience.

Thus although there was some gathering of verbal (written and spoken) feedback from participants where appropriate, the majority of the data gathering for the evaluation of Sitting Room came from systematic observations carried out by Elaine in her dual role of artist and researcher – she noted behaviour and body language of passersby and those who engaged briefly with the artefacts or artwork generally. She also noted her own responses to this and those of other co-curators and co-creators she worked with. This shared record and reflection document formed the basis for analysis of the outcomes of the strand.

In addition, as this strand involved effected a change in the organizational culture of firstsite, specifically inter-team collaborative working, it was decided that Ruth Melville (as a semi-outsider) should carry out a small piece of research among staff from the learning and artistic programmes (curation) teams. A baseline questionnaire assessing levels of understanding of each other's roles and priorities was carried out, with a view to repeating this at the end, and reflecting on any changes in a focus group – also to include the Director. Due to time constraints on the part of the organisation, this follow up element didn't happen.

Street-Greenstead

This strand was carried out as a collaboration by Lawrence Bradby and Jevan Watkins Jones. They were also the main evaluators of the strand and so the main methodology for the strand was theirs, however there was a small piece of work done by an outside researcher.

Early in the strand delivery, we were provided with the unexpected resource of Catherine Doran, a volunteer researcher with considerable ability who offered to carry out some sort of evaluation. In discussion with myself (Ruth Melville) both artists agreed to ask Catherine to carry out an evaluation of the first stage of the Greenstead collaboration (Dog Jam). This was done through a mixture of formal interviews and a few observations and reported on in a formal evaluation report. The findings from this were used by the artists in writing their evaluation report.

In keeping with the embedded evaluation approach which the whole programme followed, the main methodology arose from the two lead artists practice. Lawrence and Jevan had never previously worked together (on an artistic project), and had different delivery styles and tended to different artform preferences. What they shared was an approach to the people and places they worked with, which from outside observation followed a process of a slow start, arriving/being in the space, looking, sharing/discussing, placing/interacting with an object/people, reflecting and starting again. Both had a very reflective approach and took the opportunity of working together to develop an additional level of collaboration within the evaluation. This model was extended to the participants/collaborators from the community. Lawrence and Jevan's model is summed up by them: "We worked collaboratively. We shared observations of how public green space is used and we sought to find new forms in which to carry on these conversations in the public sphere."[30]

Both artists had experience of evaluation previously, and were good at writing. Both, however, recognized that the requirements of evaluation – particularly the need to meet external targets – can mitigate against good collaborative socially engaged practice in terms of time limitations, and the falseness of changing the relationship to introduce 'out of the field' data gathering methods such as formal interviews and questionnaires. As such, an ethnographic approach was needed, and practitioner research was particularly helpful as a method, as it recognizes the value of the deliverer/researcher as the same person (Drake, 2011).

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[30] P4 The Street: Hopeful Green Stuff, An Evaluation of Street (Greenstead)

The evaluation methodology completely situated itself within the two artists practices (and/or their shared collaborative practice), and used participant observation as a data gathering tool, as appropriate for this methodology (Drake, 2011), which allowed the voices of the participants/collaborators from the community to come through, without the 'false' formality of a structured interview, as explained in the full report:

> "Our methodology for the evaluation was practitioner research. Our data consisted of observations we (LB, JWJ) made during the collaborative work. We wrote these up as a reflective journal, including key quotes from collaborators, text messages, emails that communicated important decisions or asked significant questions, key realisations from both ourselves and our collaborators. We also recorded factual data, such as length of meetings, numbers of people at each meeting, etc. Our evaluation needed to take place during the work as an integral part of the process of the work and thus be achievable within the time we had available. And it needed to fit within the existing relationships we (LB & JWJ) had built up on Street (Greenstead); so, for example, we didn't want to take up the position of onlookers addressing questions to our collaborators on Street about the nature of their participation, what they had gained from it. We (LB, JWJ) made particular use of text messages, using these to share reflections at the end of the day. We turned this into a literary form, the Headline Evaluation. Each Headline Evaluation had to incorporate a news-style headline (four words or less), and a reflective observation. The total length had to be under 100 characters …" (from Street Evaluation report

This 'Headline Evaluation' data collection and reflection technique is a particularly creative approach to the serious time constraints experienced by all the artists on Experimental Communities and typical of the practice of the two artists in evolving solutions collaboratively to the lived situations.

The evaluation report itself reflects the practice and approach of the artists, focusing on moments – told in vignettes, and returned to in reflection which gives the reader a chance to inhabit the world of Dog Jam and Turf Twinning, the collaborative moments of tension and evolution, the moments when ideas crystalised (or were shattered).

Street-Old Heath

Jacqueline Davies describes her art in terms of making and the physicality of things: "I am surface pattern artist. A painter, illustrator, textile designer and **maker of things**" (Jacqueline Davies, 2014, emphasis added). This aspect of her practice was a clear challenge initially for the evaluation, as evaluations tend to rely on words and verbal reflection – which Jacqueline is perfectly capable of, but which doesn't feel naturally part of her practice. We took a very collaborative approach to designing the evaluation, spending many hours discussing what she was planning to do in terms of activities, and then thinking about how we could use these in terms of telling the tale

of what differences she expected to make, and how to record this (objectives, outcomes and data gathering). As she further explains: "I'm in love with Mid Century design finding inspiration and inventing new ideas from years gone by with a modern slant. With a passion for pattern and print, some say my work has a feel-good factor." (Jacqueline Davies, 2014). Her work in Old Heath was very much built on this approach, taking local people with little experience of art or knowledge and interest in firstsite on a journey of discovery of their own histories and memories located in this area.

We soon realized that the reminiscences and stories – spoken and written – could form part of the evaluation, as well as part of the artwork, and also developed specific activities involving Jacqueline's making skills to draw people out further – for example a map of the area where people could add notes describing their everyday cultural practices, valuing these, whether growing veg, visiting the cinema or knitting together. A large challenge for Jacqueline herself was in the need to work in a new way, to slowly develop contacts and collaborations in an area where there was little social infrastructure and no clear 'way in' or gatekeeper. She used her journal to reflect on this, in discussions with me and other artists and collaborators, and realized that 'evidence' for this change in approach lay in the look of the journal itself – the comparison between the Old Heath journal and a typical one of hers showed a move to writing and reflection, rather than simply doing and making. As a result, the data collection forms were mainly based on artefacts: the use of comments on doilies and tablecloths (collected as part of the artwork); reflection on photos from sessions; activities mentioned on maps; there was also an emphasis on participant observation, with Jacqueline watching and reflecting on the responses and interactions, using this both to develop her practice and for the evaluation.

Following the amazing relationship developed with Jane …, Jacqueline's key collaborator in Old Heath, it was decided that one interview be carried out, by Ruth Melville, with Jane. This was recorded and shared with Jacqueline (with Jane's approval) and the results contributed to the story of Jane in the report. However overall we decided to use a more object based approach, reflecting recent work on the value of art objects in research:

> "…the use of visual inquiry … can mediate understanding in new and
> interesting ways for both the creator and the viewer because of its
> partial, embodied, multivocal, and nonlinear representational potential."
> (Butler-Kisher, 2008, p. 265)

Jacqueline was working with participants and collaborators with little confidence in verbal (particularly written) forms: a lead collaborator who had been sent to special school, collaborators from older groups, including a nursing home. The use of the visual, and 'making together', acted as a space for shared interpretation and reflection. As we were writing up, a comment from Jacqueline crystallised my understanding of this; she mentioned that she didn't feel the 'report' was enough to finish the evaluation, there was a need to make something, using her making skills, the tea towels – jointly produced by Jacqueline and Jane in a long physically hard work session (so I am told by both). This was a key part of the reflection and evaluation for Jacqueline, as the use of the 'Old Heath teapot' was by Jane in explaining to other focus group members the meaning of their practice.

Conclusions

The evaluation of Experimental Communities was an integral part of the programme itself, embedded within the work of the artists as deliverers. As well as providing a valuable reflection tool and development opportunity to the artists, it also, like most evaluation, formed a time consuming additional piece of work. Using an action research approach, I tried to ensure that the time spent in 'evaluating' was also useful for the project delivery – and constantly evolved and developed my approach over the two years in response to artist needs, time constraints and in particular the specific developmental needs of the artists themselves. I was able to offer additional data collection (specifically in the form of more formal interviews and focus groups where useful) as well as being able to use my project management and training skills in helping with time management and project planning activity. The feedback from the artists to this was good, and the quality of the evaluation produced speaks for itself. Nevertheless it is important to recognize the amount of time, energy and particularly creativity which went into the evaluation, and to see it, and particularly the reports written for each strand, as part of the artistic output of Experimental Communities as a whole.

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