Scotland's Youth Cultural Landscape

Introduction

This chapter explores Scottish policy in relation to young people's engagement with culture (specifically theatre and drama), national identity, education, and creativity. Since the reintroduction of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, successive Scottish Governments (irrespective of political persuasion) have attempted to integrate cultural art policy and education through creative learning. By linking arts and education policies together, the Scottish government appears to view these as being mutually beneficial to one another.

In relation to this, the chapter will discuss Scotland's cultural history as part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and more specifically as a devolved nation. This chapter will discuss several issues relating to arts education and young people, including: the possible instrumentalisation of the arts for political purposes, the emphasis on participatory theatre and drama experiences over theatre as product, and the development of arts education within the Scottish National Curriculum.

These considerations should be important to policymakers, practitioners, and youth participants in Scotland and internationally. For example, if art policymakers implicitly or explicitly favour one approach over the other, they are hindering the opportunities for young people to experience the fullness of the youth cultural arts spectrum and are thus potentially failing them. As such, policymakers must ensure that there is parity of provision, in the youth theatre cultural landscape, that supports theatre for, with and by young people without prejudice. Therefore, although this chapter focuses on the unique context of Scottish youth arts policy, and in particular drama and theatre, international readers should consider how the issues raised relate to their own context. In turn, it is hoped that readers might reflect and question the potential for any power imbalance in their cultural policies, strategies and directives while also considering the potential impact that it has on young people.

Scotland, Great Britain, and devolution – the interplay of cultural politics.

To understand Scottish cultural policy, it is important to recognise the complexity surrounding its political landscape. On 25th March 1707 the Scottish Parliament was adjourned, through the passing of the Act of Union, with Scotland relinquishing its rights as an independent country forming the union of Great Britain (GB). Many in Scotland have not always been at ease with the complexities of this union - especially in relation to its cultural policies or institutions (Beauregard, 2018). Cultural policy in GB was promoted through the establishment of The Arts Council for GB (established in 1946 encompassing England, Northern Ireland, Wales and Scotland). However, having one homogeneous organisation, that represented culture across the union, created some disparity regarding the cultural uniqueness of each nation. For example, Scottish cultural critic Billy Kay (2006) argues that the union created an inferiority complex for Scots when expressing their 'Scottishness' or culture. Indeed, Scotland has been described as having a '...gritty, male working class...' identity, which is in stark contrast to the more bourgeois English character (Pittock, 2013: 48-49). In 1967 the GB Government, recognising the need to promote the uniqueness of the arts across all four nations, restructured The Arts Council for GB. This restructuring resulted in the establishment of the Scottish Arts Council (SAC). The SAC was the British Government's primary arts development and funding organisation in Scotland (Great Britain, 2022). However, the SAC was not without its critics and was seen as a pawn for the Arts Council for GB who repeated general United Kingdom cultural policies in Scotland (Galloway & Jones, 2010). From a cultural policy basis, the devolution referendum of 1997,

where Scots voted to reconvene the Scottish parliament and assume devolved powers, created a significant shift in how the people of Scotland appreciated their culture and sense of identity (Beauregard, 2018).

Since devolution on 1 July 1999, the arts, in tandem with education, have been a recognisable driver in the crafting, and challenging of Scottish culture and policies. In doing so, the Scottish Government has sought (and continues to seek) to establish a cultural democratisation for the arts. For example, in 2003 Jack McConnell, the former Labour First Minister of Scotland, delivered his St. Andrew's Day speech, which focused on how cultural experiences and the arts were to be at the 'core' of Scottish Government's policies. Focusing on young people he stated that 'Culture should be for the many not the few. And the few must not be the only ones to explore or [to] create the most brilliant productions or the most outstanding works of art (McConnell, 2003)'. By focusing on exploration and creating, Jack McConnell was linking to wider cultural and educational policy through the SAC's paper Culture, Creativity, and Citizenship in Scotland (Scottish Arts Council, 2002: 20), that stated,

> Participation in arts and culture has a significant role to play in helping young people to engage actively with their community, opening up a route into the wider civil and democratic process.

By placing the arts and culture at the core of policy directives, the Scottish Government was encouraging its use to engage young people within the democratic process, and by default their cultural identity and citizenship. Cultural identity is developed through the crucible of ideas and traditions which create a multi-cultural and diverse nation (Crossley, 2021). By prioritising the role of the arts, culture and creativity the Scottish Government recognised (and recognises) that the creative industries provide benefit to the building and forging of local and national identity and shaping international views of the country. For example, focusing on the visual and performing arts (especially drama), the Scottish Government recognises how these mediums mirrors, adds and challenges Scottish cultural progress and identity (Scottish Government, 2020).

The use of culture to develop a sense of 'Scottishness' at home (and how Scotland is viewed internationally) is perhaps understandable in a post-devolution Scotland as it is an area where governments can 'solidify the collective sense of the society they govern' (Stevenson, 2014: 133). This is especially relevant in the realms of education (that has a particular interplay with culture and creative learning) where governments can enact and review policy discourse. Jack McConnell, the former first minister who was previously a secondary school teacher of mathematics, stated, 'I have seen the difference in the confidence and self-esteem of teenagers leaving high school after a childhood of creative expression and exposure to the arts, compared to those who leave with few cultural experiences (McConnell, 2003)'. The First Minster appeared to recognise that the arts help to support young people's social and emotional well-being and their sense of culture through their engagement with the Expressive Arts (EA). Therefore, it is the way culture and the arts, and in particular theatre and education, have been instrumentalised to support young people's development that will now be discussed.

The educational and cultural interplay

Scotland forms one of four Jurisdictions within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and has a soft border with England. With its own border and law-making powers, in areas such as education (which has always been devolved), health, culture and the environment, the Scottish people have continued to develop their culture and identity. As Nicholson's Theatre, Education and Performance (2011) suggests, national identity is a negotiation between self and

other, which is framed either from an historical understanding, or open to future ideals, and is dependent on culture being conceptualised as a process over that of a fixed entity. Nicholson's (2011) view articulates alongside the Scottish Government's belief regarding the interconnection between Scottish culture and identity ('who we are') as outlined in the National Performance Framework (NPF)

> We take pride in being a vibrant and creative country. We see our culture, humour and heritage as essential to who we are and to our appeal as a place to live and visit. We recognise that the arts and culture bring us pleasure as well as other social and economic benefits. We cherish and protect our history, traditional and rural cultures, and embrace those from elsewhere. Everyone is encouraged to enjoy culture in all its forms and we support our creative sectors and those working in them (Scottish Government, nd a.)

Questions might be asked as to what the Scottish Government means when they state phrases such as 'vibrant', 'cherish', 'embrace' and exactly how they encourage everyone to enjoy culture and support those working and engaging with it. Nevertheless, it appears that the Scottish Government recognise culture as tool to develop an understanding and expression of Scottish national identity. To develop this sense of 'who we are' successive Scottish Governments have sought to interweave its education, arts and cultural policy and practice. For example, at the turn of the century the Scottish Government undertook a review of education which resulted in A Curriculum for Excellence (CFE) (SECRG, 2004). The review suggested that there should be a simplified 3-18 curriculum which offered more opportunities for interdisciplinary learning with greater space for the arts, that 'broaden the life experiences and chances' (SECRG, 2004; 4). Pupils are placed at the heart of the curriculum with a pedagogical approach that: is engaging and active; is challenging; has shared expectations and standards; provides timely and accurate feedback; has shared learning intentions and success criteria; is collaborative; and reflects differing learning approaches (Scottish Government, 2008). With the aspiration that it would 'enable all children to develop their capacities as successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens and effective contributors to society (SERG, 2004; 3).

The EA were viewed by the Scottish Executive, in Building the Curriculum 1 (Scottish Government, 2006), as a key driver to the CFE to meet its four capacities stating,

> the EA can develop *successful learners* by helping children to express themselves, think innovatively, meet challenges positively and find imaginative solutions to problems. They can develop *confident individuals* by encouraging pupils to draw on their own ideas, experiences and feelings and express these through, for example, sounds and still and moving images. Children can derive personal satisfaction from experiencing and taking part in the arts, and their self-discipline can be enhanced. The arts can encourage *responsible citizens* be enabling learners to explore difficult ethical questions. They can help learners to rehearse their responses to personal and social issues, help them to question and develop stances and views. Children can explore the importance of cultures, the arts and heritage in Scotland and other societies, and gain understanding of cultural values and achievements of different societies. In this way, they can develop their insights and experiences of cultural identities and come to recognise the importance of the arts to the identities of nations. And finally, the arts can help to develop *effective contributors* by offering powerful opportunities for children and young people to develop their creativity, work cooperatively and communicate with others, and show initiative, dependability, leadership and enterprise. Participation in the arts – individually, in groups or in communities – can also greatly

> enhance the quality of life in families, the school and communities (Scottish Government, 2006: 5-6).

To facilitate the CfE, teachers were encouraged to plan creative lessons which emphasised children's enjoyment and responses towards learning and personal development. Furthermore, the document recommends that schools and artists work in partnerships with communities and cultural organisations to 'enliven and enrich young people's learning and experience' (Scottish Executive, 2006: 7).

Working in partnership was also required at a macro level between Education Scotland (Scotland's national education body) and Creative Scotland through the National Performance Framework (NPF) via four specific workstreams to:

- develop a vision for, and understanding of, importance of developing creative skills in children and young people, and their parents, and the application of creative learning and teaching.
- build capacity, skills and expertise of learning providers and creative professionals to support creative learning and teaching.
- Share information and good practice, including applications of creative teaching.
- Develop a strategic approach to pathways for the enthusiastic and talented across lifelong learning and into positive and sustained destinations beyond school. (Creative Scotland, 2013a: 10)

In these workstreams, the Scottish Government places creative learning as a key component to the advancement of the school curriculum and wider cultural life. Also, they appear to understand the importance of the arts and culture as part of the fabric of the Scots' social world - rather than removed or isolated from it. By linking education, culture, and creativity together the Scottish Government is, alongside a political discourse, broadening the scope of social and cultural learning, via a para-aesthetic curricular approach, to develop 'personal and social transformations at a geo-political level' (Neelands 2004 p. 51). This might be exemplified via the Scottish Government's decision to task Creative Scotland as the lead organisation for the direction of culture and creative learning alongside their partners: Education Scotland, the Scottish Government, the General Teaching Council for Scotland (Scotland's independent professional regulatory body for teachers), and the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) (Scotland's national examination body) to support teachers develop a creative pedagogy. As a result, this partnership published the National Creative Learning Plan: What is Creativity? (Creative Scotland, 2013a) and emphasised the importance placed on creativity and creative learning within and outside of the curriculum. Delving deeper into the Creative Learning Plan, they have linked 'progressive' creativity and their vision for Scotland,

> At the heart of our Creative Learning Plan is this, our vision for a more creative Scotland: to shape our future as a country, we need to create and be creative...A more creative Scotland can only be realised through creative responses to all challenges, across society, at every level. Achieving this will take the efforts of everyone who is passionate about learning, from policy-makers and teachers to professional creative people (Creative Scotland, 2013a: 9).

As such, the Scottish Government places considerable weight on creativity across learning to develop Scottish culture, society, and education. However, it is interesting that the Scottish Government has separated policymakers, teachers and 'professional creative people' out - are teachers and policy makers not creative people? Through this separation, it appears that there is a hierarchy of creativity amongst the professions with 'professional creative people' potentially having

a ‘head start’ in the creativity ladder. Does Education Scotland implicitly contest that teachers have a particular issue with creativity in the classroom, and that they need support and guidance from ‘professional creative’ people? This might be the case if we consider Dawson, D’Andrea, Affito, & Westby’s (1999) suggestion that teachers often express disapproval or even a dislike of pupils who could be described as ‘creative’. Perhaps teachers' uncertainty of creativity and creative learning (at a conceptual and practical level) is due to a lack of understanding in how to promote and implement it in the classroom (Cropley and Cropley, 2013). For example, educating for creativity requires space in the curriculum and classroom practice for risk taking (Harris, 2016). In turn, creative learning requires teachers to create opportunities for pupils to establish safe learning environments that enable pupils to feel comfortable to make mistakes, learn from them and advance – e.g. to take risks. However, international research highlights that schools are often risk-averse and require help in identifying and establishing tools to foster creative pedagogical practices (Harris and Bruin, 2017). This creative risk-aversion was highlighted in Scotland by the NASUWT (2017: 46) report which identified Scottish creativity provision as being ‘patchy and that, generally, there was insufficient planning for the development of creativity in schools’. Therefore, if schools are to be creative spaces, then they must be creative for all individuals including the teachers - though how many teachers feel this to be the case is equally debatable (Wilson et al, 2005; 2008). This is perhaps why the Scottish government has challenged teachers and ‘professional creative people’ to work together to promote creativity and creative learning across its respective education and cultural policies.

Nevertheless, the separation between teachers and ‘professional creative people’ (Creative Scotland, 2013: 9), and the call for them to work in partnerships to ‘enliven and enrich young people’s learning and experience’ (Scottish Government, 2006: 7) is interesting as the Scottish Government does not provide an overview of what this might look like. Instead, what these partnerships might look like and how they might ‘enliven’ and ‘enrich’ the curriculum is left to individual schools and external agents to negotiate. However, if we consider the EA curriculum, where we know that many of Scottish primary teachers do not feel that they have the necessary skills and knowledge to plan and teach EA lessons (Wilson et al., 2008), then how do teachers and ‘professional creative people’ share a common educational and or artistic discourse, to any depth, to ‘enliven’ and ‘enrich’ the curriculum? Furthermore, how does this, alongside the creative agenda, influence what and how teachers and ‘professional creative people’ select materials to enhance learning and teaching? For example, are theatre makers, who focus on making work for young people, been given the creative space to develop their creativity when the current cultural narrative focuses on participatory work? If this is the case, then theatre for young audience makers are having to amend their practice, and thus potentially mitigating their creativity, to suit funding requirements and wider educational and cultural policies. In turn, are ‘professional creative people’ collaborating with schools to promote learning through or in the arts, and to what extent is this being quality assured at a school level? On the latter point, at a national level creativity is now being assessed by Her Majesty's Inspectorate in Education via the document How Good is Our School? (Education Scotland, 2015). This is a significant development as it is now a requirement for schools to demonstrate how creative their pedagogical approaches are to be inspected against a homogenised national inspection framework. It might be suggested that by inspecting creativity it represents the importance which the government places on connecting policy and practice. Or it might represent how Creative Scotland and Education Scotland are using creativity and culture as ‘tools of governance’ to engineer cultural policy (Stevenson, 2014).

Theatre education, identity, and culture.

Theatre and drama, interwoven with education, has a role in contributing to Scottish identity, and how young people self-identify within national curriculum and arts policies and strategies. This is not unusual as Nicholson reminds us that 'Theatre education can provide a further context for learning a sense of national identity that recognizes that it is inclusive, multiple and plural (2011, p.151)'. Crossley (2021) argues that theatre education supports 'personal compositions of national identity.' In relation to Scotland's Drama Curriculum, where young people have access to drama lessons through primary and secondary school, primary and subject specific secondary drama teachers devise lessons to suit learners' needs and their sense of national identity and culture without prescribed national guidelines. However, although the curriculum isn't prescribed, primary and secondary teachers adhere to the Experiences and Outcomes (Es and Os) within the Broad General Education (BGE) from the early years (age 3) until the end of Secondary 3 (age 13/14). Thereafter, pupils follow the senior phase, from Secondary 4 to 6 (ages 15 to 18) and undertake national examinations set by the SQA.

In relation to primary and lower secondary drama, the CfE's BGE's EA Principles and Practice paper, suggests that teachers should raise pupils' awareness of their own and others' contemporary culture and connect it to young people's experiences. This is supported through the CfE's BGE Experiences and Outcomes paper, where Education Scotland states that the EAs enable pupils to deepen their 'understanding of culture in Scotland and the wider world'. How this is undertaken is not explicitly documented. Though, we can surmise that this might be achieved via a learning 'through and about the expressive arts' (Scottish Government, nd b: 1). For example, the drama Es and Os, state 'I use drama to explore real and imaginary situations, helping me to understand my world (EXA 0-14a)', and 'I have developed confidence and skills in creating and presenting drama which explores real and imaginary situations, using improvisation and script (EXA 1-14a) (Scottish Government, nd c: 8), the exploration of real and imaginary situations to help pupils' understand their world sits within a living through approach to drama education based on democratic citizenship (O'Connor, 2010). Delving deeper into Drama's Es and Os we learn that there is a focus on the craft, or even the aesthetics of drama. For example, the Experience and Outcome EXA 2-14a states 'I have created and presented scripted or improvised drama, beginning to take account of audience and atmosphere.' However, as McNaughton (2013) notes the construct of audience, within the primary sector, does not often focus on a product in terms of a traditional theatrical performance. Instead, pupils might work alongside the teacher in a 'living through drama' pedagogical approach. As such, primary pupils' engagement in and evaluation of the drama is both the process and product. This supports the CfE's emphasis for the EA as a means for enjoyment and the development of personal, social and emotional growth while gaining subject specific knowledge and skills.

Turning to the secondary drama curriculum, pupils develop their own appreciation of others' practical skills (Barlow, 2018). By focusing on developing practical skills in drama, pupils begin to 'appreciate historical, social, and cultural values, identities, and ideas (Higher Drama course specification p.2). This appreciation might be developed through the Higher Drama examination's requirement for pupils to perform a scripted play, analyse a studied text and review a theatrical production by critiquing its production values. The focus on external theatrical skill development, which places the needs of the audience over that of pupils, is central to the drama curriculum and is reminiscent of Hornbook's (1992) aim for drama education students to make, perform, and respond. As such, the drama curriculum's pendulum swings from a more participatory approach in primary to one that prioritises theatrical skills over content in Secondary (Cooper, 2013). However, it is important to note that most pupils will only participate in drama up to and including the BGE and a minority will select the subject for examination. Therefore, theatre/drama professionals working within the school context will often have to adapt to a learning through approach in primary, and to

a certain extent in lower secondary, and then theatre skill development in secondary school. This is particularly important for theatre/drama companies working with young people as they must navigate the participatory approach in the BGE curriculum and or the product centric one adopted in secondary. In addition, as companies are funded from Creative Scotland, who make a significant contribution to education and how the arts and creativity are taught, theatre/drama practitioners must be mindful of current national priorities in linking education and culture (and agendas) to secure funding. If, as has been argued, that the current educational focus is on creativity, and by default developing a sense of cultural identity, then theatre/drama practitioners must be inclined towards these national agendas. If not, then they might cease to receive their subsidised funding status, and thus the ability to produce work and contribute to the national dialogue regarding culture and learning. Consequently, by linking culture and education in this manner it might limit and possibly restrict the type of cultural outputs that theatre and drama professionals make with young people in educational and cultural settings. To that end, the next section will discuss the tensions surrounding theatre for young audiences' makers in Scotland to support the current participatory cultural agenda.

Theatre for young audiences in Scotland

> Theatre is deeply implicated in constructing the nation through the imaginative realm and provides a site where the nation can be put under the microscope [...] theatre opens up a creative space for exploring the paradoxes, ambiguities and complexities around issues of tradition, identity, authenticity and belonging associated with the nation' (Holdsworth 2010, p. 6).

Holdsworth (2010) notes theatre has a role in providing space to develop a sense of nationhood. This is particularly relevant to the Scottish Government as they have intentionally linked education and cultural policy together. Scullion (2008) has previously argued that by blurring the boundaries between education and theatre policies, strategies, and directives the Scottish Government have created an emphasis on learning and participation at the expense of theatre for young audiences. Despite this, Scottish Theatre for Young Audiences, and organisations like Imaginate, which runs Edinburgh's International Children's Festival, have an important part to play in the construction of Scotland's national and international identity. Theatre for young audiences is a particular strength within Scottish Theatre and has national and international standing (Crossley, 2021). Indeed, "When it comes to national identity, the political landscape is often what receives the most attention. But it has been the country's artists, rather than the politicians, that have best conveyed the aspirations – and identity - of today's Scotland" (Gardiner, 2016). However, Scottish theatre artists and their sector relies on subsides funding for its survival, which as Hutchison (2011) reflects, often makes it vulnerable in difficult times. This was evident in Creative Scotland's 2018 funding review when Creative Scotland removed regular funding status for numerous Theatre for Young Audience companies. In doing so, Creative Scotland actively promoted participatory theatre over theatre for young audience companies. Therefore, this would suggest that Creative Scotland views the creation of national identity through a participatory lens and by default siloes the voices of theatre for young audience artists. By emphasizing one demographic over another it has the potential to create an imbalance in artistic practice and a stifled view of Scotland's national identity.

Despite the removal and subsequent refunding for Theatre for Young Audiences companies in 2018, a significant aspect of the curriculum focuses on how young people engage with and respond to Theatre. Supporting young people's ability to respond to professional theatre for young audiences, Imaginate, alongside the National Theatre of Scotland, Catherine Wheels, Starcatchers and Visible Fictions, created Theatre in Schools Scotland which tours 'high quality' theatre and dance

performances to all Scotland's primary schools and nurseries. After this initial set-up, the running of Theatre in Schools was then taken over and is now organised by Imaginate and the National Theatre of Scotland. At the launch event for Theatre in Schools Scotland, the then Scottish Culture Secretary, Fiona Hyslop, stated, "We're working hard to enrich young people's lives through arts and creativity and Theatre in Schools Scotland acknowledges that." (WiredGov, nd) Perhaps the former culture secretary might wish to reflect on these comments as the current iteration of Theatre in Schools Scotland seems to focus on nursery and primary schools. This apparent bias towards primary over secondary school pupils has the potential to create a cultural divide between the education sectors. Due to the requirements of the Higher Drama examination (Scotland's second most advanced school qualification), secondary pupils are required to assess a live theatrical production to fulfil the requirements of the SQA. However, due to Scotland's geography, many young people are unable to attend the theatre and thus are required to assess a recorded production. Therefore, by only touring shows to primary and nursery schools, secondary pupils are being disadvantaged both culturally and academically by Theatre in Schools Scotland decisions. Moreover, one might question how hard the Scottish Government is working to enrich Secondary drama pupil's lives through Theatre in Schools Scotland if they are being denied access to this flagship initiative?

Alongside the apparent bias towards nursery and primary pupils, it is unclear how Theatre in Schools Scotland determines which shows are of a high quality? Furthermore, as there is no evidence of the criteria used to select specific performances, it raises questions as to how they justify their decisions of selection to funders (in this instance Creative Scotland and the Scottish Government)? If, as expected, funding decisions are selected based on adult criticism of individual Theatre for Young Audiences' shows, then young people are voiceless as to the productions they are shown in Theatre in Schools. This is important as gaps often occur between adult and children's judgments of the quality of theatrical work as 'children's cross-cultural criteria differ a great deal from adults' highly variable artistic criteria or western standards of theatre practice (Klein, 2011: 289)'. Indeed, if we consider that primary drama pupils are expected to respond to drama by discussing their thoughts and feelings, while giving and accepting constructive comments on their and others' work, it might appear that by denying them this voice establishes a dominant adult narrative of what art is (and is not) worthy for young people to see. Therefore, Theatre in Schools Scotland should perhaps consider the inclusivity of their decision-making systems and consider how they establish a community of cross-generational participants in the selection of performances (Klein, 2011). If not, then perhaps schools might wish to question the cultural capital that their pupils are receiving by challenging what Theatre in Schools Scotland deems as legitimate theatrical cultural experiences for Scottish young people.

Time to Shine (Creative Scotland, 2013b), Scotland's Youth Arts Strategy for children and young people aged 0-25, is another initiative supported by the Scottish Government through Education Scotland and Creative Scotland. The then Culture Secretary in her ministerial forward clearly linked the strategy to Scotland's wider policies including culture, education, youth employment and personal development. Indeed, the minister stated that Time to Shine is part of the Scottish Government's 'long-term goal of establishing Scotland as an international leader in children and young people's art...at its heart lies a very simple commitment - to enrich young people's lives through the arts and creativity.' It is evident that Time to Shine is attempting to navigate the competing dimensions of the aesthetic worth of the arts for their own sake, participatory arts for social development, creativity for economic benefits and its investment in the creation of national identity. Similarly, the latest Culture Strategy for Scotland (2020) which, like Time to Shine, emphasises the importance of culture as a cross government priority. The First Minister, Nicola Sturgeon, in her opening indicates that the cultural strategy is an investment in the 'future cultural,

social and economic success of Scotland (p. 4)'. Linking culture, social and economics together to develop a successful Scotland is supported on the following page by the Cabinet Secretary, for Economy, Fair Work and Culture, who states that 'Our culture defines who and what we are: it is the way we talk, the way we think and the way we treat one another (p.5).' Again, it is evident that the Scottish Government's views culture to develop Scottish society through arts participation. Focusing on the arts, 'We will collaborate together, and with practitioners, on ways to inspire, empower and support learners to develop important skills for the 21st Century "in" and "through" the arts and creative learning across the curriculum (p.37), again the focus here is on creative learning and there appears to be little appreciation of for the role of art spectatorship in this narrative. This argument is supported through the Scottish Government's announcement of a National Partnership for Culture, which has been tasked to undertake 'a comprehensive view of our cultural landscape (pp 5-6)'. Once again education has a clear role within the strategy and is noted across all the key aims, with the vision to 'place culture as a central consideration across all policy areas (p.3).'

Linking education, culture, economics to develop Scotland as a country the Scottish Government has established an arts strategy that, as mentioned in the Creative Learning Plan which, 'leads intentionally to the development of understanding knowledge and skills (Creative Scotland, 2017: 4)'. The use of the word intentionally is important as, in relation to theatre, not all theatrical productions have an intentional purpose to develop understanding, knowledge and skills. For example, Theatre for Young Audiences' intention is to create performances for young people to observe and often does not have a need to develop knowledge and skills. Indeed, using the word 'intentionally' it appears that the Scottish Government views the arts as a tool to support learning and teaching. Ultimately, this creates tensions and competing demands between the artistic and instrumental aspects of youth arts policy. One approach to theatre that has an intentional purpose of developing knowledge is Theatre in Education (TIE). Landy and Montgomery (2012: 100) suggest that 'TIE is an example of intentional issue-based young people's theatre. The emphasis is on education as much as, or in some cases, more than entertainment, to the detriment of aesthetic production'. Landy and Montgomery's (2012) definition of TIE suits Creative Scotland's Time to Shine (2013) document as it is a 'framework for us to celebrate and further support the significant contribution of youth arts to young people's personal development, their well-being, their health, their communities, the economy and in helping to make Scotland the best place in the world to live' (p. 9). Therefore, the focus on participatory arts practices to intentionally develop knowledge and skills, undermines Theatre for Young Audiences work.

Paul Fitzpatrick formerly from Imaginate Scotland suggests that he has argued with Creative Scotland over the emphasis of participatory art policies at the detriment of Theatre for Young Audiences. He states,

> I pushed really hard for the experience of being an audience member to be a creative learning experience, but this was refused point blank so in terms of Creative Scotland they don't view the experience of the child being an audience member as a creative learning experience...that's not within their definition (Crossley, 2021: 125).

Paul Fitzpatrick's comments suggest that the Scottish Government's policies of integrating culture and education, in practice, are supporting some young people's art form over others. Despite this, it appears that Creative Scotland's Interim director of arts and engagement, Joan Parr (a former teacher), believes that there is a 'lot of pride' in Scotland's approach to cultural and educational policy (Crossley, 2021: 126). However, she acknowledges that, 'we haven't yet fully developed mechanisms for delivering it in a holistic way so we're still battling old, siloed attitudes and people's way of doing things'. Interestingly, Ms Parr has opted to use the terms 'battling' and 'siloed' to

describe the landscape in Scotland. Perhaps these battles and siloes are due to alternative beliefs and values for the purpose of youth arts practice in relation to skill development as opposed to theatre appreciation. This is evidenced by the non-existence of any theatre policy or strategy document developed by Creative Scotland or the Scottish Government, in relation to theatre, and in particular theatre for young audiences. It is evident from the policy discourse and previous funding cuts of Theatre for Young Audiences, in favour of participatory companies, that Creative Scotland is emphasising the instrumentalisation of the arts over the intrinsic worth of art appreciation.

Conclusion

In sum, the Scottish Government views education as a stimulus for how Scotland approaches culture. This raises questions about the relationship between education and culture. For example, by linking education and culture in this way, the government is establishing a narrative to develop (and possibly influence) Scottish cultural identity. To develop this, the Scottish Government has requested that artists and educators work together to establish young people's cultural engagement through a pedagogy based on pro-social practice. However, by linking creativity, education, and wider arts practice, the Scottish Government has created some tension by blurring the boundaries of these areas. While it might be the intention of the Scottish Government to create a more 'joined-up' approach to policy thinking, they must also acknowledge that, while this might suit some agents who view the arts for their instrumental worth, it does not suit everyone – especially those who wish to promote art for its intrinsic value. In relation to formal education, schools are places where policy is enacted and regulated (e.g. school inspectorate assessing creativity), and with the dominant narrative focusing on creative learning, through a participatory lens, it has the potential to narrow the type of artists available to work with young people. As such, the Scottish cultural and educational political landscape is complex, and it is important that educators and theatre makers continue to navigate their journey through these policies and practice tensions while being mindful of their own artistry.

Theatre and drama makers who emphasise creative participation are being supported through current policies – which relate to education and professional practice in the arts. However, those companies that view their remit is to create theatre to be appreciated, over that of a creative learning stance, might not feel that the current cultural policy direction is supporting their work. As such, the current creative learning narrative is particularly troublesome for the Theatre for Young audience sector. This is because Creative Scotland does not view the role of an audience member (within traditional theatre practice) as being participatory. Therefore, the sector, despite being lauded for its national and international standing, does not naturally fit into Creative Scotland's conceptualisation of participation as an active enquiry model. This has created a hierarchy of cultural practice which emphasises the role of theatre (and the arts more generally) as a participatory process and devalues critical spectatorship. Moreover, the extent that young people can formally engage with theatre for young audiences depends on their age and stage within the school curriculum. This creates a missed opportunity for young people to explore the aesthetic value of the arts to support their development as confident individuals, responsible citizens, effective contributors, and successful learners. Consequently, it is important that future Scottish arts policies are developed with vision, clarity and rigor and that policy makers should be aware of how inclusive their visions are towards all art practices; wherein no art practice implementation is favoured over another.

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