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# The Future of Homegrown Teaching Artists? Negotiating Contradictions of Professionalization in the Youth Arts and Humanities Fields

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**Abstract**

Youth arts and humanities programs are providing invaluable learning opportunities for youth participants to become what we term "homegrown teaching artists." After several years of artistic and pedagogic development, these alumni teach youth in the same programs where they were once participants. This phenomenon has emerged at the same time that the teaching artist field has become professionalized with new credentialed pathways through higher education. This simultaneity presents a paradox. Professionalization introduces formal standards and barriers to entry into the teaching artist field at the same time that teaching artists train youth who are racialized and low-

income to become teaching artists through informal pathways in youth arts and humanities programs. In other words, the professionalization of the field is at odds with its aspiration to expand and sustain youth's right to cultural self-determination. We address this contradiction by investigating the pathways and practices of three homegrown teaching artists before turning to implications for policy and practice.

## Introduction

As the youth arts and humanities field matures alongside the teaching artist field, there is an emerging tension. In recent years, new associations and higher education pathways have established "teaching artists" and "community-based arts workers" as an emerging profession. Professionalization of the teaching artist field is introducing standards and barriers to entry, thus limiting access to those who possess the perceived legitimacy and actual credentials to work within youth arts and humanities programs. These barriers present a contradiction. While the mission and practices of these programs vary, the youth arts and humanities program field is arguably bound by an aim to expand and sustain youth's right to cultural self-determination. This aim is realized at times by supporting youth as they become emerging teaching artists. Yet, these same youth now face stiffer competition to become teaching artists as the field becomes professionalized with more enfranchised teaching artists now possessing higher education degrees and professional development certificates.

We investigated this contradiction through an intrinsic and instrumental case study of three homegrown teaching artists of youth arts and humanities programs in Providence, Rhode Island, USA. Through describing their lived experiences in the field, we argue that the field and its funders must respect these non-traditional, low-cost, experiential-based pathways for alumni youth participants. As activist scholarship, our hope is that this knowledge contributes to social action within the teaching artist field in ways that benefit homegrown teaching artists.

## Professionalized and Homegrown Teaching Artists: Conceptions and Contradictions

How to conceptualize the "teaching artist" is complicated and is often done in relation to the "art teacher." The art teacher has traditionally been constructed as an individual who teaches art first and makes art second. The conception of the teaching artist blurs this established hierarchy between art making and teaching; for the teaching artist, they can be artists as they are teaching and teachers while making art. It has become increasingly common for arts educators to call for moving beyond any either/or distinction between artist and teacher and more toward a both/and attitude, in which the professional identities of the field are "unfenced" (Reeder, 2012).

Yet these distinctions are a result of political and economic histories as much as they are conceptual ones, and therefore it is difficult to "unfence" them. These identities are spatialized and institutionalized. An art teacher traditionally works in formal educational settings (e.g. school, colleges, universities) with access to professional associations. A teaching artist works across multiple settings–schools, museums, and community organizations–and does not usually have access to a professional association. Teaching artists and art teachers tend to hold different credentials. The teaching artist might possess a terminal degree in art whereas the art teacher requires a teaching credential. Schools pay art teachers a salary whereas a teaching artist is more likely to be an independent contractor who works part-time, from one grant-funded project to the next, across schools, museums, galleries, and community organizations. This part-time employment allows the artist to make a living by teaching when art sales are insufficient. Teaching artists also find gigs through institutions such as schools and museums that work on their behalf or through more informal ways, such as their own social network.

In recent years, the political economy of being a "teaching artist" appears to be changing, and we would argue, is becoming "fenced." The "Teaching Artist Journal" has emerged in recent years, along with graduate degree programs and courses in what is often termed "community arts," or tangentially, "social practice." In Rhode Island, where this study took place, a Center for Teaching Artists has been launched to provide professional development opportunities for teaching artists (BWW News Desk, 2013). The Rhode Island School of Design, often recognized among the top art and design school in the USA, now awards a Master of Arts in Art and Design Education with a community arts education track, attracting students who identify as "teaching artists" (RISD Department of Teaching and Learning in Art and Design, 2009). Similarly, Brown University, an Ivy League institution located in Providence, offers a Master of Arts in Public Humanities, which also serves graduate students with a community arts interest (JNBC, 2013). Indeed, this study was conducted through the support of Brown's Center of Public Humanities; the authors were teacher and student at the Center in a course on community arts at the time of this study.

Reeder (2008, p. 15) describes how the blurred boundaries between art teacher and teaching artist is one reason for this push for professionalization. A common outcome from interdisciplinarity is an anxiety about who has authority to speak and know on a particular topic and practice, and not coincidentally, earn a living by doing so. Reeder (2008) describes how this boundary-blurring may threaten the livelihood of teaching artists by making it more difficult for them to differentiate themselves from art teachers. Reeder (2008, p. 22) thus calls for the creation of a "National Teaching Artist Force" to legitimize teaching artists and delimit this identity from that of art teacher. Erickson's (2003) interview with three teaching artists reveal that these artists believe professionalization would improve public perception of their work. They see professionalization as a way to share what works in teaching artistry and

avoid "reinventing the wheel again and again" (p. 175). Waldorf (2003, p. 17) reports that teaching artists want a teaching artists union "that could provide insurance coverage, a retirement plan and negotiate improved teaching rates that more accurately reflected their expertise and years of experience." This call for professionalization might also be an attempt to ensure the quality of teaching artist pedagogy and to add status to the field, therefore gaining benefits standard in other professions (Erickson, 2003, p. 176).

What is often overlooked in this discussion of the professionalization of the teaching artist field is its impact on youth teaching artists teach. Some youth who were once students of teaching artists now aspire to be teaching artists themselves, and see teaching artistry as a viable option for earning a wage. This issue is crucial because teaching artists are often guided by an ethos of cultural equity; in other words, teaching artists provide enriching opportunities in the arts and humanities to those who may neither have the access nor the economic wherewithal to otherwise participate in more formal and structured—or at least resourced—learning opportunities. This ethos is highly visible in the youth arts and humanities field, where teaching artists tend to work for organizations in cities that suffer from racialized and classed exclusion and segregation. Yet the professionalization of the teaching artist field increases barriers for former participants through specialized degree requirements that they likely cannot afford, and at the same time, these university programs, at least in the US, introduce free labor in the youth arts and humanities field through co-curricular capstone projects, as well as unpaid or paid internships. That free labor in turn suppresses both opportunity and wages for youth participants who might become teaching artists. In addition to these economic issues, this professionalization narrows and standardizes acceptable activities for artists working in the field based on what universities deem to be legitimate practice in the youth and arts humanities field (Barret, 2003, p. 199).

Amidst these contradictions, influential research within the youth arts and humanities programs recognizes how these programs provide a pathway for youth participants to become teaching artists. Providing more challenging roles and greater responsibilities for young people within these organizations fits with a broader commitment to expanding pathways for cultural self-determination among its constituents (Goldbard, 2006). Heath, Soep and Roach (1998, p. 10) observe that young people "commit intensely to sustaining" these programs, and Heath and Roach (1999) view this role as a marker of effective youth organizations. In effective youth organizations, these authors argue "plans…come from and with young people rather than for them" and young people "keep the doors open" through their commitment (Heath and Roach, 1999, pp. 25, 22). These youth also engage in "turnover teaching" (Heath, 2001, p. 13). Older youth learn as they teach younger members how to become legitimate and contributing members in their communities of practice. Heath, Soep and Roach (1998, p. 2) describe how some former youth participants are eventually paid for their work as they move

into this teaching artist role. Teitle (2012) comments on the advantageous positions of these former participants who "blend in seamlessly" (p. 17) with young people in a drop-in center as "radical youth workers." One youth worker describes this advantage (Teitle, 2012):

> If you are there for the creation (of the center) you know who did what and it all makes sense to you, but if you walk in on it it's all a bunch of scribbles. (p. 18)

We refer to these youth-turned-teaching artists as "homegrown" because youth participants so often refer to these arts and humanities programs as "home" (Fine, Weis, Centrie, & Roberts, 2000). Youth make and interpret these programs in ways that have been described as "free spaces," "third spaces," "counter publics," and "undergrounds" (Fine, Weis, Centrie, & Roberts, 2000). In other words, these programs provide youth a safe harbor to engage in identity experimentation, cultural production, and pleasure itself beyond the exclusionary practices of White supremacy, heteronormativity, homophobia, and classism that they encounter elsewhere. Given the personal and political role of these programs, it is unsurprising then some youth want to remain in these programs as homegrown teaching artists.

Yet a common critique of these safe harbors is that young people are not given adequate, individualized attention as they become teaching artists. In youth poetry organizations, Weinstein and West (2012, p. 286) have critiqued the field's "tendency to throw former teen poets into this work without a great deal of support, at least partly, from a respect for such young people's abilities." In other words, these arts and humanities programs tend to valorize youth's creative cultural production, and now perhaps their teaching, without providing and extending adequate support and training. Yet little research has investigated pathways and practices of homegrown teaching artists, nor considered those pathways and practices in relation to the contradiction of the professionalization of the teaching artist field.

## Methodology

For this study, we conducted intrinsic and instrumental case studies of three homegrown teaching artists (Stake, 1995). We were interested in the particularity of these artists' experiences and how a critical understanding of those experiences can help address this paradox of professionalization in the teaching artist field. These homegrown teaching artists participated in programs located in Providence, Rhode Island, USA, which has a rich concentration of youth arts and humanities programs and teaching artists. The President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities has awarded five Rhode Island programs with the President's Youth Arts and Humanities Program Awards, which is the highest concentration of awards per capita of any state or district other than Washington DC since the program began in 1997 (National Arts and Humanities Youth Programs Awards, 2013). As mentioned

earlier, Rhode Island has also established a Center for Teaching Artists that provides networking and professional development opportunities for teaching artists.

We used a purposive sampling strategy to identify three teaching artists (Robson, 2002). Our main criterion was that these artists were involved with the same organization as teaching artists after graduating from high school. To access these artists, we selected organizations that were well established in terms of local reputation, had an operational history of at least a decade, and reflected three arts disciplines – music, visual art, and dance. Our familiarity with these three organizations was born out of our personal experience living in Providence and involvement in one of them. The lead author was a participant in New Urban Arts when she was in high school; the second author was its founder and director from 1997-2007. Through our mutual interests, we returned to conduct this study in the spring of 2013.

The three organizations selected are:

- Community MusicWorks (CMW), a "nationally recognized community-based organization that uses music education and performance as a vehicle to build lasting and meaningful relationships between children, families, and professional musicians in urban neighborhoods" (Community MusicWorks, 2013).
- New Urban Arts (NUA), a "nationally-recognized community arts studio for high school students and emerging artists" that aims to "build a vital community that empowers young people as artists and leaders to develop a creative practice they can sustain throughout their lives" (New Urban Arts, 2012).
- Everett Company, Stage, and School (Everett), an "intergenerational, multicultural company of touring dancers and professional artists that creates original concert works and video productions, carries out a wide range of educational programs, and mentors new generations of young artists" (Everett Company, Stage and School, 2013).

We then recruited three homegrown teaching artists from these three organizations. They are:

- Sidney, age 21, began playing violin in elementary school and participated in Community MusicWorks from sixth to twelfth grade. At the time of this study, Sidney continued to be involved with CMW as a summer camp teacher and as a volunteer once a week during the school year. Sidney was a senior in college with has plans to pursue a post-baccalaureate degree to finish pre-med requirements before applying to medical school and focusing on community health.
- Aneudy, age 25, is a visual artist and illustrator who participated in after-school arts mentoring programs at New Urban Arts throughout high school. From 2011-2013, Aneudy participated as an "artist mentor," which is a volunteer artist who guides

students in making art during open studio time. While volunteering, he studied community development and non-profit management at a local university through College Unbound, a personalized program that "provide[s] adults with a path to earn a Bachelor's degree from an accredited university while working full time [and] fully integrates the adult's job responsibilities with their college requirements" (Big Picture Learning, 2011).

- Sokeo, age 32, is a dancer and choreographer who began taking classes at Everett when he was 15 years old. When he was 18, Sokeo was invited to be part of Everett's touring performance company and began teaching classes at Everett. At the time of this study, Sokeo's role now included office and administrative work as well as teaching. He was also enrolled in College Unbound.

All three participants consented to the research and were given the option to remain anonymous, although none chose to do so. We shared our findings with them and incorporated their feedback.

As we interviewed these teaching artists, we wanted to know how they described the new roles they played in their organizations, the pathways towards these new roles, and opportunities and challenges they have experienced in the process. With each artist, one author of this paper, Hannah Winkler, conducted two rounds of in-person interviews, each interview lasting 45 minutes to one hour. An open, participant-led approach to the interviews was used, but theoretical interests based on personal experience and a literature review guided possible questions. The first-round interviews focused on participants' pathways through the organization and the second-round interviews were more structured, involving clarifying questions that examined interests emerging from the first interview. Without extant research to inform our analysis, we used an inductive approach, seeking and comparing emerging categories that were emphasized by participants, raised frequently during interviews, and/or provided generative insights about their roles and pathways. We treated each case separately, beginning with unstructured, participant-led interviews to give rise to interests that mattered to them, including topics such as education theory, financial stability, and personal identity, before identifying themes across the three cases.

Our hope is that this critical understanding can inform concrete steps to reduce barriers and expand opportunities for homegrown teaching artists. In other words, youth arts and humanities programs can explore how and why they can offer pathways for their participants that are informed by those presented here, and funders and policymakers can consider how, and why it is necessary, to fund and legitimize these pathways.

## The Pathways and Practices of Homegrown Teaching Artists

Through our interviews with these homegrown teaching artists, it was clear, and unsurprising, that their organizations valued their participation in these new roles as teaching artists for several reasons. Homegrown teaching artists were versed in the pedagogic approaches of each organization and they shared lived experiences with youth participants. Each homegrown teaching artist also presented an opportunity for the organizations to support their alumni after high school. For these alumni, the opportunity to become teaching artists was a way to continue their development through the organization beyond high school. Moreover, becoming a teaching artist provided an opportunity to give back to organizations to which they felt indebted, while in some instances, earn a wage.

In all three cases, their respective organizations invited these alumni to return to their organizations through roles that gradually stepped up responsibility. After her freshman year in college, CMW staff invited Sidney to help with its summer camp as an assistant to other teaching artists. It was the first time CMW had invited youth to return in such a role. After serving in CMW's summer camp, Sidney remained involved with CMW, continuing to teach over the summer and volunteer during a school year program. Similarly, New Urban Arts invited Aneudy to be part of its recruitment team, going into local high schools and encouraging young people to participate. In 2008, during his second year at college, New Urban Arts asked him to join a pilot youth governance board before becoming the board's chairperson. New Urban Arts then recruited him to become a teaching artist, what this organization terms an "artist-mentor." Like Sidney and Aneudy, Everett invited Sokeo to be part of its touring performance company before he was invited to teach classes at Everett. He then started as a teaching artist for Everett's new breakdancing classes.

These three youth alumni described being surprised when their respective organizations asked them to become teaching artists after performing these intermediary roles and responsibilities. They hesitated to believe that they could perform these roles in the same way as the teaching artists they respected as youth participants. Aneudy noted, that he did not have the self-confidence and he was afraid that he could not "possibly live up to his artist mentors." At the same time, these homegrown teaching artists described how they performed these new roles in ways that they were familiar to them and their organizations. They teach as they have been taught. Sidney described how she teaches using "a lot of the teaching techniques… that were used on me," that it was a "trickle-down" way of learning to teach. Aneudy said that artist-mentors at New Urban Arts "gave him models to follow" and Sokeo said that he "learned how to teach by being a student" though a process of enculturation at Everett. Unsurprisingly, these examples illustrate how these alumni view being a youth participant within a community of practice as the process for becoming a teaching artist. Youth arts and humanities programs can consider how to make this process of enculturation visible so that the possibility of

becoming a homegrown teaching artist seems like a more thinkable and possible pathway for youth participants.

Even though they were hesitant at first, these three homegrown teaching artists described a process of coming to find out that they, as Aneudy put it, possess a "distinct advantage" within their organizations. They understand the pedagogic cultures of their respective organizations. Aneudy described himself being open with the improvisational and experimental pedagogic approach of New Urban Arts that was often foreign and unfamiliar to teaching artists who were new to the organization. By contrast, he said that other artist mentors new to the studio brought predetermined lessons or activities with them that students tended to ignore. Sidney also cited one of her strengths as having "grown up with the community." She stated that there are basic pedagogic rules that she learned as a student and now practices as a teacher artist. She says:

> There's silence and applause, we have to respect the people who are playing and also compliment people on different things that they do. There's no such thing as a mistake, and never criticize people.

While she reported sometimes finding it challenging to engage students "in an organization with such loose rules," she values this improvisational style. Having now participated in university orchestras, she appreciates how this more open-ended pedagogic approach is less common in the classical music field. At Everett, teaching artists vary from their late teens to their early seventies, and some of his teachers at Everett were formally trained at more traditional institutions of dance. Sokeo said he combines their pedagogic approaches with techniques he has learned "on the street," from friends, and from videos. Sokeo teaches using an improvised technique he calls "on-the-spot choreography," which involves student-driven learning. He said:

> I don't have some set. I go into the class, I see the whites of their eyes and then I'll give them a song and then I'll do choreography based on what's in [the room]… I think the best way to learn (during my classes) is hands-on, because for one, it's the way I learn.

Sokeo distanced himself from what he calls "by the book" dance instruction that relies, he said, on a Freirean "banking model" where students memorize and perform exact steps. In these "babysitting gig[s]," teachers "give" students "a few dance steps" but do not push for deeper engagement. Sokeo described how an ethic of open-mindedness and care that he learned through his participation in Everett influences how he teaches. Like Sidney, Sokeo said that the "big open mind" of Everett leads him not to "judge" anyone in his workshops

based on class or race. These examples demonstrate how homegrown teaching artists possess distinct pedagogic perspectives that can be used to train other teaching artists through compensated professional development opportunities.

These three homegrown teaching artists also described possessing a distinct advantage within their organizations because they share the lived experiences of youth participants and they embody an inspiring trajectory for them. This advantage was useful to them as they formed relationships with youth. Each artist described their emphasis on establishing less hierarchical and more collaborative relationships with these youth participants, and that these relationships were facilitated by their familiarity with each organization. Sydney emphasized the importance of continuing her involvement at CMW to become an established "figure" within the organization. For her, this kind of "figure" is an engaged, enthusiastic, and passionate teacher groomed from within, someone who students can model their future trajectories after. In this role, she said that she:

> …makes [her students] feel more comfortable in learning rather than seeing me as an authoritative figure that's trying to impose an education on them. And it makes them feel more active and proactive about what they've learned.

In returning to CMW, she described her role as different than "an authoritative figure that tells them [young people] what to do." Instead, she sees herself as a "guide that's there to help them out, help them talk through their ideas." Sidney described her other assets as a teacher at CMW, namely her familiarity with students' backgrounds. She emphasizes that teaching at CMW "is not just about music" but knowing the neighborhoods where students live, "what kinds of kids, what they do for their extracurriculars, [and] why they are part of Community MusicWorks." It includes "what they're interested in [and] what sparks their attention to be able to learn music." Sokeo described the importance of discussing issues students might have at home and figuring out ways to help his students "create [themselves]" and find their "purpose." He hopes to facilitate his students finding a calling they are passionate about, which may or may not be dance.

Aneudy reported that the most important aspect of arts mentoring is that artist mentors "take [young people] seriously and...relate to them." He cites his frequent presence in the space as essential to building these relationships, noting, "a lot of mentoring is just really hanging out with them and just listening to them." At the same time, Aneudy described how he could draw upon his own struggles as a homegrown teaching artist. Sometimes he would opt to teach a traditional skills-focused visual art curriculum instead of a more "hippie" exploratory approach that he had learned as a youth participant. He described shifting to focus on structure and product, from the "guy who hangs out" to the "get-your-shit-together-because-we're-

putting-together-your portfolio-to-go-to-art-school-guy." This new stance for Aneudy is "about preparing [high school students] for the actual rigors of art school," which was inspired by personal experience. Noting the difficulty of navigating college after high school, he said, "I've been there and I've been hurt, and I don't want the same to happen to [my students]." In other words, both his location and struggles as a homegrown teaching artist may reveal to youth what is sometimes obscured in the teaching artist field; those who choose to become teaching artists likely possess the material and symbolic resources that allow them to access and acquire the credentials to become professionalized teaching artist in the first place. For Aneudy, he served as an embodied reminder of the extra burden on youth who are racialized and low-income to "get their shit together," which, in this case, means producing visual art that is considered legitimate for college application portfolios.

These homegrown teaching artists also described the personal investment that they had in teaching at their respective organizations. This personal investment hinged upon knowing first-hand the rewards of having participated as a youth participant there. Sokeo described his involvement at Everett as a way of "giving back." He notes "a door was opened" for him at Everett and claims that Everett and dance, "saved my life… [without them] I'd either be dead or in jail." Staying at Everett, he said, is a way for him to help others avoid these outcomes. Sokeo emphasized that his care for his students extends beyond Everett's stage:

> With my kids now, I want to make sure that they always have a place to come back to. And if they need help… they don't get too far out there. We're always here to help them, no matter what it is.

There is, however, a negative side to this personal investment. Each of these teaching artists were personally motivated to give back to their organization, and to a large extent, paid compensation was not a priority. Paradoxically this charitable spirit of homegrown teaching artists may suppress the wages of teaching artists much like unpaid labor associated with university internships. Or more accurately, their participation can lower the cost of project-based grant proposals, which may them become more likely to be funded.

All three teaching artists also described their roles as teaching artists as a continual learning process. Even after being involved with the organization for thirteen years, Sokeo self-identifies as a teacher and as "a learner, a student, [and] an advisor" at Everett. He said this plurality makes teaching "therapeutic" and "fulfilling in more than just one sense." Sokeo's role has evolved into performing office and administrative responsibilities as well as teaching. At the time of this research, Sokeo studied in the same community development and nonprofit program as Aneudy. After graduating, he planned to get a program director position at another arts nonprofit while continuing to teach at Everett. Sokeo said that he appreciates how

teaching at Everett has led to other teaching jobs in other contexts, such as schools, community centers, and universities. He noted that he is perceived as a professional teaching artist based on his experience. But he offered some caution. He said that his weakness is that "I have done this for so long, I don't know anything else." He described working on his degree so that he can acquire "an actual job," such as being a program director whereby he can make "some real money" and teach at Everett as well. At the same time, paid administrative positions—where there is "real money"—are hard to come by, and the increased professionalization of the teaching artist field intensifies competition as these homegrown teaching artists seek a livable wage.

## Discussion

Our research has found that these three homegrown teaching artists demonstrate professional competencies that are both valued among art teachers and teaching artists in arts education. They are personally invested in their teaching, these institutions, and social justice. They understand and attempt to build upon and extend the cultural strengths of their students. They are reflective practitioners who view their teaching and their understanding of themselves as teachers in a process of continual discovery. Their approach to teaching is contextually dependent; they understand how they must teach in ways that are specific to their institutions, and they are willing to adapt their teaching approaches based on the needs of their students at a given time. They have the added benefit of a deep personal familiarity with, and investment in, their programs. These homegrown teaching artists have developed the kind of teaching professionalism that teacher educators in higher education arts education programs attempt to cultivate in their student teachers.

These youth arts and humanities organizations also provide a compelling model for teacher education and identity formation. What surprised us most in this study was how the progression of these youth arts humanities organizations repeatedly created occasions for these youth participants to renegotiate their identities through "new events, new demands, new inventions, and new generations" (Wenger, 1998, p. 154). Becoming a teaching artist within these organizations was a continual process of renegotiation as the organizations themselves addressed new challenges by recruiting former youth participants to play new roles – recruiting, performing, assisting, and ultimately teaching. As these youth demonstrated their capability with each new role, the programs themselves produced new demands that allowed these participants to perform new roles. This finding is largely consistent with the research of Heath and Roach (1999) that found that the emergence and unpredictability of youth arts and humanities programs provided new roles and real-world responsibilities for youth as these programs develop strategies to sustain themselves. Our research adds to this body of knowledge by demonstrating the professional teaching competencies that these three homegrown teaching artists developed through their participation in these programs.

It is important to recognize, however, that these homegrown teaching artists neither earned a credential nor did they inherit the social and economic safety net that is necessary to navigate the economic insecurity of working as an independent contractor in the teaching artist field. Moreover, unlike institutions of higher education, the youth arts and humanities programs themselves are not receiving funding to provide youth these informal pathways; these pathways appeared to largely emerge through the programs' general operations rather than funded projects and, of course, fees or tuition. Yet ironically, like unpaid internships, their presence in the field may suppress wages for professionalized teaching artists as cultural organizations make difficult personnel decisions with limited resources. On one hand, the pathways of these homegrown teaching artists can be lauded as good outcomes for their programs. On the other hand, their actions might also advance charitable support on behalf of marginalized groups in ways that suppresses the wages of teaching artists and mobilizes inadequate state and private philanthropic support for youth arts and humanities programs.

## Implications for Policy and Practice

Given the "hurt" that that these former youth participants will face after high school, as Aneudy put it, (e.g. job insecurity, suppressed wages, high student debt, etc.), youth arts and humanities program must take steps to address the potential negative consequences of professionalization on homegrown teaching artists, namely barriers of entry that exist through the credentialing of teaching artists and new levels of competition through internships provided by university programs. Our research makes the case for arguing that youth arts and humanities programs themselves should be recognized as important training grounds for homegrown teaching artists. As a result, we would advocate for funders of youth arts and humanities programs to consider how to recognize the legitimacy of former youth alumni as teaching artists even if they are not credentialed. Programs, for example, should not be considered inferior, lacking quality or artistic excellence, because their teaching artists are former youth participants without university credentials. Moreover, we would advocate for funding that is designated to paying homegrown teaching artists given the new competition they face from, and also paradoxically present to, professionalized teaching artists. Funding and program support might also support the transition of homegrown teaching artists into other careers so that, as Sokeo put it, they can overcome the limitation of having done the program for so long that they may not "know anything else." New professional associations that are emerging to support teaching artists can play a crucial role here. They must develop strategies to support homegrown teaching artists, including, for example, free scholarships for professional development workshops and sliding scale membership fees.

If these steps are not taken, we fear that homegrown teaching artists can become overshadowed by, and denied opportunity as a result of, those who are credentialed and members of professional associations; and paradoxically, homegrown teaching artists may

also threaten the livelihoods of professionalized teaching artists by performing charitable support on behalf of their fellow constituents in the youth arts and humanities field.

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