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Facilitating musical learning in Scottish Primary Schools:
An interview-based study of generalist primary teachers',
primary music specialists' and community music practitioners'
views and experiences.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

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Researcher Position Statement

I have written this statement to provide you, the reader, with an understanding of the position from which I have written this thesis, and some insight into my reasoning.

I am not the subaltern.

I am, what they call, assimilated. I have played by the rules.

I am brown.

I am a woman.

I am a musician.

I am a creator.

I am a feminist.

I am an activist.

I am a researcher.

I am an educator.

I am all of these.

All of the time.

Equally.

Diljeet Kaur Bhachu:

Daughter of immigrants;

Product of colonialism.

Model minority. Model student. Model citizen.

Role Model.

My actions carry a responsibility I did not ask for.

Every word, every decision, every opinion.

Placed under a microscope so that they can tell me I have made

a mountain out of a molehill.

So that I will take the 'easy road'.

But I was born on the difficult one.

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Abstract

Confidence in teaching music has been a long-standing issue for Scottish generalist primary teachers, and, amidst cuts to specialist teachers and instrumental music in Scottish schools, generalist teachers are increasingly under pressure to deliver music lessons. The thesis reports on primary school music, and community music, in which musical learning is facilitated as a part of wider community music practices. Setting generalist primary teacher voices alongside community music practitioner and primary music specialist voices, this thesis sought to better understand: 1) generalist teachers' perceptions of teaching music in the primary school; and 2) how the experiences, views and beliefs of primary music specialist teachers and community music practitioners yield distinct and often contradictory perspectives on what it means to teach music. Taking a life stories approach, this study draws on the life-long and life-wide experiences of 30 teachers and practitioners, collected through semi-structured interviews. This approach situates teachers' and practitioners' current work positions within the wider frame of their life trajectories, considering both structural and individual/personal influences on their career choices and pathways. Life stories demonstrate how teachers and practitioners arrive in the powerful position of being gatekeepers of access to musical learning. Focussing on an inductive approach to analysis, key themes emerged.

1. Music is 'othered' in numerous structural and conceptual ways, that is, it is positioned separately from the rest of the curriculum and is viewed as an activity only certain people have access to.
2. Chance plays a significant role in shaping musical life journeys and trajectories, by mediating the opportunities and barriers people face in engaging with music and pursuing their career pathways.
3. The process of teaching music is described as a performative act of facilitating musical learning, whereby the teacher enacts musical confidence and charisma to engage learners and present themselves as an authoritative leader.

These themes were explored in detail, with reference to Expectancy Value Theory (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002), as a means of understanding how teachers construct self-efficacy in music teaching, and drawing on Postcolonial theories to situate Western European Art Music (WEAM) as the primary actor in 'othering' music in Scottish Primary schools. While music is 'othered' in many ways, from how it is included in Initial Teacher Training, to the presence of specialist teachers (for a specialist subject) and perceptions of the skills and knowledges required to 'be musical', the Eurocentric colonial dominance of WEAM can be seen as the root cause of 'othering' music, and of lowering teachers' self-efficacy for teaching music. Furthermore, music is presented in life journeys as an opportunity only available to some, whether through families or school access, or through the personal and musical incompatibility of opportunities that are available. These experiences are also impacted by the dominance of WEAM within them, which acts as a barrier to participation through its rules and regulations. Lastly, teaching is described as an act of performance, raising questions over the role of subject knowledge versus teaching skills, i.e. the ability to perform musical confidence and capacity for facilitating learning.

I argue that cycles of low musical confidence amongst generalist teachers can be interrupted through understanding the process of teaching music as one of performed facilitation and identifying examples of colonialism in music education. Thus, this thesis recognises the need for a conceptual shift that could decolonise music education in order to make the subject more accessible for generalist teachers.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Chapter introduction

In this introductory chapter, I provide a context and rationale for my doctoral research project. I also explain my positioning within this research – how my own personal experiences led me into this project – and as a researcher more broadly in terms of my motivations. The project primarily responds to issues of generalist teacher confidence in music in Scottish schools, and how this has a knock-on impact on learners' access to music education. With this in mind I will first situate this issue within a wider frame of historical traditions of musicking and ways of thinking about what music is, although I go into these areas in more depth in Chapters 2 and 3. I will then explain how the issue developed within the Scottish context, unpacking how we arrived where we are and providing a brief history of Scottish Music Education, to explain why we need to better understand generalist teachers' experiences and find a way forward for building up primary school music.

During this project, I have become aware of, and subsequently immersed myself in, debate on the colonialism of research and music education. In response to this, an additional strand of this project involves exploring how research practice can be decolonised, so in this chapter I explain what I mean when I use the term 'decolonisation' and elaborate on what it means to me in the contexts of academia and research practice. I also address issues around the need to decolonise music education later in this thesis, in response to emergent themes that indicate the existence of colonial legacy within music education and teachers' perceptions of what music education should be.

1.1.1 Thesis Overview

Chapters 2 and 3 provide a review of literature into beliefs about music, and the education workforce. Chapters 4 and 5 outline my methodological approaches and methods. The teachers and practitioners who contributed to the study are introduced via life story summaries in Chapter 6, before the thematic analysis of interviews is laid out in Chapters 7-9. Finally, I discuss the implications of this analysis in Chapters 10 and 11, suggesting potential ways forward for music education in Scotland.

1.2 My position

I have already provided a researcher statement as a preface to this thesis, in which I make statements about who I am, how I view the world, and how I arrived here. In this section I elaborate on this with regards to the research project undertaken over

the past few years, and the baggage that has shaped the project. I do this following the wise words of Professor Pamela Burnard, who advised me early in my doctoral journey that “you can’t re-search without me-search and we-search” (2015).

1.2.1 Arriving at this (version of the) project

“if we are serious about improving the quality of education, a good start is to improve our understanding of teaching” (Cain & Cursley, 2017, p3)

Inclusion and equality have always been at the heart of my work. Florian and Linklater (2010) suggest that there is a general misperception amongst many educators about inclusive teaching, that places onus on subject knowledge over pedagogical knowledge. The inclusive pedagogy they advocate is based on principles of responding to differences in pupils’ learning needs as opposed to completely individualising a programme of learning to suit each learner. This allows for an approach that is about ‘everyone’ and not ‘most’ and ‘some’. Coming to this project from and with a background in inclusive community music and music education contexts, this doctoral project was always going to address inclusion and equality in music education in some way.

This project changed perhaps more than most do – although it has somewhat come full circle with regards to addressing the hegemony of Western European Art Music, which Professor Ruth Wright (2017) and Eric Martin Usner (in Wong, 2006) have usefully abbreviated to WEAM. To define WEAM, Gelbart (2007) starts with the primary mode of dissemination – WEAM largely relies on written and documented formats of music (p3). Historically this would take the form of the notated score, and Gelbart debates the impact of including audio recorded music (i.e. much contemporary and popular music), arguing that it muddies the definition (2007, p4). Observing popular music culture, and pop music studies, I propose four defining characteristics of these domains that position them as legacies of Western European Art Music culture. Firstly, popular music genres have upheld the notions of talent and musical excellence that earmarks some individuals as idols. Secondly, as a result of this, there is a clear canon of what popular music is deemed worthy of academic study. Thirdly, the notion of finished musical masterpieces is embedded in the consumption of popular music. Finally, popular music genres as we know them today were birthed in the Global North and largely utilise the theoretical frameworks of tonality and rhythm that are upheld in Western European art music traditions.

I entered this PhD journey as a musician, researcher, and community music worker. I choose the word ‘worker’ in hindsight, because until more recently my community music roles were not as active as that of community music practitioner or facilitator. I

was however heavily involved in community music activities, as a musician and administrator, and was surrounded by community music practice, and on emerging from my doctoral studies I am now developing my community music practitionership more actively. Whilst dabbling in early years community music practice prior to the PhD, I was largely experimenting and learning on the job, which is in part what shaped my interest in this research – I was the only person questioning my competency as a practitioner. It is these experiences that led to the desire to understand how self-efficacy relates to actual competency, and in the case of facilitating musical learning, who could and should fulfil this task.

I came into this project as an insider to community music, with strong ties to formal education through relationships I had built up throughout my higher education and professional life. With reservations about researching teachers without myself being a teacher, I also realised that this afforded me a degree of separation – without my own teaching practice, my ideas of ‘good’ teaching practice are somewhat less biased. Instead I draw on my experiences as a participant of music education, an observer and a rather inexperienced community music practitioner, albeit one with several years of youth work experience – this went unacknowledged until sometime into the PhD.

More broadly, I have always had an interest in equality of opportunity and access to music education, stemming from my own experiences as a learner, and my general experiences as a young brown girl (and woman) navigating a very white, male-dominated world. This perhaps explains why I was a volunteer youth worker, and why I was drawn to working in community music and education. It’s also no surprise in hindsight that I joined the trade union movement, again with a view to addressing inequality, and this focus on inequity and inequality is very apparent in some of the issues that most visibly stuck out to me in this project. Whilst this influence of my experiences on my research could be viewed as bias, I prefer to frame this as an offering of a unique set of insights, formed by my unique interactions with the people I meet and the stories they tell me, just as you will have your own set of unique interpretations (Mirza, 2009).

Early on in the project, I began to learn about colonialism, and my personal relationship with British colonial history, and once I started unravelling this thread, there was no turning back. Following the guidance of Dr Juliet Hess (2017), in this thesis I try to actively challenge the use of coded language and euphemisms in discussions of music education, to make White supremacy visible. I will now discuss this learning process, and how I have attempted to decolonise my PhD.

1.3 Decolonising my PhD

'Decolonisation' has become something of a buzzword in left-leaning politics. It is often casually misused as a replacement term for anti-racism. This misuse detracts from the true meaning of decolonisation. To decolonise is to disrupt or dismantle colonialism and colonial structures. This is not to say that decolonisation is not anti-racism work, rather that it is one of many ways in which activists are tackling racism. Decolonisation situates racism within colonial process and also considers colonialism beyond the geographical, historic context.

"at its heart, decolonisation is about recognising the roots of contemporary racism in the multiple material, political, social and cultural processes of colonialism and proceeding from this point[.]" (Gebrial in Bhamra et al, 2018, p29)

In his 2017 article for Media Diversified, an online magazine specifically working to address issues around colonialism and race, Nate Holder criticises what he calls 'colonial mentality' in music education in the UK (Holder, 2017a). Holder problematizes 'World music' as a concept that others musics that cannot be classified as WEAM, drawing on the impact of focussing on the 'Great Composers' – i.e. white men – on how music education is presented visually (Holder, 2017b; 2018). Simultaneously many research practices that were established as tools to use in the colonial projects of the white Western world form the basis of the 21st century researcher's toolkit. I address these in more depth in Chapter 4, in relation to methodological considerations for this study. For now, I will provide an overview of why I needed to attempt to decolonise my PhD and embed such principles across my work.

There are two primary ways in which I address colonialism in this study. One is through the pragmatic decisions that inform how I do my research. The other is through the colonial mentalities that have emerged from the data. I recognise these colonial mentalities from my particular vantage point as a researcher who is hyper-aware of and able to identify the constructs and tools of colonialism. I cannot ignore that these issues are visible to me. Further, Hess argues that decolonisation requires us to *actively look* for these colonial legacies (2017), that are often hidden in plain sight and form the unchallenged status quo, in order to enact positive change, as will be demonstrated in this thesis.

1.3.1 Academia: A colonial history

The histories of academic institutions in the Global North are embedded in colonialism. A great deal of wealth that was accumulated through colonialism and

slavery made its way into universities, through donations and legacy grants made by slave-owners and others who profited from colonialism, local examples of which have recently been documented by the University of Glasgow (Mullen & Newman, 2018). The very institution within which I have written this thesis is not exempt, and in particular I wish to briefly highlight the colonial legacy that exists within the Reid School of Music, to acknowledge the oppression and violence against the Indigenous peoples of what some now refer to as North America, that the Reid School's namesake was directly complicit in. Beyond General Reid's military role during the colonisation of North America, a large part of the money that was left to the University to establish the Chair of Music was given to Reid by his cousin, John Small. This money was acquired through a land-grant given to John Small by the British Crown, to encourage 'cultural colonisation' of what some people call Canada, following the American Revolution. Why is this important to this thesis? It is this *cultural* colonisation that still exists in the 21st century, visible in the dominance of WEAM around the world, and the ways in which WEAM is granted its power.

Beyond the financial ramifications of colonialism on academia, universities also played a role in shaping the ways of thinking that drove colonial projects. Academics made (false) claims that Indigenous peoples in Africa, Asia and the Americas were inferior species (Smith, 2012), granting a sense of moral justice to those who sought to change the countries they invaded, or, in the case of the Americas, to completely erase Indigenous peoples. Alongside the 'discovery' and 'exploration' of 'new' lands – of course only new to colonisers, and not indigenous peoples – a research culture was founded on similar language, and still forms the basis of research practice today, where presumed untapped data is 'discovered' and 'explored' for the production of 'new' knowledge.

1.3.2 Colonial thought in 21st century academia

Writers including Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Hamid Dabashi call attention to modern day iterations of colonialism. Dabashi (2015) highlights the mistreatment of thinkers in the Global South, what Santos (2014) calls "cognitive injustice" – "the failure to recognise the different ways of knowing by which people across the globe provide meaning to their existence". This resulting dominance of the 'Western' way of doing and knowing has a colonising effect on the types of scholarly work that are included in teaching and learning, and the value that is placed on academic work from the Global South. The word 'research' is itself entangled in colonialism (Smith, 2012, p1). Mutua and Swadener (in Hess, 2018) shine a light on the 'extractive' nature of research methods, that seek to 'mine the data plantation' for its resources, after which the researcher leaves to construct knowledge – this metaphor highlights

the power hierarchies that are at play in traditional research methods, and the ways in which people and communities as participants of research activities can be exploited.

Building on this work, Hess (2017) goes on to point out the problems of research terminology such as ‘findings’ and the concept of ‘new knowledge’ as a remnant of colonialism. Drawing on the work of Patel (2014), Gould (2007) and Bradley (2006), Hess sets out a number of suggestions for taking an anti-colonial approach to music education research. These include: choosing specificity over generalisability, honouring the individual’s lived experiences; choosing to actively look for the reproduction and reiteration of colonialism in our research practices; allowing those who participate in research and contribute their knowledge to reframe research questions to serve their lived reality, for example recognising and challenging the deficit model that is often present in educational research (Hess, 2017). It is through Hess’ work that I will now set out the argument for needing to decolonise music education.

1.3.3 Decolonising Music Education

Juliet Hess (2015) argues that WEAM in the curriculum acts as a coloniser. In the building of a music curriculum, different cultures, histories and practices fight for their place, negotiating the limits of space, time and value judgements.

“The construction of a curriculum at any level is the product of a power struggle” (Gebrial, in Bhamra, Gebrial & Nisacioglu, 2018, p25)

Most music education in the UK centres at the very least around WEAM notions of tonality and harmony, even if WEAM itself is not the focal point – for example, in popular music and jazz education. This centring of WEAM within curricula indicates its unchecked (and, I would argue, unnecessary) dominance. As this thesis will go on to argue, this focus on WEAM has a significant impact on how teachers interact with music in both their personal lives and classrooms.

Within both community music and primary music education there are a number of practices that are steeped in colonial mentality but often go unchecked – the blanket-term ‘African drumming’, for example (Holder, 2017b). This type of subtle generalisation and reduction of a complex set of countries, cultures and traditions into a homogenous ‘concept’ treats such music as the ‘other’, much in the way that colonial projects sought to simplify the dichotomy of power hierarchies between the coloniser and colonised. ‘World music’ is similarly problematic, often used to imply any music that is not WEAM, or Western popular or traditional jazz music. WEAM-

centric curricula in music education demonstrate the power that WEAM asserts over other cultures of musicking, resulting in the domination or colonisation of the curriculum.

1.4 Context: Scottish Music Education

In Scotland, access to musical learning opportunities is inconsistent. The introduction of Curriculum for Excellence in 2010 was a conscious shift towards a less prescriptive model (Broad et al, 2019, p13). While music as a curriculum subject forms a part of the core expressive arts curriculum for all Secondary School pupils in Scotland from S1-3, its role in primary schools is much more varied, which means variation in prior knowledge and experience when pupils arrive at Secondary school. Whole-class music in Scottish primary schools is currently delivered by a wide range of people: generalist teachers, music specialist teachers with teaching qualifications, community music practitioners, and a host of other music educators without teaching qualifications, who are brought in by various means including the Youth Music Initiative and Sistema Scotland. Some of these educators have music qualifications, some have teaching qualifications, some have both, and some may even have neither, with the expectation that evidence of experience would be provided in lieu. Visiting primary music specialists may bring in their own plans, some of which may be rooted in established music education methods such as Kodaly, Orff and Suzuki, creating further diversity in the content of primary school music education.

1.4.1 A brief history of music education in the UK

In this section, I will provide an overview of the recent history of classroom-based music education in the UK, as a means of situating and explaining the culture of UK music education today. It should be noted that there are some differences between the constituent nations that form the UK, however the broader shifts noted below can be observed across them. Pitts (2000) offers the following timeline of music education over the 20th century, mirrored also in an account by Pugh and Pugh (2013):

- 1900-1935: Policymakers move towards inclusive practice of music education for all children, using the already established model for instrumental instruction as presented by the Associated Board of the Royal Society of Music and Trinity. This model encompassed musical appreciation, aural skills, singing, and literacy skills.
- 1935-1955: New interest in music psychology as a research area led to the introduction of aptitude testing in music education, and views relating to the innate nature of musical ability. This undermined the accessibility approach of previous decades. The secondary music

curriculum focused on singing and listening. The 1944 Education Act led to a more theory based music curriculum that largely consisted of classroom singing and learning how to read notation (Adams, McQueen & Hallam, in Hallam & Creech, 2010)

- 1955-1975: New progressive methods in music education surfaced, creating conflict with traditional approaches. Composition and improvisation entered the picture.
- 1975-1985: “World music” – that is, all music that does not belong to the west or the Western canons – and new traditional repertoire entered the classroom, placing extra demand on teachers to cope with a broader curriculum, around the same time that theory development in music education research was leading to evaluation of classroom practice. Paynter (1982) advocated a broader curriculum that would enable students to explore and shape their own learning, incorporating musical traditions that use aural skills.
- 1985-2000: Three core areas of music education were established – performing, listening and composing. Music technology entered the classroom in the 1990s, while historic practices were still evident.

It is evident from this timeline that the role of notation has significantly grown over time and that improvisation and composition once held higher significance. This can be attributed partly to developments in the printing industry making written documents more readily available, and simultaneously to the emergence of ‘canon culture’ and the significance of ‘the work’ (Gelbart, 2007). Developments in music psychology research have also impacted perception around musical ability, thus creating attitudinal barriers in music education based on a set idea of what musicianship is according to the Western tradition. These 20th century developments contribute to perpetuating the notion of musicality being a selective trait, which underpins many generalist teachers’ un-musical identities.

Moving into the 21st century, a boom in technology has had a significant impact on the types of musicking happening in UK schools. There has been a decline in active music-making since the boom in technology in recent decades (Green, 2014, p37), which has coincided, related or not, with a rise in formal music education. It is yet unclear whether the two are linked – could formal music education be a response to the fall in musical activity? Music is a part of our fabric as humans and society but has different meaning for us as individuals – as listeners, participators, creators, enjoyers (Green, 2014, p37). Popular music has long been implicitly portrayed as inferior in music classrooms in the UK (Green, 2014, p39).

In England, early years care and education has become a formal preparation phase for primary school, and musical learning has come to consist of activities that teach general skills and behavioural traits that are expected within primary education, such

as learning to respond to instruction and conforming to structure (Young, 2007). English schools position music as an area of key focus in the Primary years (Welch and Henley, 2014), so much so, that the Government funded a singing-based Primary school programme, Sing Up, which reached 98% of English primary schools by its fifth year (Welch et al, 2014; <https://www.singup.org/about-sing-up/10years/>). By contrast, in Scotland the majority of in-school musical learning will happen in Secondary school (Sheridan and Byrne, in Scottish Education, 2003). In Scotland, in-school music provision has faced an increase in cuts to services, including complete removal of Primary Music Specialists in some local authorities. There is currently no definitive primary music curriculum in Scotland, causing vast differences in the musical experiences of children, depending on their pre-school, primary school and extracurricular learning. Here, much of the primary provision currently in place is provided through the Youth Music Initiative – a pot of funding that supports both in and out of school music activities, provided by individuals or organisations.

A recent commissioned study into the Scottish music education landscape (What's going on Now? Broad et al, 2019) noted that schools in “less socially advantaged areas” bear a higher responsibility in providing opportunities to pupils, creating additional pressure for teachers. The study also found that inclusive music opportunities are the realm of the voluntary sector, and that the organisations who support this provision are often unable to sustain their work in the current project-to-project funding structure. Current school provision does not provide sufficient preparation for Higher Education in music – Secondary music requirements have changed to account for learners only having access to the classroom teacher; instrumental provision is varied both in level of provision and cost; primary music is minimal, with few specialists, a top-down system of access to instrumental services, and no statutory curriculum.

1.4.2 Recent Curriculum reforms in Scotland

School music in Scotland has changed dramatically in the past decades, with repeated curriculum reforms. The late 1970s are noted by both Hewitt (2014) and Byrne and Sheridan (2000) as a period of reform in which the previous elitism of music education was addressed. Hewitt (2014) identifies three key philosophical underpinnings of curriculum reform in Scottish music education: accessibility, integration of performance, history and theory, and active learning. Hewitt also notes that reforms in the 1980s were a direct response to a decline in music uptake in latter years of Secondary school, which was halted as intended and maintained a steady increase for some years – however, recent problems with instrumental music

provision, which I explore in the following section, have contributed to a new decline in uptake.

More recently, changes to the curriculum at Scottish Qualifications Association (SQA) assessment levels have had a significant impact on music education from early years through to higher education. In 2005, The SQA lowered the minimum required level of performance at Advanced Higher level (i.e. for S6 pupils) to that equivalent with ABRSM Grade 5 (SQA, 2010). This Grade 5 standard was previously expected of S4 students as part of the old 'O' Grade examinations (Sheridan & Byrne, 2003), with Advanced Higher requirements being much closer to entry requirements for conservatoire or university music study. Despite a significant search for detailed information on why these changes were made, including a freedom of information request to the SQA, there is no clear explanation for this change. It has also been speculated that the change was made with the intention of opening secondary school music up to those engaging with it for the first time by allowing them to attain Advanced Higher by the time they left secondary school, which also effectively takes pressure off primary schools to introduce music.

Meanwhile, conservatoire education expects that "successful applicants will normally be of a standard at least equivalent to Grade 8 with Distinction of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music in their Principal Study" (RCS, 2014). University performance places similar requirements (University of Edinburgh, 2019). This has created a huge and growing gap between the instrumental skill levels of pupils who only have access to school music, and the entry requirements for pursuing music at further or higher education level. This not only demonstrates a gap between Advanced Higher at Grade 5 and music degree entry but indicates a value judgement on the types of musical skills that are deemed necessary as pre-requisites for advanced musical study. Moir and Stillie (2018) note this gap, and the acknowledgement amongst university music staff that school qualifications alone do not enable them to gauge applicants' compatibility or preparedness for their programmes. Students in the study also commented on the limits of school music education in equipping them with the necessary skills and knowledge for higher education in music. This becomes a class inequality issue, due to the additional costs of preparing for higher education in music (Moir and Stillie, 2018). The 'What's Going on Now?' report (Broad et al, 2019) also voices concern over whether school music prepares students adequately for pursuing post-school formal music education (p116) and notes the significant impact of instrumental music provision fees on pupil uptake (p57).

Alongside SQA reforms, the Scottish Government introduced a new Scottish curriculum, Curriculum for Excellence (CfE). CfE is founded on principles of creating responsible citizens through an interdisciplinary and inclusive approach to teaching and learning, incorporating life-wide and life-long learning experiences. Despite its aims, teachers hold misconceptions about how to teach inclusively (Florian & Linklater, 2010). At its inception, the interdisciplinary aims of CfE had the potential to embed music in every curricular area, through music's applicability to all other subjects and, according to Wilson et al (2008) this space for the arts was an intentional feature of CfE's design. However, in practice, music continues to be viewed as a specialist subject. This is partly due to McCrone reforms that saw a detachment of primary generalist teachers from music delivery as this became their non-class-contact time. More broadly, Priestley and Humes' (2010) critical analysis of CfE identified a number of issues and contradictions within the curriculum, arguing that it lacks a strong theoretical foundation. This highlights the ongoing need to evaluate CfE in action, in collaboration with teachers.

1.4.3 Instrumental music provision

In the past decade, instrumental instruction provision has come under increasing threat due to funding cuts. Instrumental instruction is often viewed as a fringe item in formal education, partly due to its provision taking place outside of the classroom and by peripatetic teachers. Of the provision that does exist, there are significant issues over who has access to opportunities to learn how to play an instrument, including individual cost-related and attitudinal barriers as well as the broader impact of school and local authority priorities. Instrumental music provision in the primary sector is funding-dependent, and may be allocated on a top-down basis from Secondary to Primary (Moscardini, 2015 p6). While many primary school pupils will access IMS, it is entirely separate from classroom music, and access is not currently equitable (Moscardini, Barron & Wilson, 2013), limited by the range of instruments available, the use of selection processes to recruit pupils for tuition (Moscardini, 2015, p3). While the Scottish Government has pledged that all Scottish pupils will have a year of instrumental music lessons by the time they reach Primary 6, through the Youth Music Initiative, how this target is met in reality can vary wildly. Young people with additional support needs (ASN) are significantly misrepresented in instrumental provision (Moscardini, Barron & Wilson, 2013). Although figures from three large local authorities show that pupils falling under the broad banner of having ASN are proportionately represented in instrumental learning, there is a big discrepancy in the types of needs pupils have and whether they receive access to tuition.

Sistema Scotland has been established in Raploch, Stirling since 2008 (Moran & Loening, 2011), providing orchestral instrumental instruction and ensemble learning opportunities based on the Venezuelan model of El Sistema. It has expanded over the past decade, with additional centres in Govan (Glasgow), Torry (Aberdeen) and Douglas (Dundee). While pupils within the areas of Raploch, Govan, Torry and Douglas have access to high quality tuition from music professionals, and immersive orchestral learning environments, pupils in surrounding areas are at the receiving end of cuts to music services, or constant threats of fee increases or removal of the music service altogether.

A key issue in instrumental instruction in Scotland, and one that has been highly covered by the media, is the introduction of fees and the way fees are decided. Currently, the cost to parents/guardians of instrumental instruction varies hugely depending on the local authority the school is in. In addition to tuition costs, instruments may need to be purchased, and other resources such as sheet music, books, necessary accessories for instrument maintenance and accessories for practice.

1.5 Introduction to the project

In this thesis I explore the outcomes of a project that sought to understand the ways in which Scottish primary teachers – both generalist and music specialist – and community music practitioners conceptualise the aims of their jobs, and the skills and prior experiences they think they need to have in order to teach music and facilitate musical learning experiences. This is in response to problems I had both experienced and later observed with regards to music provision in Scottish schools. Having found that many of these problems were widely acknowledged anecdotally but absent in any formally documented way, an initial aim of this doctoral project was to seek validation and clarity of the issues. Starting by taking a broad look at the music education sector as a whole, in the early stages of the project I was drawn to the primary sector, quickly realising that many of the issues I was aware of had links to or stemmed from the primary sector.

CfE positions the school as a community, built to support the development of pupils in becoming responsible citizens and lifelong, life-wide learners. Jorgensen (1995) argues that all forms of music education are also grounded in notions of community. In addition to this, I saw connections between my experiences as an early-stage community music practitioner, and those of generalist teachers, with regards to developing music facilitation confidence and skills. Thus, the idea of exploring

community music practitioners' experiences and views alongside those of teachers arose.

1.5.1 Situating the issue of generalist teacher confidence

Traditional models of music education in Western Europe have centred on the conservation of established conventions. Within these conventions, music is defined as an organised set of sounds that adhere to tonal, harmonic structures (Cook, 1994), with sets of rules to follow in order for the music to be deemed 'correct' by WEAM standards. Music education culture in Great Britain became heavily focussed on re-creation of others' compositions. Amongst the reasons for this are the mid-19th century printing revolution, and strategic use of music and other institutionalised cultural arts to uphold notions of morality amongst the Victorian bourgeoisie (Bull, 2016b). At this time, notions of 'the work' were also emerging within Western European Art traditions (Gelbart, 2007).

Prior to this, creativity and improvisation had a more central role in learning. Moving through the twentieth century, new genres have pushed models of music education back towards placing creativity at the heart of learning, but the re-creative Western paradigm is still dominant (Rowe et al, 2014). Ideologies in music and music education are the root of many issues. The Western music tradition is embedded in the idea that 'good' music fulfils certain ideologies, such as universality, eternity, complexity and originality (Gelbart, 2007). This attribution of the value of music to a socially constructed ideology comes with the risk of making music exclusive to those who 'fit' a certain musical convention or who are willing to conform to it. These ideologies can be transferred through education and are visible within UK music education as a manifestation of middle-class values (Bull, 2016a).

Beliefs about musical ability, and who possesses it, can affect music teaching (Hennessy 2000) – particularly the view that musicality is selective, as this can lead to exclusion to participation in musical activities for those not deemed musical (Brändström, 1999). Musicality, or musical ability, is viewed in broad terms by society (Hallam, 2006), extending beyond academic definitions. Attempts at diversifying the curriculum still often marginalise music from non-Western cultures as the "other" and tend to use dominant Western culture as a reference point through which to describe other musics. Ultimately, current systems of music education may not be inclusive of all learners, and limitations on resources, funding and curriculum time may cause further restriction.

1.5.2 Research Aims

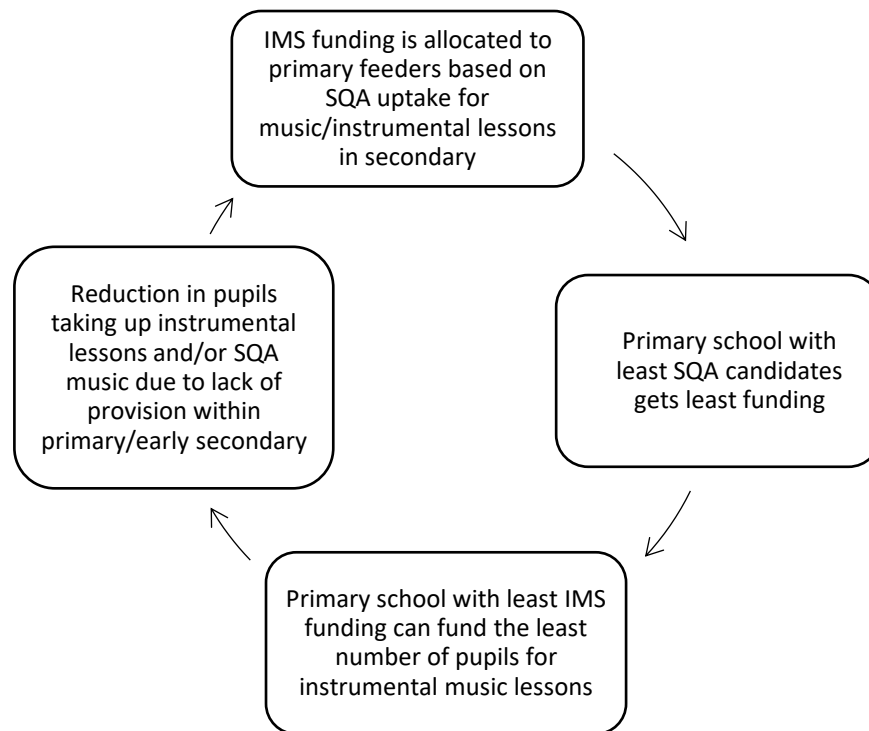
Looking at the impact of beliefs of musical ability/identity and an exclusionary history of music education in the UK, and being part of a movement that sought to counter the exclusive barriers each pose, in this project I sought to understand how broader views of musical ability/identity and musical learning (as are visible within community music) might offer new ways of framing primary generalist teachers' experiences and beliefs about music education.

1. Investigate generalist primary teachers', primary music specialists', community music practitioners' perceptions of what knowledge, skills, qualities, and abilities are needed to be someone who facilitates musical learning.
2. Understand how these individuals' perceptions and beliefs around teaching and learning music are formed, through an exploration of their experiences throughout life as told in interviews.

1.5.3 Rationale

As noted by Moscardini (2015), uptake for instrumental music can have a knock-on effect on the primary sector. Funding for instrumental provision – which is central to SQA performance units – is allocated based on the number of students enrolled on SQA courses in S4-S6. Once the needs of exam-taking students have been met, funds are allocated to S1-S3 provision to subsidise tuition in most schools (only a handful of local authorities currently offer free tuition for S1-S3). Finally, in some cases, the proportion of pupils from each cluster primary school enrolled for SQA music is used to allocate instrumental music provision and primary music specialist to the primary schools. Jeanneret (1997) highlights the impact of cuts to primary music specialists, with classroom music provision increasingly being delegated to generalist primary teachers in Great Britain. If the generalist teacher is not confident, there will be little to no music – some pupils will miss out on any significant music education in primary school. This then begins to impact pupil uptake of music once they reach secondary school and may subsequently impact SQA numbers. Coming back to the funding structure as described by Moscardini (2015) this completes a cycle in which instrumental music provision can become more and more diminished, as demonstrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1. An illustration of the cycle described by Moscardini (2015)



In the current climate of such variable levels of instrumental music provision, and issues around access to instrumental music services, the primary school classroom offers a space in which every learner has a more levelled access to musical learning experiences. In contrast to the somewhat selective nature of instrumental provision, classroom music is for all learners and all teachers. However, many teachers feel they cannot confidently deliver a music lesson. Drawing on my own experience of being expected to facilitate musical learning because of my qualifications and supposed practical experience, but without the self-efficacy to do so, I saw a parallel between my experience as a musician without teaching/facilitation skills (or at least I didn't think I had them) and primary generalist teachers who are qualified and experienced educators, but don't *think* they have the 'correct' musical knowledge, skills and experience. Viewing this perception of possessing knowledge and skills as central to confidence in teaching music, this research project seeks to gain a better understanding of how generalist and specialist teachers, and community musicians, conceptualise being musical and possessing musical knowledge, and how this contributes to their confidence in facilitating musical learning.

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Chapter 2 Literature Review: Musical identities and musical learning

2.1 Chapter Introduction

This study explores the relationships between musical learning experiences, musical identities and musical confidence. In this literature review I set out an overview of research into beliefs about musicality and musical identity, and their manifestations in primary music education. An aim of this research project was to gain a better understanding of how teachers and community musicians conceptualise their practices, and how their beliefs and ideas about music and musicality were formed. This chapter situates this aspect of the project within the existing research into musical identities, beliefs about musical learning, professional and personal identities, and how identities are formed. The literature in this chapter has been selected with a view to providing an up to date account, drawing mostly on recent research to identify and understand current viewpoints on musical abilities and identities, largely focussing on the UK and Scottish contexts.

2.2 Musical identities

Musical identity is central to how individuals experience musical confidence, and thus impacts on how teachers may feel about teaching music, as evidenced in a study into generalist teachers' experiences in England (Stunell, 2010). This is central to my project's aims to understand how musical identities are constructed and experienced, and their relationship with facilitating musical learning. Bearing this relationship in mind, in this section I explore the broad field of musical identity, looking at how research to date has defined musical identities, and what we know about how they are formed.

2.2.1 Defining Musicality

In this study, I explore how teachers and community music practitioners conceptualise music, and with it, related skills and knowledge, in order to understand how these ideas inform musical identities. Musicality is a term used to describe musical ability, possession of musical skills, musicianship, talent, achievement, and intelligence, to describe a few. This makes it problematic in research as interpretation varies. It is "essentially contested" (Gallie, 1956) and its meaning varies contextually. Conventions and ideas of what musicality is inform our own self-perceived musical ability and identity.

Musicality can be defined as the ability to play an instrument, sing in tune, compose music, express oneself through music, or even simply liking music (Brändström, 1999). Such a view encompasses a range of both specialist and everyday interactions with music. In contrast, “Folk psychology” views attribute difference in musical ability to biological difference, and is particularly reinforced within the Western world, and in conformation with WEAM as a convention of musicking (Sloboda, Davidson and Howe, 1994). These beliefs play an influential role in allocating limited music education resources, when the notion of some people being musical while others aren’t combines with the need to make selections over who gets to learn music – those deemed innately musical get the opportunities. The self-perceived ‘special’ musical ability can have the effect of increasing self-motivation to improve musically, while potentially having the opposite effect on those who do not perceive themselves as being musical. It is therefore important to question folk psychology beliefs because they can have a negative impact on learners. Such positions are also not universal across musical cultures and conventions, as was evidenced in Messenger’s research in Nigeria (1958, in Green, 2017). The significance of musically inclusive cultural environments makes the selective innate ability argument weak. Hargreaves (1986) further disputes the selective innate ability stance in finding that those classed as ‘non-musical’ possess many musical skills, but do not meet some preconceived, set idea of what musical ability is.

The absolute view of musicality is problematic in that it makes music an exclusive activity for those perceived as ‘selectively talented’ and leads to deficit thinking around musical ability. Creativity and individual experience and difference is central to the relativistic view of musicality. In education, absolute views create deficit thinking about ability. This allows teachers to identify some pupils as being more likely to succeed than others and can lead to them receiving more attention from the teacher throughout their learning, while those not perceived as possessing innate ability are left behind. Brändström (1999) summarises the issue well – elitism is a far bigger problem than “a few wrong notes”. The immediate impact of different views of musicality is clear, but how are such notions of musicality formed?

2.2.2 Forming musical identities

Musical identities are shaped by a number of factors and influences. This in turn effects how teachers and community music practitioners experience the act of facilitating musical learning. Positing musical identity and self-concept as a socially constructed concept places lived experience and environment as the most significant building blocks of musical identity (Spychiger, in MacDonald, Hargreaves and Miell, 2017). Dabback (2008) notes the role of participating in music activities in

the formation of musical (and other) identities, and the relationship between some of these other identities and musical choices, for example women choosing to defy gender stereotypes around musical instruments. Smilde's (2008) study of professional musicians' lifelong musical journeys highlights the importance of such participation, and in particular suggests that teachers play a vital role in facilitating the process of learners forming and developing their musical identities.

In her study on conceptions of musical ability, Hallam (2006) found that the ideas and beliefs held by the general population about musical ability are much broader than the definitions used by "academic" tests of musical ability. The wider population consider general understanding, appreciation and engagement with music to constitute musical ability, whereas tests tend to focus on specific facets of music, such as the interpretation of pitch and rhythm in certain ways. This paper suggests that if selection processes are to be used in allocating limited educational resources, the considerations contributing to these decisions should take into account a wider range of factors than those covered by traditional musical tests. One of the ways in which musicians often define their acquisition of musical skills and abilities, i.e. some key aspects of their musicality, is through musicianship.

2.2.2.1 Musicianship

Musicianship – a set of ideas relating to musical knowledge and skills that are possessed by musicians – is often used as a qualifier for determining whether someone is a musician. Musicianship is applied in educational contexts as a way of defining the aims of musical learning – i.e. participating in musical learning activities will allow a person to develop various aspects of their musicianship. What musicianship actually entails depends on the type of musicking that is happening, and the ideals and practices of that tradition.

At the centre of many ideas of good musicianship lies aural skills – the use of hearing and listening in musicking. This is no surprise, given that music, as sound, is experienced in an auditory capacity. Central to all ideas and definitions of being musical is how we engage with sound, through making, hearing and listening. Odam (1995) notes the distinction between hearing as a passive act and listening as the act of consciously trying to hear a particular sound (p24). Aural skills may be specific, and rooted in certain traditions, such as the ability to recognise pitch according to a certain framework or being able to learn a melody by hearing it.

There are significant differences between the Western European tradition and other musical traditions, and a significantly different attitude towards musical learning in

the Western tradition (Odam, 1995). Aural learning is at the centre of most other cultures, which can be nurtured from a very early age. Identifying Western issues, Odam describes a Western need to write everything down and use linear logic – across all subject learning, not just music. While Western approaches state intention to teach good aural skills, this goal is often lost among the written, theoretical learning that takes place. Formal music education has in previous generations failed to effectively teach aural skills and equip musicians with the ability to play without notation in front of them. Notation is so often referred to as “the music” (Odam, p26), an issue also highlighted by Ignatius-Fleet (2004) that she suggests leads to dependency on the written format. Odam (1995) argues that music educators in the ‘West’ can learn much from other approaches to musicking.

The ‘Investigating Musical Performance’ (IMP) project explored different ideologies of musicianship across the UK, with both music students and professional musicians from a range of genres and traditions. Through this research, Creech et al (2008) found that beliefs around the knowledge and skills that should be possessed by musicians varied between genres and traditions. Mainly drawing a distinction between classical (WEAM) and non-classical (jazz, popular and Scottish traditional musicians) musicians’ views, they found that the priorities of musical skills were almost mirrored between the two groups – what classical musicians prized most was least important to non-classical musicians. The sample consisted of 244 student and professional musicians, the majority being classical musicians, and just 16 Scottish traditional musicians, so the findings are by no means generalizable, although they do provide some insight into how different musical traditions value different musical skills.

It is important to consider what musicianship is at a conceptual level, in terms of its temporal and geographic placement, when we consider its role in guiding music education. Collins (2012) in his review of *Musicianship in the 21st Century: Issues, Trends and Possibilities*, notes the Eurocentricity of how ‘musicianship’ itself is conceptualised by the book’s contributors. He points out that when considering globalisation, musicianship is either viewed as irrelevant – i.e. musicianship is from WEAM and therefore is incompatible with a contemporary and global music education – or it must be expanded, broadened out in order to be applicable beyond its supposed roots of WEAM. Considering this relationship between concepts of musicality and musicianship through a postcolonial lens shines a light on the limitations of such ways of thinking about musical learning.

2.2.3 Who can be musical?

A key issue within music education is the question of who can teach music (e.g. do they have to be a musician?), and closely related to it, who can be musical (assuming only musicians/musical people can teach music). This is central to debates of inclusion in music education, and the notion of it being possible to be unmusical can impact the practices of those who facilitate, and mediate access to, musical learning. Within the primary school music context in particular, this issue manifests in discussions of whether generalist teachers should be delivering music, or if it should be the job of a music specialist (i.e. a musician/musical person). Amongst the various interpretations of what musicality is, there are two established strands of thought around who possesses musicality: it is selectively innate; it is universally innate. That is, some people are born musical (and others are born unmusical), or we are all born with the same capacity for developing musicality.

Music psychology research has in the last few decades uncovered evidence of universal musicality amongst infants (Creech and Ellison, in Hallam and Creech 2010). There has been a significant amount of scientific research into brain function of infants in response to music. It is known that infants can recognise relative pitch differences (Trehub, in McPherson, 2006). They also detect rhythmic change (p37). Babies are able to develop memory for music, and show recognition of familiar music, as well as acknowledging difference between a familiar and unfamiliar piece of music (p38). The ability to process musical information is natural for babies, although there is a constant learning process (Hodges, in McPherson 2006, p58).

In Brändström's study (1999), music teachers suggested that musicality is developed through a combination of inherited and environmental factors. Brändström says this is somewhat contradictory as it allows for those with "inherited musical ability" to still hold an upper hand over those who don't. The absolute or selective view of musicality is problematic in that it makes music an exclusive activity for those perceived as "selectively talented" and leads to deficit thinking around musical ability. In education, such absolute views create deficit thinking about musical ability. This allows teachers to identify some pupils as being more likely to succeed than others and can lead to them receiving more attention from the teacher throughout their learning, while those not perceived as possessing the innate ability are left behind. Brändström summarises the issue well – elitism, i.e. inequality in education, is a far bigger problem than "a few wrong notes".

There are a number of perspectives on how musical abilities are developed – in particular with regards to advanced musical learning. At that stage, high levels of

musical ability are the result of high quantities of deliberate practice (Ericsson, Krampe, & Tesch-Romer, 1993; Sloboda, Davidson, Howe & Moore, 1996) as opposed to innate ability.

Looking at broader notions of musicality, and different definitions of musicianship, as a means of tackling elitist beliefs, a number of recent writings present forward-thinking models for musical learning. Brown (2012) describes musicianship as an overarching framework of musical skills, which can be tailored to meet the musical needs of the individual and their musical contexts, which may or may not be fixed. This framework encapsulates methods of transmission and recording of musical information, musical interaction, creative skills and expressive elements of making music. In his praxial approach to music education, Elliot (2009) outlines an ideal music education in which diversity is appreciated and the social and cultural contexts of the individual are acknowledged as personal facets of their own musicianship and musical learning. Frank Wilson invites those who consider themselves “unmusical” to tap into their inner musician in *Tone Deaf and All Thumbs?* (1987), an explanation of musical brain function, intended to dispel myths about musical ability that the reader may consider true. Despite such texts existing, Western society today still holds on to notions of selective musicality.

2.2.3.1 Teachers’ conceptions of musicality

Beliefs about musical ability, and who possesses it, can affect music teaching (Hennessy 2000) – particularly the view that musicality is selective, as this can lead to exclusion to participation in musical activities for those not deemed musical (Brändström, 1999). Not only does it impact participation from the learner’s point of view, but it can prohibit teachers from developing their own music teaching practices, which is a key issue of interest in this study. For these reasons, it is important to understand how teachers conceptualise musicality, and explore how their ideas are shaped. Henley (2016) provides one of the most recent accounts of generalist primary teacher education students in the UK with regards to their experiences with teaching music. In setting out her theoretical framework, she defines 'being musical' in six broad ways:

1. “Being musically active
2. Having musical experiences
3. Doing music
4. Feeling musical
5. Musical contributions
6. Developing musical expertise”. (Henley, 2016)

This broad conceptualisation of what it might mean to 'be musical' not only accommodates the remit of community music, but it also acknowledges the wide range of ways in which a non-specialist of music, e.g. the generalist primary teacher, might be being musical. Henley (2016) and Hennessy (2000) both found that generalist primary teacher education students had previous experience of participating in musical activities, while their confidence in teaching music continued to be an issue. This could be due to the perception of music as a specialist subject (Welch and Henley, 2014), which is in part due to beliefs of innate musical ability, and also issues around operationalising the curriculum, and perceptions of the skills and knowledge required to do so.

Mills (2007) asked, what does it mean to teach music musically? She makes a distinction between knowledge-transfer based music education – for example, names of instruments, and the “decoding” of notation – and active musical practices such as composing, performing and listening. Taking the latter as examples of teaching musically, Mills argues that some teachers struggle to fulfil this, instead latching on to the ‘unmusical’ knowledge-transfer they feel comfortable with.

2.3 Musical learning

Having explored how music and musical identities are conceptualised, and how this subsequently impacts experiences of musical confidence, I will now explore research that looks at the influence of such beliefs on musical learning.

Understandings of musical identity and ability can shape views on who can learn music, and how music can be learned, ultimately determining what happens in schools. As has already been stated, this study aims to explore the role teachers and community music practitioners play in facilitating musical learning, thus, it is important to explore belief systems.

2.3.1 What does it mean to learn music?

Hallam (2017) argues that playing a musical instrument is not essential for music to be considered as an important part of a person’s learning identity. She notes that musical learning is lifelong and lifewide, and that it encompasses formal, informal and non-formal activities. In exploring the role of instrumental music skills further, she goes on to point out that the notion of identifying as a musician as a result of developing performative instrumental or vocal skills is a Western construct. Ilari (2017) goes further, arguing that music education discourse is grounded in Eurocentricity, and as such the classroom and curriculum cannot be considered neutral.

In a comparative study of teachers' attitudes towards different genres in classroom teaching, between 1982 and 1998, Green (2002a) uncovered a worrying factor in classroom learning content – teachers' dislike of particular styles. Across samples from both years, teachers held similarly positive views of classical music – citing heritage and social mobility as justification for prioritising classical music over other styles. The main difference between 1982 and 1998 teachers was the way this genre was included – in the past it was mainly a listening exercise, to appreciate classical music. Those interviewed in 1998 used classical music to teach elements of theory such as harmony, structure and timbre.

Thackray (1968) offers methodological suggestions for creative music education. Originality and creativity in education is universally accepted. From an outside perspective there is often a misconception in how creative development can take place – while art requires little prerequisite learning, current music education relies to an extent on pre-requisite notation skills and aural ability to remember, recall or record originally created material. The distinction between creative and re-creative music practices has been overlooked in educational contexts – an art student would not be expected to use highly skilled techniques without having first been taught them. In art, re-creative process would be akin to replicating the work of established artists or using highly refined technique. This book advocates creativity at the forefront of musical learning, offering development and skills that other musical activities cannot. Thackray (1968) argues that improvisation is a key part of creative development in music (p13). Improvisation is daunting to newcomers; the first hurdle is the hardest to overcome (p15). The teacher's ability to improvise is of high importance if they are to facilitate improvisation by their learners (p17).

Improvisation using instruments becomes increasingly harder depending on whether the instrument is harmonic or melodic (p17). Another issue is the improvisator's intentions and whether this is achievable within their instrumental skills – are they technically fluent instrumentally and theoretically to achieve what they want (p18).

Green (2014) tackles the issue of assessing composition within the formal music curriculum. The curriculum is still largely traditional with regards to formal assessments, and where creative areas such as composition are concerned, assessment criteria can be problematic and ambiguous. Green asks an important question in this essay: should composition assessment be product or process-based? Notation and notational software can be beneficial in documenting compositions; however, they can lead to detachment from the music itself if the composer is unable to audiate either vocally, physically or mentally the sounds they intend to write. This is particularly a problem in schools where students may write

without considering the playability of a piece or be able to play it themselves to hear what the music sounds like as a work in progress. Using two case studies – one student composing with notation, a second without – Green highlights disparity between learning outcomes and marking criteria. Green goes on to suggest new ways of evaluating compositional aspects of the music curriculum, noting that current criteria are designed for the Western music convention and do not translate to other musical genres and cultures. She highlights a key issue in assessing creative output – is there ever a definitive ‘good’ or ‘bad’?

In *The Sounding Symbol*, George Odam (1995) argues that a hierarchical positioning of notation as the pinnacle of musicianship has created a culture of musical learning that is dependent on music in its written form, as opposed to treating music as an aural entity. In this PhD project, I draw on Odam’s distinction between teaching music (a transfer of knowledge and skills) and facilitating musical learning (enabling a creative skillset to be developed), to explore how teachers conceptualise their role as music educators, and the implications of this for the skills, knowledge and experience needed to do this.

2.3.2 How do we learn music?

Musical learning is a two-fold issue, concerning both the learner and the person facilitating the learning (e.g. teachers). Literature in this section explores musical learning from the perspectives of learners, through those who influence them, and their own beliefs. Recent research has been interested in pupils’ perceptions of learning settings and the relationships within these environments.

2.3.2.1 Supporting roles: parents and teachers

A study by Creech and Hallam (2011) addressed pupils’ perceptions of their relationships with teachers and parents when learning to play a musical instrument, and whether difference in perceptions is linked to difference in learning outcomes. In instrumental learning there is a three-way relationship between pupil, teacher and parent, where learning happens through dedicated time with a specialist teacher, supported outside of the learning context by the parent. It’s worth noting that in this study, learners appeared to be receiving private music lessons – there is a socio-economic context to take into account here, as parents likely make a substantial financial investment and thus have a stake in the outcomes. In free or in-school tuition, parental support may differ, and the subsequent pupil-parent-teacher relationship will be different than in private lessons. In describing how musical attainment was measured in this study, the authors make reference to ABRSM levels as guides. The presence and role of this grading system in UK music

education, as a marker of musical ability, is significant and could influence general perceptions of what it means to 'be musical' will be different than in private lessons. Further, this study highlights the role parents may play in gatekeeping access to music learners' participation in research, thus potentially presenting a limited set of experiences. It is suggested that positive relationships, where pupil, teacher and parent meet in agreement with one another, contribute to successful learning. Identification of music educators as role models has also been shown to positively effect musical development. Music teachers' roles and identities may also include being a mentor and role model to their pupils (Hallam, 2017). These studies highlight the positive impact of teachers and parents, but by proxy also raise important questions about learners' musical trajectories where these supportive figures are absent.

2.3.2.2 Learners' motivation and beliefs about their own learning

Exploring this further through learners' motivation, Dweck and Leggett (1988) define two common motivational reactions to failure amongst children. Mastery motivation is where the child continues to try to improve. Helpless motivation is where the child distances themselves from the task and views their ability negatively. "Self-theories" are conceptualised as an implicit personal concept of ability. There are two strands of self-theory – entity theorists and incremental theorists. Entity theorists have an absolute view of musicality – you either have it or you don't. Incremental theorists think in more relativistic terms, and view ability as a flexible, improvable area. Two types of praise are identified: 'trait' praise on specific achievements, and 'process' praise for effort and strategy. The latter is said to promote growth mindset and resilience within learners. Problems in motivation are often caused by disparity between learners' needs and educational contexts. This brings further nuance to the understanding of learners' support systems and the role of investment and encouragement in developing musical learners. This provides insight into how musical learners might conceptualise successes and failures in their music education journeys, and how their experiences may influence their motivation to continue or stop learning music.

2.3.3 Who can learn (to be) music(al)

In this section, I will focus on literature that explores the notion of universal musicality, through evidencing human capacity for developing musical abilities. I refer to musical abilities in a broad sense, as a capacity for engaging with and understanding music in some form. Belief systems play a significant role in mediating opportunities and support for musical learning. Teachers in Brändström's (1999) research suggested that musicality is developed through a combination of

inherited and environmental factors, which Brändström argues allows those with perceived “inherited musical ability” to hold an upper hand over those who are seen as lacking this innate capacity, through how they are treated.

Creech and Hallam (2003) present a literature review of research into parent-teacher-pupil relationships. The rationale for their work lies in the potential effect of the teacher-pupil and parent-pupil relationship to influence the musical future of the pupil. Specifically, it is suggested that positive relationships, where pupil, teacher and parent meet in agreement with one another, contribute to successful learning. Identification of music educators as role models has also been shown to have a positive effect on musical development. In describing how musical attainment was measured in this study, the authors make reference to ABRSM levels as guides. The presence of this grading system in education in general as a marker of musical ability is significant and could influence general perceptions of what it is to “be musical”.

George Odam (1995) suggests that as aural traditions are at the heart of most musical cultures around the world, they are central to early music education. In ‘The Sounding Symbol’ Odam argues that aural musicking should precede written music literacy. Advocating strong aural skills and ability to memorise, approaches such as the Kodaly and Orff methods were adopted in Scottish schools at the discretion of teachers (Sloggie and Ross, 1985). These approaches, and others such as Dalcroze and Suzuki, are often used in Early Years music education (Hutchinson, 2015).

2.3.3.1 Evidence from Early Years Music Education

‘Early years’ encompasses a diverse and rapid phase of children’s development, from days to years old (Young, 2003, p11). Babies’ musical memories begin to develop during the first few weeks of life (Odam, 1995, p36). Pre-birth experiences into the first year of birth are a crucial time of musical development (Welch et al. 2004), and Young (2003) argues that musical learning at this stage is, in many respects, a socio-economic issue (p7). Access to high quality pre-school education is tied into the costs of such provision. At the same time, exposure to music is a personal and family issue – babies and young children will have their first musical experiences in the home, rooted in the musical culture of their family and parents.

During the first years of life, children begin to develop control of their bodies, voices and minds. It is during these first few years that babies can become accustomed to the characteristics of the music they are exposed to, and there is some evidence of

babies showing preference for patterns that fit within these structures. In this case of music education in a multicultural environment, this means children will be accustomed to a variety of music from different traditions around the world, some of which will have different concepts of tonality and time from the Western music tradition. This means that early years musical experiences and exposure can later impact children's music education experiences, particularly if their personal musical lives conflict with what they are taught about music at school. An example of this can be observed in tropes of 'happy' and 'sad', e.g. major and minor, chords – this is often used in aptitude testing, yet is effectively subjective and has the power to exclude learners from accessing musical learning opportunities. Bates (2019) and Hoffman (2015) argue that the racist and classist roots of aptitude testing that centres WEAM, as a symbol of upper-class White culture, must be acknowledged in the continued presence of such practices in music education today.

Music is a physical experience – babies can respond rhythmically from a very early age (Young, 2003). Babies also experiment with their surroundings – an explorative and creative process in their development. Research in neuroscience has shown that babies' brains respond to their mothers' voices in the same way that the brain is known to respond to music (Collins, TEDxCanberra 2014). Young children's interactive behaviour has been shown to be filled with musical elements, whether intended or not (Creech & Ellison, in Hallam & Creech, 2010), suggesting that music is instinctive. Ruddock (2018) concurs with this, arguing that notions of music as a special 'gift' or 'talent' have been imposed by Western society in contradiction with global ideas of intrinsic musicality. Studies in the last twenty or so years have also given new understanding to the musical abilities of babies, showing that they are able to learn much more than previously believed (Young, 2003, p7).

The early years from birth to formal education are a crucial phase of a child's development and are ultimately the responsibility of a child's caregiver. It is at this stage that musicality is either nurtured or neglected, which can have a significant effect later in childhood. Aptitude testing for instrumental music lessons in late stages of primary education or early in secondary school often favours those with "natural" musicality, although this could be attributed to having had musicality nurtured from a young age. Those who are later told they are "unmusical" are those who have not had their musical ability nurtured. The studies reviewed in this section show that musicality can be developed, and that babies naturally experiment with their musicality at a very early stage in life. This suggests that external factors are responsible for declining musicality, as opposed to a predisposed internal musical ability. This evidence of universally innate musicality challenges historical views

(and particularly WEAM-centric views) of musicality being selective, and only possessed by those who display musical talent or giftedness.

2.4 Teaching Primary School Music: beliefs and experiences

Looking at the primary school context in particular, there has been a significant amount of research into teachers' musical confidence and experiences of teaching music. Jeanneret (1997) highlights a number of studies dating back over 30 years, that note primary generalist teachers' lack of confidence in teaching music. Music is often perceived by generalist teachers as an exclusively specialist subject (Biasutti, 2010), which shapes how teachers interact with it. Wilson et al (2008) highlight issues in the Scottish context around the value of music and other arts subjects, and the impact of low levels of primary school music activities on secondary school music education.

2.4.1 Teacher Education Students' musical confidence

Mills (1989), Hennessy (2000), and Holden and Button (2006) show music as a continuing confidence issue for generalist teacher education students in the UK over the past 30 years. Mills' (1989) year-long study with generalist primary teaching students found a high proportion of participants experiencing a lack of confidence teaching music compared to other subjects, potentially as a result of a perception that certain musical skills and competencies were needed. Just over a decade later, Hennessy (2000) found that beliefs about musical ability, and who possesses it, can affect music teaching – particularly the view that musicality is selective, as this can lead to exclusion from participation in musical activities for those not deemed musical (Brändström, 1999).

Drawing on interviews with primary teacher education students in England at various points in their 4 year undergraduate programme, Hennessy (2000) found that while music and other arts subjects are not necessarily treated differently from other subjects with regards to coverage in ITE, it is the practical nature of music that creates anxiety for teachers. This positions music on the fringes of the curriculum as a result of its practice-based components, which imply different knowledge considerations in teachers' minds and create confidence issues.

Again within the English context, Holden and Button (2006) more recently explored the relationship between generalist teachers' confidence and musical experience. Teachers in this study reported low musical confidence related to low subject knowledge, and that this may be combated through collaboration with music

specialists in the classroom. Holden and Button also suggested that investment in training and development could have a positive impact for teachers. Gifford (1993) highlighted issues around initial teacher education for music, suggesting that modifications to how teachers are trained, rather than how much, could help address teacher confidence.

2.4.2 Teachers' beliefs about teaching music

There is a sizable body of research within music education that is interested in perceptions of what good teaching and classroom practice is. According to Munby (1982) much of this research until the 1980s centred on the assumption that there is a link between teachers' beliefs and behaviour. This marked a shift towards more interpretive research in education, in reaction to positivist research into specific facets of teaching behaviour that perhaps did not take into account teachers' beliefs. It is said that teaching practice is a compromise between idealism and the reality of the teaching environment.

There has been considerable research into teachers' beliefs about music, much of it at an international level. Biasutti (2010) compared the beliefs of Italian primary and secondary teachers, finding generalists conformed to this idea of music as a specialist subject. What strikes me as interesting about the Italian context, however, is that generalist teacher education students can opt in to a 45 hour course on teaching music, in stark contrast to just 3-6 hours in some UK institutions. This leads me to question whether more training has any impact on how generalists feel about music as a subject, and the task of delivering music in the classroom. More recently, Biasutti et al (2015) studied the impact of an intensive course for generalist teachers to develop confidence in teaching music. The intensive course was found to be successful in improving teachers' confidence, but through an immersive 11-day course, which is a far cry from the minimal provision generalist teachers receive in their training in the UK.

However, Biasutti (2010) reports on a 45-hour course of study producing teachers who still struggle with confidence. Comparing this with the 11-day immersive course that was seen to improve confidence (Biasutti et al, 2015), Valerio and Freeman (2009) contribute to the question of quality versus quantity in empowering generalist pre-service teachers to develop confidence in working with music in the classroom in this successful account of a practical, reflective and substantial programme for early childhood educators. Valerio and Freeman (2009) explored the impact of pre-service teachers' experiences teaching within early childhood contexts in the USA, highlighting the importance of practical experience in the field in these contexts, also

asserted by Brophy (2002), Kelly (1998) and Scott-Kassner (1999). On the basis of prior research that placed value on reflective, active, musical teaching experiences, Valerio and Freeman (2009) designed a course for early childhood educators developed specifically with the intention of addressing feelings of musical inadequacy felt by generalist educators, on the basis of music being inherent in every human being. The course was delivered in 75 minute classes, twice weekly, for 8 weeks, and included students participating in activities, and planning and delivering activities to then apply in their classrooms. Pre-service teachers noted the impact of treating music as a fun activity in making it more accessible to those less confident, and the role of positive participation in then increasing confidence levels. Over the course of the semester, pre-service teachers also became more able to adapt their lesson plans in the moment, as they got to know the children and their responses to music, demonstrating a combination of musical and teaching skills in action.

Looking at cross-cultural analyses, Kim and Lee (2009) present a comparison of North American and Korean culture, discussing early years teachers' musical self-competence, general attitudes towards teachers' competence and early childhood music education in the USA and Korea. They found significant differences between the two cultures and countries, although there was an agreement in both that music education is important for young children. Exploring how these attitudes and beliefs were formed, Kim and Lee identified key differences in the past musical experiences of teachers. In the USA, qualification requirements for early childhood educators vary from state to state. In Korea it is culturally expected that all children, particularly girls, will learn to play a musical instrument such as violin or piano from the age of 3 or 4. A study by Kim and Choy (2005) indicated that less than a fifth of USA pre-service early childhood teachers can play an instrument. The result of this difference is that the vast majority of Korean generalist teachers have considerable music education and the ability to play one or more instruments compared to their USA counterparts. Looking at the impact of this, Kim and Lee (2009) found that Korean teachers had higher expectations of the skills a music educator should have— e.g. reading notation, instrumental skills, singing in tune - whereas teachers in the USA, by contrast, were more focussed on teachers' competence in delivering music for enjoyment and movement with music. Interestingly, in both countries, respondents valued the role of specialist teachers in early years music education, albeit for different ends. Not only do these studies present us with a cross-cultural comparison, but they also open up a critical dialogue on perception vs reality – how do teachers' perceptions of their abilities match up to their actual abilities?

More recently, action research in South Korea explored the impact of pre-service teachers' perceptions of their own teaching ability on planning and delivery of elementary music classes, through the use of reflective logs and questionnaires (Ryu, 2013). This study used a Pedagogical Content Knowledge model to break down findings, also including an additional 'Knowledge' type - Student Knowledge - pertaining to pupils' prior knowledge. These studies into pre-service teachers' beliefs and experiences can help identify potential training needs of early childhood educators, to enable them to facilitate musical learning confidently.

Kelly's Theory of Personal Constructs is the basis of Hewitt's (2005) paper on teachers' perceptions of pupil individuality. The purpose of Hewitt's study was to look at music teachers' perceptions of pupils' individuality, and how this affected the teachers' approaches to teaching. Eight secondary music teachers based in the west of Scotland were asked to report on their perceptions of pupil individuality in two stages of data collection. First, they were prompted to identify a range of markers by which they would identify differences between pupils. Some of these were general, such as class, and others were subject specific. While the teachers were far more focussed on these general constructs than the music-specific ones in this stage of the research, follow up interviews elicited a different picture. The teachers were still explicitly focussing more on the general constructs of difference, however the researcher identified more implicit detail on musical constructs. This indicates that teachers' self-awareness of how they approach their practice is perhaps limited, and yet it impacts their practice significantly and at a fundamental level. Teachers made a distinction between innate 'musical ability' and a more malleable 'musical skill', which had a clear impact on how they treated what they saw as more capable learners. This study also highlights perceived links between parental support for musical learners and socio-economic status.

Dogani (2004) argues that teachers' approaches to practical learning, such as music composition, "are constrained by their circumstance and perceptions of their circumstances" (p266) – i.e. their self-perceived musical competency and confidence, and interpretations of government policy, guide the parameters of the lesson. In particular, these teachers' understandings of creativity followed traditions of WEAM composition, contradicting the free, play-based creativity that came to their learners through intuition. This shows not only a contrast between teachers' and learners' understandings of music and creativity, but that WEAM conventions create presupposed notions of how creativity should be enacted according to its rules, which impact on school music.

2.5 Chapter Conclusions

From this literature review, I took the following premises forward into my research:

1. Musical identity is conceptualised in many ways, including that it continues to be viewed by some as selective and innate, i.e. that some people are born musical and others are not, although the notion of universal musicality is supported by music psychology research;
2. Music is defined in many ways, most predominantly in UK education as WEAM, which focuses on a set of re-creative practices, although there have been moves to bring more creative practices, and other genres, into the classroom;
3. A number of factors, including educational, familial and social experiences, influence how identities and beliefs around being musical, becoming musical and learning to be musical are formed.
4. Generalist teachers lack confidence in teaching music, despite potentially having musical lives. While this lack of confidence and 'unmusical identity' could be a result of lack of opportunities for musical engagement during their own formative education, the situation remains that teachers do not feel able to deliver engaging musical learning activities to their classes.

Bringing these premises into the context of this study, they present interesting questions around the formation of teachers' and practitioners' musical identities, and the relationship between these identities and their confidence in facilitating musical learning. The value of early years music education and supported musical learning in childhood provides a backdrop for understanding teachers' and practitioners' own musical journeys. In the Scottish context in particular, music is not statutory until Secondary education. By this point, learners may have vastly different musical lives and experiences, and this may affect the opportunities they have access to. This could potentially have an impact on teachers' own musical trajectories and identities too.

My project takes forward questions of the impact of musical experiences and interactions on the formation of musical identities, seeking to understand how identities and beliefs inform the practices and experiences of teachers and community music practitioners.

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Chapter 3 Literature Review: Career Pathways of Musicians and Teachers

3.1 Chapter Introduction

The life stories aspect of this study addresses teachers' and practitioners' personal, musical and professional developmental experiences, focussing on how they arrived in their current work positions. This literature review explores research that has been carried out into workforces within music education and community music, in particular focussing on teacher education and advanced musical training as primers for working in the music education and primary education sectors. It also addresses aspirations and motivations for pursuing careers in music and education, exploring how career trajectories are set, and the decision-making that goes into informing pathways. A key aspect of this research project is to understand how educators and practitioners end up in their positions as gatekeepers to musical learning, and how their life journeys influence their beliefs and practices in enacting this gatekeeping. A knowledge of why they pursued careers in music and/or education can contribute to this understanding.

3.2 Musical career trajectories

Careers within the music industry vary widely, encompassing the entertainment, education, technology and business sectors. Pathways into music careers are shaped by a number of factors and can be approached in different ways. Gaunt and Papageorgi (in Hallam and Creech, 2010) note the innovation in musical careers, with contemporary culture continuing to broaden the range of possible roles. Simultaneously they acknowledge that orchestra culture maintains its competitive status as one of few routes for a permanently employed position. In this section, I focus on discussing the role higher and further music education opportunities play in preparing music students for careers as performers, although these sites of learning cater for a much broader range of career aspirations and motivations, and are not always concerned with developing proficient musicians.

Higher and further education institutions offer formal education opportunities to study music performance at tertiary level, preparing future professional musicians for a variety of careers. There are also a number of private organisations within the UK offering accredited vocational qualifications, such as the Academy of Music and Sound (AMS) and British and Irish Modern Music Institute (BIMM). Conservatoires and other private organisations are also increasingly offering degrees by partnering with universities. Careers in music are not only restricted to those who have pursued

these forms of advanced musical training and vocational preparation, and notably for this project, music teaching can be undertaken relatively easily – Taylor and Hallam (2011) note the valuable contributions of ‘amateur’ musicians as teachers. From a research perspective, more is known about conventional routes into musical careers, i.e. university and conservatoire pathways, and so these are the sites of learning upon which this literature review focusses.

Amongst influences on musical careers and pathways, people play a significant role. Burland (2005) and Wright (2008) note the influential position of music teachers in shaping career aspirations and enabling musical learners to fulfil their potential, including supporting learners in their pursuit of advanced musical training after leaving school. Parents also play an important part, supporting musical activities administratively, financially and practically, as well as providing encouragement and emotional support (Creech and Hallam, 2003). In addition to the important people (parents and teachers) supporting musical learning, Pitts (2012) notes the additional influence timing and curriculum structure can have on a person’s musical trajectory, particular with regards to pursuing music in further study and as a career. Higher education for music often requires applicants to have high levels of music performance skills and instrumental competency, limiting such options to those who have had the opportunity to develop their musical ability to meet these requirements. School curriculum structures – particularly at exam level where pupils must choose between subjects – can limit career trajectories via limited subject choices, which, paired with absence of parental support, can bring musical journeys to a standstill if music cannot be continued in school, and isn’t sufficiently supported in the home (p124). This study also evidences that perceptions of musical ability and competence amongst those who do study music may limit their musical career options based on study choices, for example through ruling out a performance career at an early stage when it was still a possibility (p124).

In the absence of permanent, full-time work, music graduates in the twenty-first century are increasingly likely to embark on a portfolio career, merging performance, teaching and other musical and non-musical work to create a sustainable workload and income (Hallam and Creech, 2010). This freelance lifestyle, in contrast to the traditional 9-5, positions arts workers as outside of normativity (Faggian et al, 2013). Difference in economic status, driven by differing working circumstances, including poorer working conditions, changes the role of arts workers in society. Addressing the labour market, Faggian et al (2013) argue that arts graduates, described as “bohemian graduates” for reasons stated above, may not be well-enough equipped to succeed in the ‘mainstream’ labour force (i.e. outside of the arts sector), and that

negative value judgements of the arts also put arts graduates at a disadvantage in the wider job market. This can have both active and passive effects on the career trajectories of music graduates – the precarity of work prospects could push graduates towards more traditional pathways such as teaching, on account of perceived job security, as is discussed later in this chapter.

Musical careers can also be very gendered – women are disproportionately affected by precarious work (TUC, 2014). Teague and Smith (2015) note the differences between men and women working in the music industry with regards to career-related decisions and family commitments. Most women musicians reduce their work commitments on starting a family, and pathways such as teaching are cited as being suitable for family life, in comparison to performance-led careers. Men musicians in this study also describe the career compromises they made so that they could spend more time with their partners and children, acknowledging that whilst Musical Theatre tours can be a lucrative career pathway, they do not accommodate family life well.

Thus, we can observe a wide range of influences on musical career trajectories affecting students, graduates and those further on in their careers. I will now explore literature on higher education in music, and the portfolio career, looking in more depth at the role of education in developing the music sector workforce.

3.2.1 Higher Education in Music

UK higher music education in the twenty-first century encompasses a wide range of genres and approaches to music and music education. In the face of changing job markets, economic instability and cultural shifts with regards to musical practices, higher education institutions continue to adapt their offerings (Bartleet et al, 2012). There are a number of conservatoires that focus on vocational performance education, as well as universities that take a range of approaches from the academic study of music as a discipline, to industry-driven programmes that focus on a wide range of practical skills. Popular music, Scottish Traditional Music and Jazz can increasingly be found in UK conservatoires and universities. (Gaunt & Papageorgi, in Hallam & Creech, 2010)

Cloonan (2005) discusses Popular Music Studies (PMS) programmes in Scotland, comparing programmes which focus on musical performance with those aimed at other parts of the industry, and their intended students. Cloonan argues that definitions of PMS vary, making it a field as opposed to a discipline, and that the only consistent thread is its focus on popular music. As a field, PMS may include

(and is not limited to) the study of culture, sociology, musicology, text (lyrics as literature), and performance. Addressing the performance-related aspects of PMS, Cloonan notes the range of entry requirements regarding musicianship and performance skills, identifying courses that do not require such criteria, and are therefore less concerned with producing musicians. This suggests there are different categories of sorts: PMS programmes designed for those who are actively making music; ones for those who wish to build careers in enabling this music making to happen; those who wish to *think* about popular music studies.

This dichotomy between ‘thinking’ and ‘doing’ can be seen in UK higher music education at a less genre-specific level too – UK conservatoires are often viewed as the place for ‘doing’ music, with their focus on practical musical learning, while the university is for ‘thinking’, with greater focus on academic work and sometimes very little performance work (Ford, 2010, p12; Miller & Baker, 2007, p15). These perceived differences between conservatoire and university music programmes may play a role in the decisions of school leavers wishing to pursue further study in music, depending on whether they intend on focussing on performance. Burland (2005) noted that this was the case for participants of her doctoral research, with clear differences between the projected career plans of those in university music programmes and those opting for conservatoires. Cases from Pitts’ (2012) research also show that perceptions of difference between university and conservatoire outcomes for music careers can shape decisions, for example, the individual who did not pursue a music degree in a university because they saw it as leading to a career as a classroom music teacher, which did not match their own aims (p123). Through these examples we can see that perceptions of higher education options for musical study can have a significant impact on the learning choices of musicians, and in turn, their potential career trajectories.

In their exploration of beginning university music students’ attitudes, Burland and Pitts (2007) provide an understanding of the transition from school music to university music, and the shift from focussing on music skills to academic skills. Burt and Mills (2006) similarly explore music students’ expectations of conservatoire education, noting in particular how these expectations change as students progress through their studies. This project highlights some of the aspirations of conservatoire music students, notably the shift from wanting global recognition in a top orchestra to potentially not knowing what they want to do as time goes on. Some students held negative attitudes towards the pursuit of a teaching career, although a survey of students further on in their studies shows that those closer to graduating are more welcoming of the idea. A significant finding of Burt and Mills’ (2006) study is that

they are able to identify key moments in conservatoire students' lives at which their ideas, expectations and aspirations change.

3.2.1.1 Music students' changing identities

It is of great interest to me that the course for a musical trajectory is set with expectations that shift so significantly between entering and leaving advanced musical study – that perceptions of being a professional musician can be so vastly different from the reality faced by music graduates, and the experiences they have as they get closer to entering the workforce. In this section I will review literature on the changing musical identities of music students in UK conservatoires and universities.

In a large-scale study of conservatoire students' experiences, Mills et al (2008) found that music students took a broad approach to defining how their wide-ranging musical practices are represented in their self-expressed musical identities. They opt for describing themselves as 'musicians' as opposed to using specific markers such as 'composer' or 'performer' (p20). This study also found that during conservatoire education music students' musical identities are impacted by the change from being singled out as exceptional musicians in school, to being amongst a large cohort of similarly advanced musicians in the conservatoire (p21). The result of this is a shift in expectations of what these students might do after their degree, as they question their emerging professional identities (Gaunt et al, 2012).

Students are also likely to begin working as instrumental teachers during this period of their musical education (Mills et al, 2008, p22), adding 'educator' to their broad range of practices. Students in the initial stages of Bennett's (2013) study were unlikely to define this role as part of their musical identity at this early stage, viewing teaching as separate from their performer identity, and often engaging in this work for financial reasons rather than intrinsic desire to teach. However, over the course of a 12-week module on music teaching, students' conceptions of their teacher identities changed as they became more confident in their knowledge of pedagogy and teaching practice. The students began to see themselves as teachers through this deeper understanding of what it means to teach, indicating the importance of supportive learning environments to explore possible selves.

3.2.2 The emergence of portfolio career culture

The portfolio career has emerged from arts education institutions over the past few decades as an institutionalisation of freelance working life in the arts sector. The portfolio career model acknowledges the wide and varied range of jobs an arts

graduate may take on to build a ‘full-time’ workload and income (Bennett, 2009) and may include teaching (Bartleet et al, 2012) which has been defined by many portfolio career musicians as “non-creative” work, i.e. it is distinct from their work as a musician (Bennett, 2016). Portfolio careers can be demanding and may involve working unsocial hours (evenings and weekends) and maintaining a 7-day working week, leading to poor work-life balance (Teague and Smith, 2015). This presents new challenges for higher education in adequately preparing music students for their wide and varied careers. Bennett (2016) suggests that music educators in higher education institutions are increasingly responsible for providing students with the diversity of skills required to fulfil portfolio career demands, from legal knowledge to entrepreneurialism and social skills. In particular, she notes the need for career preparation to be *realistic*, and to not devalue work outside of music and performance.

Exploring the emergence of portfolio career culture in Australia, Bartleet et al (2012) acknowledge the changing demands of advanced musical training in preparing music students for the reality of working in the industry. The process of building a portfolio career is one of risk management – balancing a combination of reliable and precarious work opportunities to maintain a steady income (Bartleet et al, 2012). It is the responsibility of higher education institutions to help prepare students for portfolio careers. The diverse work portfolios students may build upon graduation are not reflected in the priorities of their institutions and curricula, which focus on musical learning (performance, history and theory, within a WEAM context). Slaughter and Springer (2015) highlight the lack of work-based training – through placement, internships or other means – provided by higher education institutions, as well as an absence of training in entrepreneurial skills.

Despite these apparent shortcomings of higher music education, today’s music students seem to be aware of the reality of being a creative worker in the 21st century, expecting to embark on portfolio careers and likely to include teaching in their workload (Munelly 2017). Interestingly, in Munelly’s (2017) study students’ notions of success and ideal jobs did not always match up, suggesting that they are aware of the differences between intrinsic job satisfaction, external motivators such as financial income, and had realistic goals, tempered by the economic climate.

With portfolio career culture being a relatively recent development, there has been little research exploring the implications of this on music education, particularly with regards to the preparedness of music graduates for working in education and community settings. Alongside an unregulated community of private music teachers,

this brings questions of the role of training and education in developing good teaching practices. Who can be an educator?

3.3 Becoming an Educator

There are two main elements to research on becoming an educator: first, the training and education routes; second, the aspirations, motivations and expectations of future teachers. Both shed light on the potential factors influencing teachers' practices in the classroom.

Whilst a teaching qualification of some description is a fairly common requirement to be a school-based teacher in Scotland, there are a number of pathways for becoming a school teacher, and even more for embarking on wider teaching roles. Within the UK these include undergraduate degrees (e.g. BEd), postgraduate degrees (e.g. PGDE) and work-based programmes (e.g. TeachFirst). In Scotland, in recent years, most primary teacher education students have pursued their teaching qualification immediately after their undergraduate studies (PGDE/PGCE) or as an undergraduate course (BEd) producing cohorts of young new teachers (Riddell et al, 2006). This has potential implications for the role of life experience on teaching standards (if indeed this has any bearing), as teachers may have no substantial experience of working outside of the school environment, and may have entered that environment immediately after their continuous education (nursery through to higher education without breaks).

There are multiple routes into music teaching, including those that are unregulated (Pitts, 2012). Many music educators may embark on such work immediately after, or even during, their tertiary level studies in music. They may do so with little to no training in education, again leading to pockets of the workforce potentially being inexperienced workers. It is therefore important to be aware of these workers' experiences and needs, so that they can be better supported in their work.

Reviewing teacher education in the context of CfE, Donaldson (2010) argues that teacher development is career-long and does not end upon leaving formal teacher education. The Teaching Scotland's Future report (Donaldson, 2010) notes that placements – i.e. time spent in the classroom, teaching – are the most useful form of preparation for teaching across ITE (p38).

In Scotland, a study of undergraduate social science and biology students (Riddell et al, 2006) showed that the security and income of a job was the most influential factor in making teaching an appealing career pathway, regardless of gender, although women in the study did consider suitability to family life as being more

important than their male counterparts. Of the students in this study, only 11% were considering teaching as a future profession, although most of them were women, and they cited compatibility with family life as a significant reason for this. The primary teaching sector in particular was more appealing to female respondents. This effect can be seen in the fact that teaching has historically been, and continues to be, a woman-dominated profession (Acker, 1992).

Exploring this dominance further, Ranson (1998) found that women working in education and nursing were more likely to have children than those in engineering and business. The teachers in her study noted the security of a permanent teaching position in enabling them to take leave to raise have children, whilst other participants suggested work-related constraints in considering starting a family. Teaching was described by some as a “safe” work environment for being a mother, with the female-dominated workforce also acting as a supportive community for working mothers, and generally incentivising education graduates to enter the workforce. Thus, we can see a visible relationship between gender and career choices, with particular ramifications for the teaching workforce.

Exploring teachers’ ambitions, Beltman et al (2015) used drawings to collect data from primary and early childhood education students in Australia, relating to their expectations, assumptions and reflections on what it is like to become a teacher. The students in this study showed positive expectations of their intended careers, portraying themselves as confident teachers. In contrast to this, Brand and Dolloff’s (2002) study using a similar methodology found that, within a music-specific context, teacher education students voiced anxieties about their ability to teach. In general, teacher education students in this study did not draw themselves when asked to illustrate the ‘ideal teacher’, perhaps suggesting that they have some way to go before achieving this status. Brand and Dolloff describe these images of the ideal teacher as romanticisations, often modelled on the students’ own teachers, but also adhering to stereotypes of age and conservatism. This study also highlighted stark gender division in the types of roles music educators may take on in the North American context, positioning men as ensemble leaders and women as classroom teachers, mirroring stereotypes of these roles.

Chambers (2002) explores second-career teachers’ motivations and expectations of the teaching profession and life in the classroom. Like musicians (see section 3.2.2), many of the teachers in Chambers’ research noted the reliability of a teaching career, in offering a stable income, pension, and overall financial stability. In light of this perceived stability of teaching, alongside increasingly precarious work

environments for musicians, I am particularly interested in exploring the motivations and expectations of the teachers and practitioners in this project, and how this impacts their development and experiences in the workplace.

3.3.1 Becoming a generalist primary teacher

In this section I explore expectations, motivations and experiences of teacher education students in their pursuit of a teaching career. Hayes (2004) makes distinctions between the motivations of English undergraduate teacher education students and those undertaking a postgraduate teaching qualification.

Undergraduates in this study tended to be recent school-leavers themselves, whereas many of the postgraduate students had undertaken other employment following their undergraduate studies and made an active return to education as a second career (Hayes, 2004), a trend also observed amongst Scottish teacher education students (Draper and Sharp, 1999). This is reflected in their self-expressed motivations – undergraduates refer to prior experiences of enjoying working with children, while postgraduates emphasise the reward of a varied career (Hayes, 2004).

The FIT-Choice (Factors Influencing Teaching Choice) Framework (Richardson and Watt, 2006) uses perceptions and expectations of working as a teacher alongside perceived possession of teaching skills and value judgements of teaching as a career to understand why individuals become teachers. Applying this framework in a study with Australian Teacher Education students, Richardson and Watt (2006) found that the perceived intrinsic value of teaching as contributing to the development of society was a strong motivator amongst future teachers. They note the lack of financial reward in relation to the demands of the job, making the pursuit of a teaching career quite an altruistic one. Drawing from the Swedish context, a recent study by Bergmark et al (2018) similarly shows that motivations for becoming a teacher continue to be led by notions of developing society through nurturing learners and making a difference in children's lives. Historically, these 'nurture' driven motivations have been attributed to femininity, and thus linked with the dominance of women teachers (Prentice and Theobald, 1991, p3).

Thornton and Bricheno (2000) further highlight the gendered nature of early years and primary education in the UK, exploring teachers' promotional aspirations through a feminist lens. Using a mixed methods approach, their study corroborates the suggestion that male teachers are more likely to seek promotion, noting a number of ways in which male teachers have privilege over their female colleagues. These factors include women bearing more responsibility in the home and taking

career breaks to raise families, amongst other family commitments. They also note that women may not be able to prioritise their own career if their job is not considered the main source of income in their household – what Thornton and Bricheno call a ‘subordinate career’ (p203). This evidence is particularly important in discussing gender inequality as there have been recent initiatives to encourage more men to become teachers – as they are under-represented – however these initiatives do not address gendered power imbalances that see men disproportionately moving up the career ladder (Thornton and Bricheno, 2000).

3.3.2 Becoming a music educator

In this section, I discuss research literature on music educators’ experiences of training and pursuing this line of work, including routes into teaching, and motivations for becoming music educators. While there are few routes in Scotland for teachers to specialise in Primary Music Education (the standard qualification is for Secondary Music Education, but qualifies teachers to work in the primary sector), this does exist as a specific pathway elsewhere, particularly in places such as the USA, where music is primarily delivered specifically by a music teacher. Durrant and Laurence (in Hallam and Creech, 2010) note that the multiple routes into music teaching in England can widen access to work in the education sector, through offering different routes to meet different needs. These routes include Teach First and the Graduate Teacher Programme (GTP) – employment-based programmes that have yet to be accepted by the Scottish Government as valid mechanisms for training teachers (Durrant and Laurence, p177). Music educators in state schools must also be registered with the General Teaching Council of Scotland (GTCS).

Understanding musicians’ reasons for becoming a music educator, influential factors mainly fall into two categories: 1) following in the footsteps of family members and other inspiring teachers; 2) perceived incentives of working as a teacher. Such incentives may include the role of teaching in enabling musicians to pass on their own passion for music and instil it in young learners (Madsen and Kelly, 2002).

Madsen and Kelly (2002) found that a large proportion of participating US undergraduate music students knew that they wanted to be music educators during high school (aged 15-18), identifying school band experiences as the site within which these aspirations were formed. The authors also drew connections between students’ increased leadership and performance skills and an increasing desire to become an educator, which was evidenced in the students’ self-described experiences of taking on what the authors describe as ‘teacher-like roles’ within musical activities, e.g. assisting with conducting ensembles or leading a sectional

rehearsal. These initial experiences acted as opportunities to introduce students to teaching practices and reaffirm potential existing aspirations of teacherhood.

Interestingly, some students held a perception that pursuing a career as a music educator provided them with a pathway for continuing to embed music in their life, which incentivised the pursuit of becoming a teacher.

Pitts' large-scale study of lifelong musical trajectories highlights that musicians may turn to education careers later in their working lives, sometimes 'drifting' into teaching gradually, without initial intentions of pursuing such work (2012, p130). Particularly interestingly, some women who embarked on instrumental teaching careers found themselves with such opportunities as a result of being parents of pupils at the schools that offered them their first teaching opportunities – ad hoc opportunities with no formal recruitment process (p130). It is also worth noting that in these cases, entry into teaching is largely unregulated, which is potentially concerning with regards to quality assurance (Haddon, 2009). However, the opportunity to engage in teaching work in this way also provides prospective music educators with an easy point of access for taking first steps in developing their practice, which can be seen in the accounts of final year music students who took part in the Investigating Musical Performance project as they embarked on their first teaching experiences (Ibid). Outside of schools, many musicians may also find themselves setting up private instrumental teaching practices, alongside performance and other work, again without regulation.

Exploring musicians' journeys towards music education work, Freer and Bennett (2012) focus on understanding music students' conceptions of their 'possible selves' as musicians and educators. Drawing on the views of students in both the Australian and USA contexts, Freer and Bennett highlight the strong link between self-efficacy and identity formation, noting a relationship between strong musical identity and music educator identity, and an understanding amongst the students that high levels of musicianship were important in a music educator. That said, some of the students who felt strongly drawn towards becoming a music educator did not feel as confident about their musical identity, of which Freer and Bennett raise the questions, how important is musicianship in developing a confident music educator, and therefore who can become a (successful) music educator?

3.4 Chapter conclusions

Moving forward, from this literature I take the following key findings:

1. Music students pursue a wide range of careers. A central aspect of this across the board is the portfolio career, which often includes some aspect of education and/or community music work. Graduates do not necessarily have relevant training or preparation for such work, although higher education institutions are increasingly trying to provide some initial introductions.
2. There are a number of expectations of advanced musical study on entering a programme, particularly within the conservatoire context, that see students' career aspirations shift significantly over the course of their studies, from performance-led goals to wider aims.
3. Teachers' career choices are often driven by the notion of teaching as a secure job, which is particularly gendered – women see teaching as a profession that is compatible with motherhood. This has implications for the demographic of the teaching workforce, which can be observed through the high proportion of women in the teaching workforce. It also sheds light on the complexity of career-related decision-making, highlighting active and passive influences on this process.

The literature in this chapter highlights the variety of factors that influence career trajectories, demonstrating the number of variables in action across the lifespan. In this study, these issues will be explored in further detail through the interviews with teachers and practitioners, seeking to understand their own experiences of making career decisions, with a view to understanding how external factors such as opportunity, gender and geography interact with personal aspirations and ambitions.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Chapter Introduction

In this chapter I outline my position as a researcher, and explore and reflect on different approaches to qualitative data collection and analysis for this project, to explain the methods I selected, which are outlined in the Methods chapter.

4.2 Decolonising research practice

As stated earlier in this thesis, I have been working to decolonise my position as a researcher, and in doing so, decolonise my research practice. I take the position that decolonisation is the disruption and dismantling of colonial processes. To be researching music education in the UK, in which problematic colonial mindsets still exist (Hess, 2017), and to be so aware of these issues, it is impossible to proceed in doing research without first identifying, acknowledging and addressing the colonial remnants in my own research practice. With this acknowledgement of my state of awareness, I will now explore in more depth what decolonisation means in the context of doing research, and how these processes sit within my wider methodological approach.

“The process of its decolonisation is an ethical, ontological and political exercise rather than simply one of approach and ways of producing knowledge.” (Ndllovu-Gatsheni, 2017)

Decolonising involves a shift in both thinking and acting. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) describes the way ‘Western’ culture has dictated to the rest of the world a set of rules on what is considered knowledge, in particular what is considered useful – this can be observed in the colonial acts of stealing objects to build ‘collections’ representing indigenous peoples, i.e. museum culture.

4.2.1 Researcher as Facilitator

In order to decolonise their research practice, the researcher first has to understand how oppression and colonialism exist, and how they operate within research and ways of thinking and viewing the world. At this ontological level, we must first distance ourselves from false dichotomies of global power, and understand that the perceived hierarchy between the Global North and South are constructed through the colonial narrative, and maintained by colonial legacy, and non-geographic types of colonialism (economic, cultural, political).

From coming into this research project as an inclusive/community music practitioner, equalities activist, and going on a journey throughout this PhD to decolonise my practice, I view my role as a researcher as that of a facilitator. To facilitate is to enable, to make easier, to create a space within which others can be and act. In inclusively-minded research, researchers have already sought to remove the dominant language of researcher and participant, positioning those who take part in research as collaborators, co-creators, and simply put, as contributors. To be an active, consenting contributor is different to being a research subject. Participatory and emancipatory action research approaches view the researcher as facilitator, but there is no reason why this should not be extended across research practice. To view oneself as a facilitator is to actively address the problematic hierarchies that exist within traditional research methodologies. Qualitative research practice has been responding to the problematisation of researcher-participant hierarchies for decades (Nind, 2014, p15) – this is not new. What began as ‘inclusive research’, with indigenous and other oppressed peoples, Nind argues should become ‘researching inclusively’ – that is, an ongoing and dynamic process of making any research process as inclusive as possible (p92). To take this kind of person-centred, bottom-up, reflexive approach is a step towards decolonising research practice, because it opens the researcher up to understanding the hidden hierarchies and oppressive structures that exist within research.

4.2.2 Rethinking Language

Nind (2014) notes the role of “language of disruption” in dismantling hierarchies in research (p20). If the researcher is a facilitator, and their role is to enable the research to happen, whilst dismantling the power imbalances of traditional data-gathering research methods, then what of the participant? A participant may be an active part of research, or they may be passively involved. They may be aware of the intentions of the research, or not – in the case of covert research. In the case of transparent research, and in the case of this research, the people I interviewed were brought in as experts in their own knowledge and life experiences. To refer to them as participants felt as though I had removed their agency, their individuality, their identity, and ultimately felt like a hierarchy was implied between researcher and ‘participant’. As contributors of knowledge and experience, I wanted to find a less hierarchical way to refer to the people who have allowed me to do this research, who have given their time and energy, thoughts and memories, to this project. Of course, some approaches to research position people contributing data as collaborators – for example in participatory action research and other emancipatory research methods where there is an ongoing exchange. In search of an appropriate

way of describing teachers' and practitioners' sharing of their expert knowledge of teaching and their lived experience, it feels more appropriate to simply call them teachers and practitioners.

4.3 Research Aims and Questions

4.3.1 Research Aims

1. Investigate experienced and trainee generalist primary teachers', experienced primary music specialists', and new and experienced community music practitioners' perceptions of what knowledge, skills, qualities, and abilities are needed to be someone who facilitates musical learning.
2. Understand how these individuals' perceptions and beliefs around teaching and learning music are formed, through an exploration of their experiences throughout life as told in interviews.

4.3.2 Research Questions

1. What are generalist primary classroom teachers' experiences of, and attitudes, beliefs, and feelings about, music education in their own lives, and their teaching practice?
2. What are community music practitioners' experiences of, and attitudes, beliefs, and feelings about, music education and their own professional practice as facilitators and educators?
3. What are primary music specialist teachers' experiences of, and attitudes, beliefs, and feelings about, music education in their own lives, and their teaching practice?
4. What are these groups of individuals' perceptions of being musical and teaching/facilitating music, and who can do it? How do they compare? What issues do they face?

4.4 A methodological context for this study

Here I set out an overview of approaches that have already been taken in researching musical identity, musical ability, music education and teacher education, identifying appropriate qualitative approaches for exploring these areas.

4.4.1 Qualitative Psychology Research

As illustrated in Chapter 2, this study falls into the broad area of music psychology, particularly musical identity research. In this section I provide a non-exhaustive summary of qualitative methodological approaches to music psychology research in

the areas of musical ability and musical identity, highlighting the aspects that I draw on in this study.

4.4.1.1 Researching perceptions of musical ability

Research on perceptions of musical ability spans a range of approaches and has continued to evolve over time. Qualitative approaches have emerged in the past few decades, following a long tradition of quantitative research in this area (Reynolds, 1993). Reynolds suggested that qualitative approaches could counter the issues caused by trying to measure the undefined. Reflecting on quantitative practices, she noted the danger of self-report as a measure in research, arguing that participants' perceptions may not reflect their actual measured ability – it is merely their interpretation of how they are seen by others. Reynolds also highlighted the lack of consensus on what self-concept is as a hindrance to arriving at conclusive quantitative results, along with unfit-for-purpose measurement tools and the known discrepancy between self-report and reality. Brändström (1999) highlighted the varied interpretations and definitions of what musicality might mean – ability, aptitude, talent, etc – recognising the room for interpretation when researching such topics. This makes a qualitative approach more appropriate for answering questions about perceptions of musical ability.

My own previous research has explored perceptions of what musicianship is, who can possess it, and how musical abilities are acquired and developed (Bhachu 2011; 2013). The first study, focussing on how professional flute players used memorisation strategies in their performance work, and also how they shared that knowledge in their teaching work, explored the life journey of becoming a professional musician, looking at opportunities for development and education, positive and negative experiences as musical learners, aspiration, and workplace experiences (Bhachu, 2011). My subsequent research focussed on how advanced music students, on university and conservatoire programmes, engaged with memorisation skills – whether it was a formal requirement, or a personal choice to memorise music – and how it differed between courses, instruments and genres (Bhachu, 2013). This research also intended to explore how cultures of music making influence curricula within higher music education, and how these parameters shape learners' perceptions of their musical skill sets and abilities.

Both of these studies were interview-based, using semi-structured, open-ended questions to elicit data on the musicians' lived experiences, education, beliefs and attitudes. They sought to explore how musical learning experiences influenced musicians' performance practices. Similarly, the research presented in this thesis

seeks to explore how life experiences contribute to teachers' and facilitators' practice.

4.4.1.2 Researching musical identity

Musical identity has been researched through various large-scale and small-scale research projects, employing a range of data collection tools. A number of studies have explored musical identity with small groups of participants through detailed, qualitative data collection and analysis, while others have used survey questionnaires disseminated to large sample sizes. Hargreaves, MacDonald and Miell (2015) note the recent expansion of research into musical identity. They acknowledge the self as an ever-changing construct, influenced by everyday interactions and the changing world around it. Hargreaves et al cite Elliott and Silverman's concept of "personhood" as being made of up the "embodied" and "enactive" self – that is the internal self, and the external portrayal of oneself, which do not necessarily match one another. In my interviews I sought to explore how embodied views of the musical selves differed from the enacted musical selves within my interviewees. Hargreaves et al also highlight the work of Evans and McPherson, exploring Self-Determination Theory, and how this relates to a person's likelihood to maintain a musical identity based on their experiences with music and 'being musical'. This has implications for my research, in that I am looking at how earlier musical experiences have impacted on interviewees' current relationships with music and their musical identity. If the self is ever-changing, as put forth by Hargreaves et al (2015), then how have these teachers' selves changed throughout their lives – has their musical self been in flux? How has this impacted on their relationship with teaching music? What effect has the status of their musical self had on their likelihood to maintain a relationship with music?

In her doctoral research, Woodward (2013) used ethnography within an undergraduate general teacher-training programme to investigate the formation of perceptions of musical identity of students, who do not initially consider themselves musicians, taking a musical improvisation course. Woodward argues that as an insider to the site of her ethnography, she is able to provide a more accurate representation of the views and understandings held by those who inhabit that space than an outsider. She does this through acknowledging the need for qualitative researchers to maintain their identity and voice where quantitative researchers might take a step back.

4.4.2 Educational Research

There is a history of experimental psychology research in education (Lichtman, 2010, p29), although the question of who carried out this research bears a gender issue – while the majority of teachers were women (Lichtman, 2010, p26), researchers were predominantly male and the approach they took was a scientific one (Lichtman, 2010, p29). While this has changed, I must acknowledge my role as a woman, and a woman of colour at that, researching education, with a majority of female participants.

Ethnography-trained anthropologists developed a strand of education research within anthropology, while education departments focused on test-based research (Lichtman, 2010, p29). In the 1980s, qualitative research in education became established, with an emerging concept of the educational researcher, and ethnographic approaches becoming distinct as just one way of doing qualitative research in education (Lichtman, 2010, p31). There is a tension within educational research about researchers with no in-school teaching experience being researchers – this I know anecdotally, from hearing teachers' frustrations at research-driven change that they view as done without them. I anticipated facing this tension in my own research.

4.4.2.1 Research about, with, for and by teachers

A range of methods are known to have been used in research about and with teachers. In her summary of prior research about beginning music teachers, Conway (2001) lists questionnaires, surveys and interviews as common data collection tools. Bresler (1995) considers three approaches to qualitative research that place teaching and learning at the heart of the research – ethnography, phenomenology and action research. In each of these, the researcher assumes a position as an insider – in education, this means they offer unique perspective as a learner, teacher, or other holder of knowledge of the environment or subject of research.

Many researchers in education have been teachers themselves, giving them key insider knowledge. Another common scenario is for teachers to do research within their classrooms and practice as part of professional development and further study. Whilst I have not undertaken teacher training, I have worked in educational contexts, primarily in music education, but also as a youth worker for several years. My dual role as a practitioner-researcher means I am seen by educators as being 'on their side' – that is to say, that I am considered an insider. This is important in

considerations of voice and agency, that I am not trying to speak on behalf of a group I am not part of.

4.4.2.2 Life (hi)story research in education

Life history is a specific and widely known approach to research that requires detailed documentation of an individual's life, including the verification of factual information. Life *stories*, by contrast, document events in an individual's life as told by the individual, and while they form part of a life history account, they do not on their own produce a full life history. In this section I discuss life history and life story approaches to music education research, identifying the benefits of these methodologies for my project.

Making this distinction between the life story, as an account of one's life, in the now, and life history as a systematic, retrospective, and fact-checked account of one's life, a true life history approach is a systematic and established research method in itself (Goodson & Sikes, 2001, p39), generally involving close collaboration and interaction with the participant, more often referred to as the 'respondent' (p23), and to some extent following a positivist paradigm (p34). That said, life history approaches can inform wider qualitative research practice through its foundations in seeking to understand how people make sense of their life, and certainly life stories as a means to elicit data on how a participant has perceived their life is an effective approach, because they are telling the story as they see it, in their words.

Following the retrospective life history approach taken by Pitts (2012), which highlights the impact of one's own educational experiences on the influences and opportunities that arise in a musical life journey, it felt necessary to explore life stories as a methodological approach to this study. Goodson and Sikes (2001, p2) outline the following reasons for choosing a life history approach to research: the different aspects of our lives (for example school, home, work) do not exist in isolation from each other, rather they impact on each other and on our self; life history acknowledges the formative nature of how our life contexts shape our perceptions; it can evidence the ways in which people make sense of their lives, identities and experiences. In trying to achieve a decolonised approach to research, life history research offers an opportunity to move away from making assumptions about what we, as researchers, think we know about a situation, to centring the life and position of the participant whose life story we are hearing (Ibid, p7).

Specifically looking to the use of life history research in educational contexts, Goodson and Sikes note that life history can shed light on teachers' journeys into

the profession, including finding out about what has influenced their educational philosophies and pedagogies, their aspirations to enter the teaching profession, and how their work interacts with their personal lives (Ibid, p21). Addressing this within my own study, life stories are used to highlight pathways into work, and find out how beliefs have been formed.

Pitts' (2012) study acknowledges the subjective nature of retrospective life history, noting that the remembered aspects are the ones that are included, while events perceived as less significant may be forgotten and thus excluded (p4). My research, like Pitts', aims to shed light on the retrospective and long-term impact of musical engagement, which is often left out of the conversation on the impact of music education (p6).

In two previous studies (Bhachu 2011; 2013) I drew on life stories via interviews to understand musicians' experiences of memorising music, exploring their educational and professional journeys and how this informs their perceptions of musicianship. For me, life stories are an effective way to put people's voices at the centre of research in the types of enquiries I have pursued, thus contributing to the process of decolonising my practice through these conscious decisions.

4.4.3 Researching community music

Research in the area of community music tends to focus on case studies by community musicians of the environments in which they work and the people they work with. Due to the nature of this area, research is often participatory and practice- informed and driven. It is emancipatory and falls within the realms of activism through action research.

In being led by practitioners, community music research contributes to the growing field of arts-based research – the exploration of the world through arts processes (Greenwood, 2012). Arts-based research sees art-making as a tool to facilitate research – through those who participate in the making. Attempting to conceptualise community music, Higgins (2012) draws on practice through ethnographic observation, case studies including interviews with practitioners and participants of community music activity, and auto-ethnographic memory – reflecting on and analysing his own practice and experiences over time. Higgins seeks to reconstruct a history of community music, highlight examples of key tenets of community music, and theorise around these tenets to define what community music might be.

An example of participatory action research is offered by Lucy Bolger (2013) in her recent doctoral research project, in which participants were co-researchers and viewed as experts of their own experiences. This type of approach is collaborative – drawing on Freire’s (1993) “with, not for” approach, whereby the oppressed are not acted *on*, but *with*. In my research, I sought to achieve a similar collaboration, approaching teachers and practitioners as experts in their practice, and seeing my role as that of a researcher-facilitator.

4.5 Qualitative Data Collection

4.5.1 An overview of approaches to qualitative data collection

To respond to the research questions I have set out requires the answering of several more detailed questions about my participants, in order to understand their worlds, feelings and views better. There are several ways of asking participants questions. The most obvious would be a questionnaire – a pre-set list of questions, open-ended in the case of qualitative research – that can be disseminated to large numbers of participants simultaneously. It is both time-efficient and practical from a geographical perspective. However, it does not allow the researcher to probe further, without following up with participants after collection and analysis of initial data has been completed.

Interviews are a frequently used method of collecting data through questions in qualitative research practice, specifically the use of semi-structured interviews (Kvale, 2007). Semi-structured interviewing combines pre-set questions with a degree of flexibility for the interviewer to ask new questions based on the answers given. Open-ended questions are used to create a conversation-like flow, allowing the researcher to pursue new avenues that arise from initial questions and enabling the collection of data-rich responses. A basic set of interview questions are devised to give deeper insight into the participants' experiences and perceptions, enabling the interviewer to generate more specific questions, addressing particular topics and issues that arise. The interview structure and content need to be flexible, to respond to the interviewee's answers (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011, p413). Semi-structured interviewing allows the researcher to explore unexpected responses immediately, drawing on the flexible nature of conversation, while closed-question interviews and their written equivalent – questionnaires – are inherently inflexible.

Due to the nature of the interview questions – asking about confidence and competence in fulfilling a professional duty, as well as questions about personal lives – it was important to collect data on a one-to-one basis. Focus groups, while increasingly used as a space in which to carry out qualitative interviews (Kvale,

2007, p72), could create hesitance and anxiety amongst my particular group of participants (p23). They require a different level of moderation and facilitation – to negotiate different personalities and allow everyone to have a voice – and on a practical level can also be difficult to transcribe (Kvale, 2007, p72).

Small group interviews could have theoretically been used to collect the same data as would be gathered in individual interviews, with 2-3 participants at a time to allow everyone time to contribute, however in practice participants might not feel comfortable addressing issues they struggle with in front of colleagues, depending on their relationship with others in the group (Finch et al, in Ritchie et al, 2014, p234). Using larger focus groups carries the same risk of participants being influenced by each other's' presence. Focus groups can be useful in eliciting information about how ideas are formed and developed within a particular context, however they are less useful in giving the researcher access to biographical data about participants (Kitzinger, 1994). In a positive scenario, a focus group or group interview could generate detailed, shared recollections of experiences, however there is a risk of losing accuracy, and also of conflicting recollections, as well as unspoken understandings between a group of participants who know one another that the researcher isn't privy to.

As with the hierarchical issues in any interview situation, the focus group has an additional issue of participants manipulating their responses to please or displease others in the group, not just the researcher. Given that I did not know my participants prior to data collection, a focus group approach would have been risky and potentially problematic. The professional context of my participants' lives also meant that confidentiality and anonymity was important to maintain, in order for them to be comfortable to speak openly (Kvale, 2007, p27). Furthermore, given the limited availability and geographical spread of participants, in hindsight, a focus group for teacher-participants would have been too difficult to schedule (Finch et al, in Ritchie et al, 2014, p235).

Observation was considered as an approach to this research project, to explore the application of inclusive music principles in community music practice. Removed from early anthropological approaches to long-term, immersive observation (Lichtman, 2010, p166), I would have used this method in a much more confined way. As an early-career practitioner, I have insider access to inclusive music workshops. However this type of method relies on there being an activity to observe, and often on third parties to carry out such activities. In this case, working with a third party proved unreliable, and due to time pressure, observatory methods were

dropped as an option. In this version of the study, I would have adopted an auto-ethnographic approach (Ellis et al, 2011).

On one hand, observations allow more direct interpretation by the researcher compared with interviews where data collected is an account of a situation given or interpreted by participants then relayed to the researcher to be further interpreted. This could increase the validity of the research from the point of view that the data is more accurately observed than participants report it. However, the problem with observation carried out by a researcher who is not also the classroom teacher, or another person known to learners, is that those under observation may alter their behaviour and skew the data. This may also happen anyway if participants are aware that they are being observed for research purposes, regardless of the observer.

Another way to incorporate observations was the consideration of asking teacher participants to make field notes of observations during classroom music time, however this places undue pressure on teachers, who are responsible for delivering the lesson, in addition to issues of accuracy, reliability and validity. This participant group is extremely stretched for time. Observation also relies on there being music activities to observe. Another option would be for a researcher to attend classroom music lessons, or have them video recorded, but this poses ethical issues of consent, and the presence of the researcher as a distraction for both teacher and pupils. Given the nature of the research – looking at teachers' practice and engagement with music in the classroom – the idea of having a researcher watching either in the room or via a recording can be daunting, and worries of criticism might influence participants' behaviour. In education research it is difficult for researchers to go undercover and allow data to be natural (Lichtman, 2010, p169).

Getting access to schools is difficult (Lichtman, 2010, p167), and authorities require detailed plans of proposed research, duration and impact well in advance of fieldwork beginning. Within music education, current rhetoric centres on extra-musical and instrumental benefits of music education on 'more valuable' elements of education such as literacy and numeracy. Such arguments for the justification of music education have been criticised in recent years, for placing music at risk by removing its intrinsic value, and Wolff (1978) argued a lack of reliability of much experimental research of this type until at least the 1980s, citing inadequate design as the problem.

4.5.2 Sampling in qualitative research – considerations and implications

A collection of expert responses to the question "How many qualitative interviews is enough?" (NCRM) highlights the range of opinions held by leading qualitative researchers. This review also highlights the problems of conducting qualitative research as a research student, confined by time and resources. Mason's (2010) analysis of doctoral research projects using qualitative interviews raises several issues about how qualitative research sample sizes are influenced, decided and justified. He notes ethics procedures, deadlines and proposal-based applications as contributors to over-quantification in qualitative research practice by students.

In keeping with its key principles, qualitative research should be focussed on Glaser and Strauss' (1967) concept of "saturation" – the point at which new data does not provide any new knowledge (Mason, 2010). In addressing the pragmatics of applying Glaser and Strauss' Grounded Theory, an infinite amount of data is sought and the process can be very time-consuming – deadlines need to be open-ended to allow theory to be generated and tested. However, not all research projects can afford this flexibility. For research students, the need to define participant numbers and timelines at project proposal stage provides research students with justification for stopping data collection potentially before saturation has been reached (Mason, 2010; NCRM). Strauss and Corbin (1998) noted this point of compromise, where the researcher is forced to "settle" in order to meet deadlines.

What are the implications of this for the theory developed by students using qualitative research methods? Morse (1995) questions both the quality of theory as an output, and the process of developing theory in such projects. She notes that in order to facilitate generation and development of high-quality theory, data needs to be of a certain quality. Further, if saturation is not reached, then has the phenomenon being researched been investigated properly? Are research findings in this case valid?

Ritchie et al (2014, p117-118) suggest criteria by which to consider sample size. Diversity within the research population, the issues of interest within the population and sub-groups in the research study, and the criteria used to select participants both impact the likelihood of data responses being similar. A broader demographic of participants means a larger sample size may be required to reach saturation. Practical issues such as data collection, funding and resources may also affect sample size, and are particularly problematic for doctoral research students. These issues affect saturation in a different way – in a way, the decision to stop data

collection has nothing to do with saturation, other than that practical constraints cannot be avoided, and may prevent saturation from being achieved. Charmaz (2006) gives a useful example of misuse of the term 'saturation', highlighting the distinction between *knowing that* a group of people experience a phenomenon, and *understanding how* individuals within the group *uniquely experience* that phenomenon. These two angles represent different aims and have implications for sampling requirements.

Considering all of the above within the context of my own project, I am seeking an understanding of multiple perspectives, and the acknowledgement that issues exist. For me, an issue faced by one person is as important as one that affects many, because it is an indication that an issue exists at all. Thus, sampling becomes somewhat arbitrary, particularly considering the constraints of doctoral research in the current higher education context. For the purpose of gaining as much insight as possible into teachers' and practitioners' experiences, and to try to capture a range of ages and stages in work and life, I aimed to interview 10 people within each group (generalist; specialist; community). I discuss the details of achieving this in the Recruitment sections within Chapter 5.

4.5.3 Selecting a research design

Considering the practicalities of some of the data collection approaches discussed in this section, meeting with participants on a one-to-one basis was the most convenient choice. Observations in schools require access that is time consuming to request and there is no guarantee of gaining it. Further, my presence in the classroom could have affected data as I would have been a stranger to those being observed. The likelihood of being able to find a collectively suitable date and time to bring a group of participants together for a focus group was low. Focus groups may also have presented barriers to participants being forthcoming with honest accounts of their experiences and expressions of their beliefs and opinions in front of professional peers. One-to-one interviews allowed me the opportunity to assess in detail the participants' response to questions and make it clear to the interviewee that the interviewer/researcher is not there to judge answers.

Taking into account the practical aspects of collecting data from participants who are busy and spread out geographically, and the issues with participants' responses being potentially influenced by speaking in front of peers about sensitive issues, one-to-one face-to-face interviews are the most effective way of collecting the data I want to collect. I decided that semi-structured interviewing using open-ended questions was the most suitable approach to interview data collection in this

research, both in terms of the type of data I could collect, and the pragmatics of collecting it.

4.6 Qualitative data analysis

4.6.1 An overview

Spencer et al (in Ritchie et al, 2014) outline several possible approaches to qualitative data analysis. Some are quite specific in their remit, for example, conversation analysis, discourse analysis and narrative analysis all focus on how data is presented, in language, structure and form. Others are open, inductive, and generative – such as analytic induction and grounded theory – which, while they are left open to be shaped by the research, require time and depth in order to arrive at a point of "saturation". Of the approaches applicable to the type of research questions I am asking, an inductive approach is necessary, in the sense that I am not testing a theory, and the data is such that it will shape my analysis and not the other way around. Approaches to analysis of this kind somewhat overlap in their roots and application, but I will here address those most appropriate to my research questions.

4.6.2 Analysing interviews

While all interview data involves words, analysis can take many forms and approaches. In qualitative research, analysis and data collection are not mutually exclusive, instead analysis begins when the research begins, in the active mind of the researcher (Spencer et al, 2014, p275). Kvale (2007, p102) warns of analysis methods being considered by the researcher "too late" – after data collection has taken place. In semi-structured interviews in particular, due to the flexible nature of questioning, Kvale identifies forms of analysis that take place during interviews, when the researcher responds to the interviewee. Kvale further argues that on-the-spot analysis creates more solid research as a higher quality data collection can be achieved (2007, p80, p102). For this reason, analysis must be considered in advance.

4.6.2.1 Detail in the data

In qualitative research, when seeking to understand the meaning of participants' experiences, it is important to be accurate in data collection and processing, to not misinterpret participants. In the process of transcribing interviews, every pause, gesture, punctuation can shape the contextual meaning of what the participant is saying (Braun & Clarke, 2008). In thematic analyses, data analysis is immersive, involving repetitive reading and listening, to code and interpret the data (Braun & Clarke, 2008). Data management techniques, which aim to sort the data in some way or another, are a common step across analysis approaches. Thematic analysis

often uses a 'framework' to manage data and provide an overview of what is said in the data and how strands might be grouped or connected (Spencer et al, 2014, p282). Interpretation follows this, asking why groups or connections appear in the data, seeking explanation (p285-285). Attride-Stirling's (2001) Thematic Networks provide a useful structural model for thematic analysis, categorising and organising themes as basic, organisational or global. This can be a useful tool for seeing how themes are linked and exploring hierarchy within the data.

4.6.3 Thematic Analysis and its relatives

Thematic analysis is often discussed as if it is a methodological approach in itself, however its processes form the basis of other approaches to qualitative analysis, including IPA (Larkin & Thompson, 2012) and grounded theory (Spencer et al, 2014, p271). While I take a broad approach to thematic analysis, I draw on aspects of grounded theory, IPA and narrative analysis to work with the interview data I gathered. In this section, I set out an overview of these approaches and their applicability to this project.

Thematic analysis can be carried out on two levels – latent and semantic. Semantic analysis focuses on descriptive elements of the data, while latent analysis goes a step further to look inside the data, to find the underpinning theoretical, conceptual and ideological, assumptions and ideas (Braun & Clarke, 2008). Thematic analysis can also be driven by either theory or the data, that is, deductively or inductively.

Narrative analysis refers to the analysis of story-based data, which, in the case of my research, have emerged through teachers' and practitioners' retellings of their experiences. These retellings have shed light on the emotional impact of their experiences, and the way these experiences have had other impacts on their lives. Importantly, narrative approaches acknowledge that it is a constructed and interpretative version of events that is told (Goodson & Sikes, 2001, p48). IPA also centres the voices and lived experiences of the people who are contributing data (Larkin & Thompson, 2012; Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). IPA recognises constructivism, in that it attempts to understand how context contributes to participants' understandings of the world – this allows both unique experiences and interpretations to be explored, but also shared interpretations within constructed cultures and worlds inhabited by participants (Shaw 2001, p49). This awareness of ideas as constructs and interpretations has been central to building my understanding of how beliefs are formed. Centred on idiography, IPA focuses on individual interpretation (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014), which is important in understanding the nuance of life stories. Other qualitative approaches may not place

such emphasis on the individual's own interpretation and understanding of their world (Spencer et al, in Ritchie et al, 2014).

Grounded in hermeneutic phenomenology (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014), IPA is interpretative on many levels – those telling stories interpret their own experiences of the world, those hearing the stories are further interpreting these understandings (Larkin & Thompson, 2012). Smith and Osborn call this a 'double hermeneutic' (2008, p53), and Oakland (2010) suggests the reader's interpretation of IPA research creates a further "third hermeneutic" (p77). Hermeneutic phenomenology also recognises that as individuals' perceptions are constructed by their worlds, individuals also construct their worlds – the two processes are intertwined (Laverty, 2003).

In IPA, the researcher's position is acknowledged, and the baggage they bring into the analysis (Larkin & Thompson, 2012) – their own understanding of the world being shaped by their lives, in turn influencing how they interpret their participants' understandings of the world, limiting the extent to which the researcher can truly understand and gain access to the participant's world (Clarke, 2009). Hermeneutic approaches require and enable self-reflexivity in the researcher (Laverty, 2003). These elements of IPA make it an attractive choice for the self-aware qualitative researcher. The researcher is both an insider and an outsider, providing emic and etic accounts of the research. They will be an insider enough to have gained access into the world of the participants and to be studying these phenomena; on the other hand they are an outsider to the participants' experiences in that they have not experienced them themselves, and are interpreting at a secondary level, having heard the participant's own interpretation (Reid, Flowers & Larkin, 2005).

Generally, IPA works well with text-rich data from participants, detailing their perceptions, experiences and understandings of a situation, environment or topic (Larkin & Thompson, 2012). The root of IPA is the individual participant, their context, and their experience – it is about the phenomenon of the unique, lived and perceived experience, not causation or generalisation, although common themes may emerge within groups that are relatively homogenous. Participants in IPA research are selected 'purposively' due to their expertise of a certain issue, type of experience or topic (Larkin & Thompson, 2012). Participants offer rich knowledge that the researcher does not fully have insight into. IPA asks two questions of the data – what matters to participants? What do these things mean to participants? (Larkin & Thompson, 2012)

Semi-structured, one-to-one interviewing is the most appropriate way of collecting data for IPA, as it facilitates a space for participants to be heard as individuals, where the focus is entirely on the individual participant (Reid, Flowers & Larkin, 2005). The researcher then works to interpretatively "develop an organized, detailed, plausible and transparent account of the meaning of the data" (Larkin & Thompson, 2012). Like Thematic Analysis, IPA employs detailed coding to uncover meaning in the data, by identifying themes and relationships (Larkin & Thompson, 2012). IPA is bound to this process by the theoretical framework in which it is rooted. Thematic analysis on its own is not bound in this way (Braun & Clarke, 2008).

4.7 Chapter Conclusion: A plan to take forward

Drawing on approaches from the multiple disciplines my project spans, I take forward a flexible, interpretivist-constructivist methodology that centres the voices of the teachers and participants who have contributed to the research. The analysis is emergent and inductive, generated from and guided by the the interviews. It seeks to draw on the combination of life stories and conceptualisations put forth by the teachers and practitioners. Observing the application of IPA in musical identities research (Renfrew, 2015; Oakland, 2010), it offers useful tools for unpacking the socially and professionally constructed identities of musicians, whilst also highlighting external influences which may influence musical trajectories. In the next chapter I set out my methods, in keeping with the methodology discussed in this chapter.

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Chapter 5 Methods

5.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the methods I used to collect and analyse data. The interview question schedule can be found in the appendices of this thesis. While I have previously stated the broad aims and research questions, I go into more detail here with regards to the specific working contexts of teachers and practitioners. Before describing the data collection and analysis processes, I will provide an overview of the ethical review process.

5.1.1 Ethics

The proposed data collection and analysis methods were subject to ethical approval according to Edinburgh College of Art Research Ethics Policy and Procedures. This process comprised submitting consent forms, interviewee information sheets and an ethics checklist to the Edinburgh College of Art Director of Postgraduate Studies. All of the above listed documents were approved, and can be found in the appendices of this thesis.

5.2 Data Collection: Interviewing teachers and practitioners

The data captured represents the experiences, beliefs and opinions of both generalist and music specialist teachers, and community music practitioners, who have a substantial professional practice to draw on, covering their personal, social and professional lives from childhood to date. This is represented in text-rich transcriptions of interviews with 10 generalist primary teachers, 10 primary music specialists and 10 community music practitioners.

I used semi-structured, open-ended interviewing to accommodate the individuality of each interviewee and the experiences they shared during the interviews, and to enable data-rich in-depth responses (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011, p236). The purpose of the interview was to understand the experiences and beliefs of teachers and practitioners, and a fully structured interview would not allow this (Ibid, p413). The basic set of interview questions were devised to give deeper insight into teachers' and practitioners' experiences and perceptions, enabling me to generate more specific questions, addressing particular topics and issues that arose. The interview structure and content needed to be flexible, to respond to the interviewee's answers, in keeping with the uniqueness of each of their lives (Ibid, p413).

5.2.1 Group 1 – Generalist Primary Teachers

This group consists of fully qualified generalist primary teachers, who have trained as teachers through undergraduate or postgraduate Initial Teacher Education (ITE).

5.2.1.1 Research Questions

How do generalist primary classroom teachers think they learn how to deliver music in the primary classroom?

- a) How have their personal, social, professional and educational experiences impacted their present-day engagement with music in the classroom?
- b) How have their personal, social, professional and educational experiences shaped their beliefs about music, music education and musicality?
- c) What are these teachers' perceptions of the skills, qualities and abilities needed for someone to be able to teach music? (Applying expectancy value theory)
- d) What barriers do these teachers think they face in engaging with music?
- e) How do these teachers feel about working with music in the classroom?

5.2.1.2 Recruitment

I recruited 10 generalist primary teachers with a range of 1-35 years of classroom experience, with the majority having 20-30 years of experience. 9 of these teachers were female, with 1 male teacher, which was expected given that primary teaching is a female-dominated workforce. 7 of the teachers had a Postgraduate Diploma in Education (PGDE), 1 had a Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE), and 2 had completed undergraduate ITE degrees.

Several strategies were used to recruit teachers. Initially, I drew on personal contacts who are working as primary teachers, or in primary schools in other capacities, asking them to connect me to other general primary teachers who I did not know directly, or personally. I also used social media platform Facebook to access teachers via existing "Closed Group" networks for teachers, again asking teachers within my personal networks who were members of such groups to post on my behalf or requesting access to do so myself.

There were some issues in scheduling interviews due to prospective participants being too busy. There was also some drop off in contact with a number of prospective participants, for reasons unknown. Time was the most significant factor in recruitment – the target participant group are extremely busy. One prospective participant suggested that they would be able to take part if it was a written questionnaire but could not commit the time needed for an interview.

5.2.1.3 Interview Process

Most of the generalist teachers' interviews were carried out before progressing to interviewing the other groups, so in some ways this acted as a pilot to inform the rest of the study. This first phase of interviews focussed on exploring teachers' self-perceptions of musicality, musical experience and their general feelings towards participating in and delivering music. Data were collected through face-to-face interviews, which were audio-recorded and then transcribed to text. Interviews were mostly carried out in the schools where the teachers worked, with one carried out at the researcher's office, and two in cafes.

The initial set of questions were devised after gathering anecdotal evidence from teachers I knew, and some extended contacts, who were not formally interviewed, but were able to highlight some basic issues in primary classroom music provision from the point of view of the general teacher. Some of this was evidenced in literature as previously existing issues, and I knew of some issues around specialist music provision from recent local authority websites and media sources.

5.2.2 Group 2 – Community Music Practitioners

This group consists of individuals who facilitate group music activities within community music settings.

5.2.2.1 Research Questions

How do community music practitioners learn how to facilitate group music making?

- a) How do personal, social and educational experiences lead individuals into becoming community music practitioners?
- b) What are these practitioners' perceptions of the skills, qualities and abilities needed for them to facilitate music making?
- c) How do these practitioners think they have developed the skills, qualities and abilities needed to do their job?

5.2.2.2 Recruitment

I interviewed 10 inclusive community music practitioners based in Scotland, of a variety of ages, with at least 5 years' experience of working in community music. Some practitioners had upwards of 20 years' experience working in community settings, while others were still relatively new to this work, providing a variety of levels of experience. They also worked in a wide range of musical and social contexts. The group comprised a mix of instrumentalists and vocalists, working across a range of community and education settings. I drew on personal and

professional contacts, some of whom I have known for several years and worked closely with, others who I have met through networking but haven't worked with.

In my experience so far within community music, there is no consistent "type" of person who becomes a practitioner. Further, in some cases there is a distinction between the learning that happens in training to be a musician, and the process of learning how to be a music practitioner and facilitator of musical learning. My early experiences in community workshop settings with other musicians who are new to this practice, suggest that formal music education often doesn't prepare musicians for this type of work. I was therefore interested in exploring individuals' journeys into community music practice, to unpick the experiences and knowledge that they draw on. Drawing on the similarity between whole-class music making in primary schools and large group music making in community practice, I was interested in finding out what common and contrasting perceptions are held by the people responsible for teaching music or facilitating musical learning. As community music practitioners are largely self-employed, freelance workers, one issue in recruitment was the availability of practitioners to take part, given that their work schedules were busy and unfixed.

5.2.2.3 Interview process

Largely based on the same initial questions as the generalist primary teacher group, the interviews explored practitioners' individual journeys towards becoming a practitioner, reflections on learning, barriers, strengths, weaknesses, their motivations for working in community music.

5.2.3 Group 3 – Primary Music Specialists

This group consists of individuals who are responsible for specifically delivering whole class music lessons in primary schools.

5.2.3.1 Research Questions

How do primary music specialists think they learn how to deliver music in the primary school?

- a) How have their personal, social, professional and educational experiences impacted their present-day engagement with music in the classroom?
- b) How have their personal, social, professional and educational experiences shaped their beliefs about music, music education and musicality?
- c) What are these teachers' perceptions of the skills, qualities and abilities needed for someone to be able to teach music? (Applying expectancy value theory)

- d) How do these teachers think they have developed the skills, qualities and abilities needed to do their job?

5.2.3.2 Recruitment

The criteria for recruitment was that all specialist teachers had to have a role whereby they take a whole primary class for music lessons that is separate from generalist teacher provision. Again, I drew on my personal and professional networks. I also used professional development conferences and events that target teachers, such as the Scottish Association for Music Education annual conference, and the Music Education Matters conference hosted by Enterprise Music Scotland. Both of these events take place in central Scotland.

As this group of workers have been subject to cuts, it was difficult to find people who are still employed as primary music specialists. As a result, some of the teachers included in this study as primary music specialists are currently working in other areas. Some of the primary music specialists are also qualified as generalist primary teachers but at the time of interview their main remit was to deliver music across the primary school, acting as a music specialist.

5.2.4 Reflections on Data Collection

In this section I will discuss my approach to interviewing, with regards to negotiating power dynamics. In some interviews, I was viewed as a researcher (in a stereotypical way, viewing themselves as research subjects), and a person of musical knowledge, which at times felt like it was creating a hierarchy that I worked to demolish – by emphasising the power in the teachers' and practitioners' stories and voices. While all research interviews hold some 'power asymmetry' (Kvale, 2007, p14), I tried to reduce this by emphasising the power held by the interviewee and making it clear that I view them as informants to my research (p16), key knowledge-holders and experts. I made it explicitly clear that they were in control of what they contribute to the interview, could stop at any point, and were under no obligation to share information they preferred to withhold.

I set out on the data collection phase of the project aware of Kvale's (2005) advice that analysis on some level happens during the interview process, as the interviewer is making decisions about what to ask more about, what to focus on, what might become less important as data collection continues. This inductive approach required my awareness of how I was mediating and facilitating the interview process: what did I deem important; is this the same as what the interviewee deemed important? Coming back to Nind's (2014) prompt to approach the research

as inclusively as possible, and in as decolonised a way as possible, it was important for me to allow interviewees to speak freely, to not cut them off, and to value what they wanted to share with me in the research. At the end of each interview I asked the interviewee how they felt about the process, and they reflected on it being an enjoyable experience. Often, the interview process had resulted in them remembering details or events they had forgotten about, contributing to their positive view of the interview. In the interviews themselves, interviewees were all very forthcoming and open with their contributions, signifying their comfortability with the process.

I wanted to be able to understand how the interviewees' beliefs and practices had been shaped by their life experiences. The interviews presented me with multiple hermeneutic layers of analysis to unpick, through the individual idiographic life stories, a semantic level of how interviewees spoke, and the deeper and broader look at how interviewees understood their own experiences and beliefs, and how these linked to their formative experiences.

As a recurring theme in the interviews themselves, but also something that became apparent in recruitment and scheduling interviews, is time. Teachers and community music practitioners are highly busy individuals, and for this reason, several people were unable in the end to commit to taking part. On one hand, those who did take part showed some commitment to the research by doing so, but that does not mean those who couldn't weren't interested – one prospective contributor asked if it was possible to send the interview questions as a questionnaire as he simply couldn't find an hour of time to carry out an interview. It is worth noting how access for these groups to participate in research is compromised by their workload, which was also highlighted during the interviews.

5.3 Data Analysis

The analysis comprised two main phases, characterised by Spencer, Ritchie et al (2014) as 'data management' and 'abstraction and interpretation' (p282-283).

5.3.1 Data management

Data collection and subsequent transcription of the interview audio into text-based transcripts formed the familiarisation process of data analysis, allowing me to gain an overview of the data set. Following the first reading of interview transcripts, I began a semantic indexing process, categorising excerpts of the interview transcripts by indexes that were defined by the initial reading of each transcript. This process sought to identify the broader topics addressed in the interviews,

largely using the interview questions as a guide to break the long interview transcripts down into manageable sections. This semantic analysis produced a spreadsheet containing excerpts from the interview by theme, allowing each topic to be extracted across whole participant groups and the full data-set (vertically), as well as giving an overview per participant (horizontally). Ritchie et al (2013) refer to this type of data organising as a thematic chart. This allowed the vast amount of data to be condensed into a manageable format. Each spreadsheet column was then extracted into a word document to produce individual documents for each broad topic, which could then be further analysed in more detail.

Following this, the emerging and pre-identified indexes were then organised on post-it notes, to establish links between indexes, and broad groupings, to create a conceptual framework of the overarching themes. This conceptual framework was then applied to the interviews to further unpick the data. The framework changed through this process as understanding of the data was enhanced, and analysis became more latent.

5.3.1.1 Data Management Framework

Due to the high volume of data, the interview schedules (which are contained in the appendices of this thesis) were used to devise a framework of topics that are directly addressed in the interview questions to break the interview transcripts down into more practically manageable sections. These were then expanded based on emergent themes, as shown in Table 1 below.

Interview sections	Data
Background information	Place of degree study Qualifications, including teacher qualification No. of years as teacher/practitioner Current Role Previous Roles
Aim of job	Related to imparting specific knowledges Broadly about enjoyment, positive impact
Motivations	Satisfaction/fulfilment Money
Identity	Being a musician/being musical

	<p>Other identities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ personal ○ professional
School music	<p>Relationship between Primary and Secondary music</p> <p>Views on CfE</p> <p>Views on specialist vs generalist provision:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Time as a barrier ● Confidence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Learning experiences ○ Musical identity ○ Perceived possession of skills/knowledge ○ Fear of judgement by others (including by pupils)
Views on Training/Learning	<p>Training:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Community Music courses ● Experiences of ITE <p>Learning by doing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Risk
Skills	<p>Teaching/facilitating skills:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Performativity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Background in performance studies <p>Who can do the job?</p>
Life history	<p>Routes into work:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Specific root available <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Aspirations ○ Support ● No fixed route <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ No training ● Active pursuit <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Inspirations ○ Aspirations ○ Positive learning experiences ● Falling into the job <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ No intentional prep ○ The only thing they were equipped to do <p>Intensive musical life:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Home ● Family ● Education

Table 1: Data Management Framework

5.3.2 Abstraction and Interpretation

This phase of the analysis involved seeking deeper meaning from the data, connecting what people say about particular issues and how it connects to other things they say, finding links in the data. It seeks to explain why the data says what it says, why links might exist. This latent analysis is the point at which inductive research begins to produce theoretical assertions (Spencer, Ritchie et al, 2013 p286). I began to consider how the data might be viewed through a postcolonial feminist lens, and how cultural and cognitive remnants of colonialism are manifested in how teachers think about music. Table 2 below shows the emergent thematic framework.

Data	Emergent ideas and insights
Place of degree study Qualifications, including teacher qualification No. of years as teacher/practitioner Current Role Previous Roles	This data shows diversity in the experiences and career trajectories of teachers and practitioners.
Related to imparting specific knowledges Broadly about enjoyment, positive impact	Teachers and practitioners determine the aims of their jobs based on a variety of informing factors including curriculum, conceptions of subject knowledge, and broader holistic/social aims.
Satisfaction/fulfilment Money	Teaching and community music are viewed as rewarding jobs. Initial entry into community music and teaching is money-based in some cases.
Being a musician/being musical Other identities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ personal ○ professional 	Definitions of being a musician/being musical are varied, and interact with other identities such as parent/teacher/performer/hobbyist.
Relationship between Primary and Secondary music Views on CfE	There is a problem with current provision in that there is little connection between primary and secondary music education Generalists - CfE is viewed as vague, difficult to interpret into activities. Specialists – CfE has potential to be great for music.

<p>Views on specialist vs generalist provision:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Time as a barrier ● Confidence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Learning experiences ○ Musical identity ○ Perceived possession of skills/knowledge ○ Fear of judgement by others (including by pupils) 	<p>Reduced Class Contact Time plays a significant role in how generalist and specialist teachers interact with the music curriculum.</p> <p>Generalist teachers experience anxiety and fear about teaching music. They define music</p>
<p>Training:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Community Music courses ● Experiences of ITE <p>Learning by doing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Risk 	<p>Community music training in music degrees and ITE for generalist and secondary music teachers is viewed as inadequate.</p> <p>Teachers and practitioners generally learn most of their practice in the workplace, through doing.</p>
<p>Teaching/facilitating skills:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Performativity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Background in performance studies <p>Who can do the job?</p>	<p>Teachers and practitioners describe the 'doing' of their job in terms of performing, acting, taking on a charismatic role to engage learners. Some relate this to their artistic training.</p> <p>Primary teachers (specialist and generalist) have mixed views about whether music should be delivered by specialists.</p>
<p>Routes into work:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Specific route available <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Aspirations ○ Support ● No fixed route <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ No training ● Active pursuit <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Inspirations ○ Aspirations ○ Positive learning experiences ● Falling into the job <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ No intentional prep ○ The only thing they were equipped to do <p>Intensive musical life:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Home ● Family ● Education 	<p>Teachers and practitioners describe the role of other people as gatekeepers to opportunities – teachers encouraging them to pursue music (or not), family role models, musical role models, teacher role models. Some of them entered their teaching/community music work with little or no training. Some actively pursued jobs, others happened to end up there without active pursuit.</p> <p>Home lives are significant – parents, siblings and extended family all play a role in musical development and nurturing ambitions.</p> <p>Teachers and practitioners are gatekeepers, and their own past experiences inform how they enact this role in the present day.</p>

Table 2. Emergent ideas and insights from the data

Themes were then drawn out from these emergent strands in the data. These themes form the contents of Chapters 7-9. I also began to draw links between the themes. Figure 2 below shows the workings of a thematic framework to understand the connections between musical identity, teacher identity and teachers' perceptions of their capacity to teach music. It draws on data on teachers' conceptualisations of being musical, curriculum, and structural/practical issues in the school system such as Reduced Class Contact Time (RCCT).

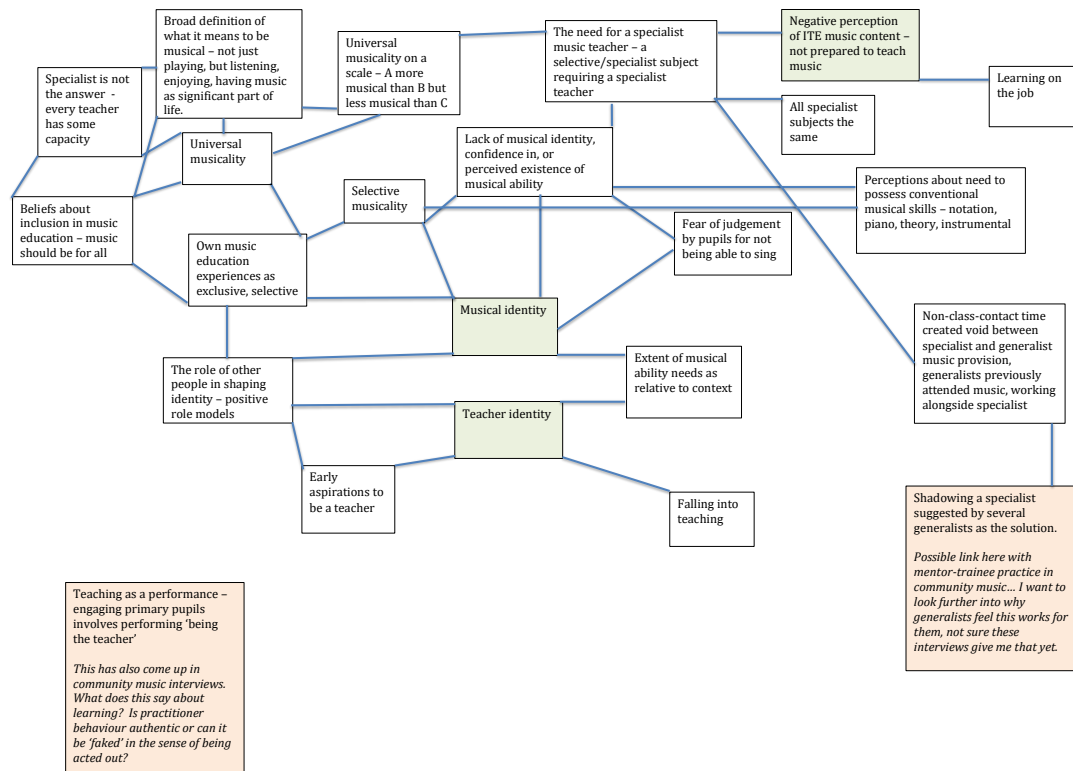


Figure 2. Emergent Thematic Framework

5.3.2.1 Researcher Accountability

Throughout the analysis process, I maintained a log of potential biases – for example, data elicited because the interviewee knew me prior to the interview, particular areas of interest, and any arising themes that may be linked to the literature I had read before beginning data collection.

5.3.3 Presenting the research: Ethics and anonymity

In the presentation of results in this thesis, in Chapters 7-10, I will use a lettering system to denote whether the data is from a generalist primary teacher (G), primary specialist music teacher (S) or Community music practitioner (C). In the writing process, these were numbered 1-10 in each results chapter for clarity of showing

that I have drawn on all interviews and am presenting the results in a way that they are representative of the full data set. To protect anonymity, I have re-numbered interviewees in the order they appear in for each chapter. This is because I feel there is a potential risk of them being identifiable if I were to assign them a pseudonym that remained consistent throughout the results chapters. In Chapter 6 I will now present short summaries of the life stories of each teacher and practitioner, with pseudonyms.

Chapter 6 Insights into the life journeys of teachers and practitioners

6.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter presents a broad life history of each teacher and practitioner I interviewed, highlighting pivotal points in their lives that have influenced their life trajectories and views. In the interviews, teachers and practitioners reflected on their lives through providing story-based accounts. I used these contributions to create life stories for each individual, showing their journey into working life. These life histories show the role of opportunity, support, role models and barriers in defining how we move through the world. Given that women make up the majority of the primary teaching workforce in Scotland (Riddell et al, 2006) it is important to acknowledge and explore the systematic inequalities faced by women, that shapes how they move through the world, the choices they make, and how they are treated, when reading their stories. As men are under-represented in this particular workforce, their inclusion in the selection of case studies is also important. For the purpose of presenting these case studies, pseudonyms have been used, and identifiable details have been altered or removed to preserve anonymity.

6.2 Generalist Primary Teachers

The life stories of generalist primary teachers will be used to illustrate their relationships with music and their career aspirations. The teachers range from early career to late career stages, and in age from mid-20s to 50+, presenting a wide range of experiences of teacher education, work experience and wider societal shifts.

6.2.1 Sarah's Story

While Sarah's earliest career aspirations were to be a teacher, it wasn't until she'd had children that she entered the classroom, initially as a parent helper. She had been looking for a career change and decided to have a go at teaching. Having completed an undergraduate degree in languages after university, she went down the route of a postgraduate teaching qualification.

Sarah's first musical learning experience was around the age of 11, when she picked up a guitar her brother had received for his birthday and started playing with it. She and her best friend's parents signed them up for local group guitar lessons. She continued going to lessons for about 5 years, learning pop, rock, folk and

classical music. Sarah recalls it being useful at parties later in her teens and early adulthood, for playing songs and getting people in the partying mood.

In secondary school, Sarah didn't choose music as an exam subject, as she was satisfied with her out-of-school guitar activities, and she had no intention of studying music after leaving school. For the first few years of secondary school, she recalled a group of maths and geography teachers organising the school show. Towards the end of Sarah's time at school, new music and drama teachers – both “very strong women” – took over the show, and while Sarah felt it was better organised, she didn't necessarily think they did a better job than the non-arts specialist teachers. The school show was such a huge part of the school life, with plenty of support from parents, although Sarah felt that they were elitist because they demanded a strong ability to sing, and so “you weren't going to be on the stage unless you could hold a note, or unless you were particularly good looking”, although she does credit participating in them for sparking her desire to pursue theatre.

6.2.2 Jane's Story

Jane currently works as a nursery teacher, following over a decade in the primary classroom. She made this change through an internal role swap with a nursery teacher at the school who wished to go into the classroom. She has been at her current school for over 16 years, prior to which she mainly did supply cover. Jane loved primary school herself, and had an early aspiration to become a primary teacher just like the teachers she had:

“They just made it look so easy and so much fun, and I just wanted to be that person”

She even recalls acting out the role of her music teacher in play with her sister, orchestrating mock music lessons. In primary school, Jane's musical engagement was fairly neutral, she would take part with instruments in classroom music, happy to listen, happy to participate without finding anything a struggle. Jane couldn't recall whether there were selection processes for singing activities in primary school, although her memories of secondary school are clearer. She auditioned for the secondary school choir, which involved singing on her own by the piano, and being told “next, off you go” without any more feedback, leading to a perception that “I can't sing”. She had to do this a couple of times, and recalled being scared the second time, however she says this hasn't dissuaded her from singing with the children in nursery.

Reflecting on the primary sector, Jane feels confident working with music with younger children. With older pupils, however, she doesn't think she'd be able to take on music without shadowing specialists – which she notes is not possible anymore since the introduction of RCT time.

6.2.3 Chloe's Story

Chloe has been a generalist primary teacher for 7 years. She has always wanted to be a teacher, and spent time volunteering in primary schools while she was at secondary school. She decided to study psychology at undergraduate level before pursuing a postgraduate teaching qualification as she didn't feel quite ready to go straight into teaching, and also because it would open up her knowledge of educational psychology and child psychology, which would ultimately benefit her as a teacher.

Her father was a professional musician, so she used to play piano with him at home, and this was a special part of their relationship. She was also passionate about sports in school, and eventually this took over as her primary focus. Her primary school was a small rural school, where music was a significant part of school life. In contrast, her secondary school was more sports-oriented which is a factor in her shift in extracurricular focus.

As an adult, Chloe has enjoyed travelling around the world and learning about the different musical cultures she has encountered. While she enjoys karaoke, she does not feel confident singing in front of her class of primary 7 pupils. She lacks confidence in general with delivering music, having had access to a visiting specialist in her first years of teaching which meant she was not responsible for music.

6.2.4 Melanie's Story

Melanie is a teacher of over 30 years and has been teaching in the same school for almost all of that time. She went away for university and teacher education but returned to the area she grew up in after qualifying where she has lived since. Melanie had an early aspiration to teach as she knew she enjoyed working with children – she volunteered with the local church's Sunday school – but she says at the time teaching was difficult to pursue so she decided to study for an undergraduate in History and then get a postgraduate teaching qualification.

In school, Melanie recalled being selected to learn violin, after taking some kind of test, in primary 5, and continued playing throughout high school. She regrets that

music fell by the wayside when she went to university, although attributes this to the fact that she found it hard to settle into university life and living away from home for the first time. Melanie's husband has been involved in theatre for many years and sings around the house. Both of their children have pursued music as a career.

Despite becoming less active in her personal musical life through adulthood, Melanie has always had a keen interest in developing her music delivery skills in the classroom as a generalist primary teacher. Having had access to a music specialist for most of her career, she always made an effort to engage with and attend the specialist's music classes and felt this provided her with support to continue doing music with her class. The presence of the specialist has gradually diminished, and there is currently no specialist provision in Melanie's school. She is now heavily involved in whole-school music activities such as preparing for the school show, which she coordinates with another musically confident colleague.

6.2.5 Rebecca's Story

Rebecca has been a fully qualified generalist primary teacher for 3 years. When she left school, she was unsure about whether she wanted to teach in the primary or secondary sector, so she pursued an undergraduate in English Literature before deciding to become a primary teacher.

Reflecting on her teacher education experiences, Rebecca found the music aspects of her postgraduate course helpful, as she felt they provided her with practical tools to take into the classroom. In her school, there is a primary music specialist, so Rebecca tries to go along to her lessons to find out what pupils are doing with the specialist but finds that time can restrict her from being able to do this as often as she'd like.

In her own school education, Rebecca had access to a visiting music specialist at primary school, and also recalls her generalist teacher doing music with the class. In secondary school she opted into music as an exam subject and continued engaging with it until the end of her 5th year. She had private keyboard lessons at home from the age of 9 to 15, and played percussion in school, using these two instruments in the performance studies aspect of school music exams. She doesn't play anymore, feeling that the loss of fluency in music notation reading is a barrier that she doesn't have the motivation to overcome. She suggests that she stopped playing as she moved away from home for university and didn't have access to her instrument from that point onwards. She also became more involved in dance at this point.

6.2.6 Harry's Story

Harry is the only male generalist teacher involved in the research. Having studied for an undergraduate degree in History, he worked as an outdoor activities instructor for two years in primary schools before deciding to be a teacher. He had previously thought about becoming a teacher – and says it is a common theme amongst history students. He trained in England, and so his experience of qualifying is different from teachers who trained in Scotland as he had to organise his own teaching work as opposed to being allocated a job for his probationary period. On pursuing a teaching qualification, Harry knew he would be supported as a male teacher given the lack of men in teaching.

In secondary school, Harry was very involved in music. He played in a rock band with friends that achieved high profile local success. Prior to that he had been learning violin and piano using the Suzuki method, which he didn't enjoy but says helped him develop aural skills which would enable him to teach himself to play the guitar. He always preferred the performance aspects of music education, although he didn't feel "at ease performing" – often having a drink before getting on stage to calm his nerves. While he feels confident in the classroom as a teacher, and in social contexts, he has always felt some degree of performance anxiety in public speaking or performing contexts. In his current school, he is involved in helping run a school choir, and is working on building music into his classroom practice.

6.2.7 Laura's Story

Laura has been teaching for 25 years. After studying French and Psychology in her undergraduate degree, which included a year working as a language assistant in a French secondary school, she pursued a postgraduate primary teaching qualification. Over the years she has taught in various schools, including one move as a result of the school closing as part of a merger, which saw her relocated to her current school. She has been part of a choir affiliated with a professional orchestra, through which she has sung around the world.

Laura has always had a positive relationship with music, being heavily involved in extracurricular music at school as well as local choirs, with parental support. She attended a Roman Catholic school, where music was very present in the form of hymns and singing. In secondary school she chose music as an exam subject, and learned solfège in the classroom, music theory, and obtained her ABRSM Grade 7 Theory. Following her spell in France as a student, she started a liturgical music group in church with her sister, which saw them heavily involved in the church's regular services for 5 years, and they recorded some of their music too. Laura

actually wanted to study music at university, but at the time of applying felt she wouldn't be capable of gaining a place on a course. It was her regret over this that led her to start taking instrumental lessons again while in France.

Laura has been involved in the extracurricular musical life of all of her schools, including taking the school choir in her first full-time job. Running choirs has continued to be a central part of her contributions to the schools she has worked in, much on her own initiative.

6.2.8 Caroline's Story

Caroline was on maternity leave with her first child at the time I interviewed her. She has been a qualified teacher for 8 years, after completing a postgraduate primary teaching qualification. Prior to that Caroline studied Psychology. She chose to pursue teaching as she had enjoyed the child psychology element of her undergraduate studies and saw it as a good job with lots of rewards. Reflecting on her PGDE studies, which she undertook from 2009-2010 she couldn't remember the music content of her course, although she has had a positive relationship with music throughout her life and has incorporated this into her teaching practice.

In childhood, Caroline had the opportunity to learn piano privately, encouraged by her mother. She didn't enjoy practicing at the time but had the opportunity to perform at a local competition. At school she was involved in Scots poetry and both solo and choral singing. Being selected as a soloist created strong memories of these early musical experiences. Aside from the Scots music and some singing, Caroline doesn't recall much presence of music in the primary school. Secondary school however presented a different experience. Caroline took up clarinet in her first year, playing in the school wind band throughout secondary school, as well as continuing with singing. She formed a strong social circle through this – and simultaneously through her involvement in school sports. She was also involved in the school drama department and enjoyed singing musical theatre pieces. Caroline built up a reputation as a singer, being known by her peers by that label. Having observed peers now involved in amateur dramatics, Caroline does wish she was still as musically active in her personal life, having stopped singing when she left school. Motherhood has reintroduced her to music though, through attending baby music classes with her son.

Being musically confident as a teacher, Caroline has been sent on training to be a school leader for music, training her colleagues to use established primary music programmes. She has also led the school choir for five years, which she notes has stopped since she started maternity leave.

6.2.9 Elizabeth's Story

Elizabeth has worked as a generalist primary teacher in an independent school for over 30 years. She always wanted to be a teacher – “day one, primary one, I wanted to be a teacher” – and despite being advised not to by careers advisors, she pursued an undergraduate teaching degree after leaving school. Although she was told that it would be difficult to find a job immediately, Elizabeth was fortunate to get a full-time permanent teaching position. Her first job was in an underserved area of the city, which she found very emotionally, mentally and physically challenging. A family member saw an advert for a teaching job at the independent school Elizabeth herself had attended as a pupil, and she has been teaching there ever since.

In teacher education, Elizabeth opted to do training in teaching music, having grown up with music in the home. She recalls the piano being a centre of entertainment at family gatherings and parties. Apart from the school choir, Elizabeth largely kept her musical life separate from school. She still considers singing an “enormous” part of her life.

6.2.10 Pauline's Story

Pauline has wanted to be a teacher her whole life and has early memories of playing with toy dolls in the role of the teacher. She excelled in school and was actually discouraged by careers advisors to pursue teaching on the grounds that she was “too clever”. She then turned her attention to law, following generations of paternal footsteps, however she found it was not for her as she didn't think law was fair, and it went against her way of thinking about the world. She then studied languages, and on graduating went to teacher training college with the intention of either being a primary teacher or a secondary French, music or PE teacher. Having not studied any of those subjects to the level of being able to teach it as a specialist, she decided to go into the primary sector as a “jack of all trades”. On qualifying as a teacher, she discovered that the job market was limited, and so she worked for local government in the housing sector, got married and started a family. After the birth of her first child she decided to get back into teaching and did a refresher course before getting back into the classroom after having a second child. This time there was no struggle to find a job.

Pauline has always enjoyed a diverse range of interests, being heavily involved in both music and sports growing up. The daughter of a musician, she and her sisters all played instruments, and the three of them used to sit next to their mother while she played the organ in church services. In secondary school, Pauline was given the chance to learn trombone, which she found easy having already played piano for 4

or 5 years. She became heavily involved in brass bands, whilst also building a commitment to hockey. This culminated in a clash between a hockey match and a brass band contest, where hockey took priority, when Pauline was 22. Encouraged to sing by a school music teacher, Pauline also sang in the school choir, performing and competing successfully, which led her to join the chorus of a professional orchestra where she sang until family commitments took over. She has now brought this love of singing into her school, where she runs the school choir.

6.3 Primary Music Specialists

The following life histories illustrate the range of experiences of teachers who become primary music specialists, focusing in particular on the role of aspiration and opportunity in pursuing music and developing musical identities. These teachers came from a range of backgrounds, having taken different routes into becoming a primary music specialist. They also represented a range of career stages and ages, from early career teachers in their 20s to those nearing the state retirement age.

6.3.1 Craig's Story

As a learner, Craig had access to several positive musical learning experiences and opportunities that helped him progress as a musician. As a school student, his aspirations were to either become a pilot or a musician, the former being ruled out due to eyesight requirements. He was supported in pursuing music under the knowledge that he could fall back on access to job in the engineering industry through family connections.

Craig's school years represent an unusual level of access to musicians who are known as leaders in their practices in Central Scotland, as they were at the time teaching in his school. His music teacher also went so far as to persuade the school to pay for pupils to sit the ABRSM Grade 5 Theory exam, which is a prerequisite for many university and conservatoire music degrees and can be a barrier due to the cost of ABRSM exams and access to tuition to obtain the theory qualifications.

Conducting is also a significant aspect of Craig's work as a musician and educator. Having been supported in secondary school to learn how to conduct ensembles, which led to invitations to shadow conductors at a conservatoire, his CV boasts a unique set of opportunities for musical development. He cites a motivation to work in leadership roles as a key component in his professional journey so far:

"I've always been fascinated by the man standing up on the stage waving his hands about."

Through his grandfather, Craig also had early access to live music, frequently attending orchestral concerts, as well as being gifted a professional-level instrument by his grandfather's friend. Having had several male supporters in the form of family members and teachers, Craig was not short of positive role models in whom he perhaps could see a future self.

6.3.2 Eleanor's Story

Eleanor started learning piano at the age of 7 and immediately loved it. She learned alongside her older sister, encouraged by a musical father and grandfather – she recalls racing home from school to be the first to get to play the piano. Both sets of grandparents had pianos at home, as did her parents. However it remained a “low-key” activity, and Eleanor did not share her musical life at school – she reflected on knowing how to read notation but not disclosing this knowledge within the classroom, partly out of shyness.

In secondary school, Eleanor pursued music qualifications, although again lacked the interaction with school music – she didn't request additional music support, nor was she encouraged to take up another instrument or get involved. As a pianist, she only got involved in school ensembles on occasion, and carried the perception that her peers who played in the orchestra were better than her. She completed ABRSM exams privately, which was always a positive, stress-free experience for her, free of pressure. At the end of secondary school, she was surprised to receive the school music medal, having not expected anyone to recognise her musical accomplishments, although she was still plagued by a lack of confidence.

“That was a kind of revelation, oh maybe I am seen as somebody who's got an ability, I don't know, or maybe there weren't many to choose from!”

Feeling inferior as a musician compared to those playing orchestral instruments or singing, Eleanor did not view the university music department as a place for her. Instead, she studied social sciences, focussing on psychology with a view to becoming a teacher and potentially pursuing educational psychology or social work. She became aware on placements that she was more musically confident than peers, opting to do a music lesson in an observed lesson, and recognising that it could help her find a job. Eleanor was able to combine her generalist teacher qualification with her musical expertise through a secondment opportunity, which involved helping other generalist teachers develop their music teaching skills and confidence.

“I still feel as if I’m cheating because I’ve no music degree [...] I still think one day they’ll find me out, because I’ve not played in an orchestra.”

Despite a strong musical background, and evident confidence in her ability to deliver music lessons in schools, as well as training for teachers, Eleanor still battles imposter syndrome.

6.3.3 Abbie’s Story

The first musical learning experience that Abbie can remember was in Primary 6, when her first male primary teacher, who she was initially scared of, happened to be very musically active. She joined his recorder club, and she had a short spell of learning flute although she found the breathing requirements physically difficult and gave up before the end of primary school. At some point – she couldn’t remember exactly when – she inherited a piano from her grandfather and began taking lessons. Whilst her parents weren’t musically active themselves, they provided a supportive foundation for Abbie’s musical development. In secondary school, she was offered an oboe that wasn’t being used, and attended Saturday morning lessons, and regional orchestras, through the local authority.

Abbie’s musical journey progressed fairly organically, with a demand for oboe players opening up many opportunities to play with orchestras and wind bands. Towards the end of secondary school, she looked into conservatoire studies for post-school education, but was put off by the requirement to sing in the audition. She hadn’t sung in school, recalling either not being allowed or not wanting to sing in the primary school choir – her memory was unclear – and an experience of being put off, which has stayed with her and continues to influence her own parenting approach:

“I remember my mum and dad making fun of me singing in the car [...] they had maybe just made a throwaway comment but I took it quite personally [...] I’m very careful not to do that to my own children.”

Abbie studied music at university, intending to be a teacher, but specialising in community music in her undergraduate instead of the education option, as she knew she planned to do a postgraduate teaching qualification and this would give her a qualification in both community music and music teaching by the end of both degrees. Teaching was always the planned outcome of studying music, as the expectation at home was that she would have a secure 9-5 job. As Abbie left school at the age of 16, graduating with a teaching qualification at 21, she felt that she was too close in age to secondary school pupils, so took a primary school music teaching job for her probation year.

6.3.4 Jo's Story

Jo's early music education journey is one of chance – she picked up the flute because her best friend was going to start learning to play it. She recalled feeling like an outsider at the local youth orchestra, which she was encouraged to join by her flute teacher, because she dressed differently, and didn't feel like she fitted in with the other young people who "all talked about going to Music College". Her home life at this point in time was tumultuous – she was living in a boarding unit whilst attending 6th Form, separated from her siblings and parents, just so that she could continue her musical commitments while her parents moved away. During this time, she developed a bad relationship with practicing flute, because of the shared peer living at the boarding unit and the loss of a dedicated space:

"I think without the support of my home, without my mum there, without the piano, without the music room, without just the freedom of being able to make a noise whenever I wanted to, you know, which was always acceptable in our household, to suddenly not be able to do any of those things was, you know, was a difficult thing to do."

Jo was an Additional Support Needs primary music specialist, before being redeployed as a secondary school woodwind teacher as part of a local authority restructuring process. She has a music degree but no teaching qualification. Prior to teaching in schools, she enjoyed a career as percussion workshop facilitator and professional musician. She still performs regularly in the experimental/DIY music scene. Jo fell into teaching through a chance opportunity where she happened to be in the right place at the right time. She didn't have to apply for her job – the school needed a teacher and she was available.

6.3.5 Hannah's Story

Hannah had early aspirations to be a teacher, having had a positive role model in one of her own primary school teachers. She also toyed with the idea of pursuing midwifery. In a secondary school work placement in a nursery, she was advised by staff there to gain a teaching qualification if she was capable of doing so, as it would allow her to work across both the nursery and primary school sectors.

In primary school she started learning music with the role model who inspired her to be a teacher – "I think I just wanted to be like her" – taking up recorder. By the time she left primary school Hannah and her best friend were the only two pupils to have continued to play recorder until primary 7. In secondary school she briefly took up the oboe, but an ultimatum to join the school orchestra in order to continue lessons led to her giving up after 6 months, as she felt too shy to join the orchestra and

didn't know anyone else in it. She continued classroom music on keyboard and percussion, studying to Higher level – although the structure of school subject choices meant she had to wait a year to take Higher music due to clashes with other subjects. In her final year of school, Hannah recalled helping younger pupils with their percussion practice, during free periods.

Music forms a significant part of Hannah's life – she met her husband, now a professional drummer, while at secondary school, through her musical social circle. However, she does not identify as a musician – instead she describes herself as a musical dabbler, she enjoys playing different instruments, learning new musical skills, and teaching music.

6.3.6 Alison's Story

Alison had a very immersive musical upbringing – her mother a classical pianist, and her father a skilled jazz pianist, both involved in teaching. The role of her parents as music teachers steered Alison away from wanting to become a teacher. She recalls fighting with her mother over not wanting to practice piano, instead wanting to spend time with friends.

“Music was definitely a chore [...] there was always either an exam, there was always a performance, there was always a festival, there was always something that I had to be playing towards and practicing for.”

She feels lucky now to have had that opportunity, although having completed her ABRSM Grade 8 by the age of 15, she felt at that point that she didn't know how to do anything else but music. On knowing she'd need a second instrument to pursue music education at music college or university, she took up saxophone because one was available at the school where her dad was head of department. She found the saxophone more enjoyable, being able to play popular music on it, and entertain at parties. The tension between musical upbringings and desires seems to be split along the parental divide – her parents separated when she was a young child. On joining a rock band – with which she had national success – she recalls,

“my mum didn't approve, because I was playing synthesizer and had my hair sprayed pink, and that wasn't the pianist she had raised. I was having a whale of a time, I was loving it, loving it. And my dad was loving it, because that was his thing, that was his thing.”

These positive musical experiences did not cross over into singing. Alison felt excluded from school music as the main activities were choir and orchestra. Having been very musically active in primary school, a negative outcome of a musical

aptitude test in secondary school knocked her confidence, and she felt the teacher didn't believe that she was a good pianist.

6.3.7 Caitlyn's Story

Music has played a strong role in Caitlyn's life. Growing up, she would perform regularly in the local farming community with her sisters and cousins. She and her sisters received piano lessons at a young age, which was heavily geared towards sitting graded exams. She also took up violin and on, gaining entry to the local grammar school, became involved in various extracurricular music activities at school. She kept up an interest in Scottish traditional music outside of school, playing and touring with the Scottish Fiddle Orchestra. At that time, upper secondary school music was set at a high level, in line with university and conservatoire entry requirements for performance and theory, so upon leaving school Caitlyn had a very strong advanced musical knowledge. She thought she might enjoy teaching.

“I suppose when you're 18 do you realise what you want to do? I loved music [...] I decided it was a career I wanted to try, yes. I wasn't sure I'd be any good at it, but I did enjoy it”

This did not stop her from considering what she might do if she didn't get into a university or conservatoire music education programme, with a secretarial course being her fall-back option. She noted the lack of career guidance at that time. Caitlyn describes the role of music in her life all-consuming, bridging her personal and professional lives.

6.3.8 Michelle's Story

Michelle grew up in a musical household, with both parents involved in music. They would regularly go to see orchestras perform, made an annual trip to the opera, and played violin in a youth orchestra at a young age. At school, Michelle had a negative experience where she was forced to perform in front of older pupils, which led to her being bullied and ultimately moving schools. It was after this move that her positive relationship with music really blossomed, in a private school setting where a number of her peers played in the national youth orchestra, which she also gained a place in. Seeing only a future in music, Michelle chose where to study based on access to the artists in residence, although she realised by the end of her degree that she couldn't bear to work in performance having seen so many musicians fall out of love with music as a result of it.

Michelle has been involved in music education since her graduation from a university music performance degree. She has been involved in instrumental music teaching, orchestral outreach work, and whole-class primary music education. On deciding to gain a teaching qualification, she specifically wanted to work in primary schools, but no such programme exists, so she sought out one that would at least involve a focus on primary schools, in contrast to the largely secondary-based courses that dominate the field.

She is married to a musician, and her eldest child is also a professional musician, with her other children heavily involved in music as a hobby. She attributes this to the active efforts they made to show their children the importance of music at an early age.

6.3.9 Sandra's Story

Sandra's home life was rich with music – her parents played music, her grandfather was a church organist, and she often observed her great aunt teaching piano in the house – she dates her fascination with teaching to the age of 7. She started learning piano after asking her parents for lessons, and music quickly overtook horses as her career aspiration. Sandra recalls playing with her sister and friends in the garden, using tennis rackets and kitchen bowls as mock musical instruments to pretend they were in a rock band.

Her early experiences of music in school were limited – there was no formal music in her primary school, and her first secondary school music teacher would have them write about Mozart and rarely do any practical music making. Outside of school, Sandra's private piano teacher was “quite stern and strict” and she can “remember being a bit scared of him”. A key turning point was the arrival of a new music teacher at secondary school, who ultimately inspired her to pursue music teaching.

“he was encouraging, he was just kind, patient, he would listen to anybody, he put forward his subject so well, he loved it, he had a passion for it, and it just rubbed off on all of us, so up until then I really didn't know what I wanted to do. I really liked music but I wasn't sure from the point of view of yeah I like music but where can I take it, and it was through his encouragement I thought I'm going to do, I'm going to go into it, and he was very encouraging”

This teacher introduced Sandra to percussion, which allowed her to be included in the school orchestra – she reflected on being a pianist as being a solitary experience. Through these experiences, Sandra's sense of musical identity was cemented – she was “known more as one of the musicians in the school”. As a

senior high school pupil, Sandra volunteered with a primary music specialist, which also pushed her towards music teaching, again through being inspired by watching the teacher at work.

6.3.10 Eilidh's Story

Eilidh grew up surrounded by music at home, which paved the way for pursuing musical opportunities at school.

“My dad plays guitar, so do my older siblings, so generally music was just in the house and at parties, and everybody sang and everyone played something”

Eilidh wanted to be a teacher from a young age, and by the end of primary school had her sights set on pursuing music in some capacity. Growing up in England, she had significant musical experiences in secondary school, including European tours with national media coverage in the other countries they visited – she noted her awareness at the time of how music was more valued in these other countries. Although she had a number of positive school music experiences, mostly through instrumental music services, her early primary classroom music interactions were more variable, involving clashes with teachers. Some good teachers in the later stages of primary school encouraged Eilidh and cemented her musical ambitions.

“I would say my first positive experience with music was p4, when I was asked to do a solo in assembly, and that was “oh I must be quite good at this” and yeah, I took it very seriously, and yeah it’s been important since that point, for sure.”

After deciding the Conservatoire environment was not for her, Eilidh took up a place on a university music degree in Scotland, where she specialised in community music. On graduating, she took the decision not to do a postgraduate teaching qualification, as she was already working as an instrumental instructor, and did not want the financial burden of more debt. She does feel restricted by not having that qualification now. For several years, Eilidh taught primary music in the independent school sector, which happened by chance after she applied for an independent school job to teach instrumental music.

6.4 Community Music Practitioners

An emerging theme from community music practitioners in how they arrived in the sector, is that they have some experience of facing barriers, or feeling challenged to help people through the arts. These life stories show some of these experiences,

and also the variety of routes into community music. Practitioners' ages range from 20 to 60 years.

6.4.1 Fred's Story

Fred began learning piano at the age of 10, and was heavily involved in singing sacred music through school, having been brought up in the Roman Catholic Church. Although he didn't experience music in the home from his parents, they did have a piano, inherited from grandparents, that provided the point of access for learning to play. Fred went to boarding school, where religion, and thus music, was integrated into daily life. He immersed himself in musical study throughout school, which he found isolating, and recalled experiencing extreme performance anxiety in school performances.

“I was paralytically nervous at these things, and I do remember one occasion where I had to perform the piano to the whole school and I just sort of crumpled, couldn't face the shame of it because I was getting things wrong”

He now links these experiences to his ability to empathise with others who find music intimidating. Picking up double bass in later school years, he went on to study music at the conservatoire, and began to get work with professional orchestras and in theatres. He had no interest in teaching at that point, instead aiming for a performance career, but began teaching after becoming a freelance musician. This initial experience opened up Fred's understanding of the importance of teaching, and he subsequently established an education branch of the chamber ensemble he was involved in. This change in direction for the ensemble came about partly due to funding, as funders were keen to see musicians engaging with the education sector. Fred then pursued community music training, to develop his knowledge and skills. He felt this gave him a good grounding in the then-emerging theory behind community music practice, and allowed him to develop his confidence.

6.4.2 Julia's Story

Julia had a somewhat unusual early childhood. She moved around a lot as a young child, including living in different continents around the world, and juggled being a child-actor in theatre with school. Leaving school at the age of 16, Julia was immersed in the political community of the music scene around her, although she had left the musical practice of her theatre days behind. Holding down a job and paying rent, Julia's surroundings were less stable, with friends being caught up in addiction and she experienced a huge amount of loss in this time. Julia started volunteering at a crisis intervention centre, which opened up the opportunity to train in group facilitation. She immersed herself in developing her facilitation skills during

her 20s. Julia cites this context-independent grounding in facilitation as key to her practice as a community musician now. She also reflected on her journey into community music being retrospectively predictable.

After becoming friends with musicians through facilitation work, she began to develop a musical practice in jazz singing. She did some musical training, whilst working in project management within the arts. It was during these project management jobs that she would occasionally be asked to step in to help facilitate workshops, which began to marry her background in group facilitation with her musical skills. Julia now teaches community music students. She describes this as having a “double purpose” – she tries to embody community music principles in her classroom, whilst simultaneously having to fulfil the traditional duties of training and assessing students. Performing as a musician, teaching community music students and facilitating as a community music practitioner are tied together for Julia by what she calls “the *giving* energy”. She sees her role in all three capacities as being linked through a process of providing others with some kind of fulfilment, some kind of positive experience.

6.4.3 Donna’s Story

Donna grew up in a musically active family, one of 5 siblings, all playing instruments, with full parental encouragement. Learning both piano and cello as equal studies, she had the opportunity to attend a junior conservatoire programme as a teenager which instilled new ambitions beyond what Donna had considered within her school and home music experiences. This marked a turning point in consolidating her future aspirations of a career in music.

“I went to the Royal College as a junior exhibitor, so I had that amazing opportunity to study on a Saturday for nothing, and be part of orchestras, and I think that was, yeah, that was when I thought wow this music thing, you know, this is what I want in my life.”

On pursuing university music, Donna took an interest in composition, which has now become a central part of her community music practice. Reflecting on her early community music experiences, on graduating from a community music postgraduate programme, she found herself on a somewhat intense learning and musical journeys in early work experiences, which took her across Europe and to Africa with an inspirational mentor. Donna developed a practice of training community music practitioners through working in other countries, recognising early on the need to enable long-term impact beyond the scope of her own presence.

6.4.4 Scott's Story

As a young child, Scott recalls mimicking Freddie Mercury from Queen, and a constant presence of music, particularly from his maternal family. He and his brother were encouraged to play musical instruments in the house, or listen to music, and he found a curiosity in learning to figure out how to play music, picking up tips and lessons from visiting family members. Scott had some engagement with conventional instrumental music tuition, but was put off by its rigidity. He then learned with neighbours who would play music in the garden every night, in the village where he grew up. He described his school as “musically inclined and artistically so”. Scott took music at secondary school, throughout his 6 years there, but did find the teaching style strict and didactic, but wasn't discouraged and continued to go against the mould with improvisation. The music education options Scott described were largely popular music oriented – guitars, bass, drum-kit, vocals – with composition taught through basic chord-based harmony as a starting point, but largely the intention was always learning in order to pass an exam.

Music provided a social circle for Scott, through joining bands. He also had the opportunity to work with an established pop band through a drama project during high school, which is where he found his musical identity and felt he could confidently say “I'm a musician, I like to write songs”. He had previously felt like “a bit of a fraud” because he didn't have traditional music skills such as notation-reading. He felt he would not be able to pursue a musical career because of this, as most university prospectuses used the language of theory and performance graded exams which he had not done. Scott had an equal interest in music and drama, but was not able to simultaneously study both at school because of the timetable structure. Contemporary performance practice provided a post-school opportunity for him to explore both together. It was during these studies that he started working with a community arts organisation and began to establish his community music practice, although he still felt like a fraud amongst other musicians.

6.4.5 Michael's Story

Michael was born and grew up in what he described as deprived areas, including moving to a very isolated rural community for a large part of his childhood. One of 7 siblings, children of a Minister, singing played a big role in childhood – singing in church, before bed, around the table, and writing songs as well. All of them played instruments and wrote music together – aided by a mixing desk and keyboard their father bought for Michael's older sister. Feeling different played a big part in Michael's school experiences. He had both extremely positive and negative experiences in school – which he puts down to teachers. His musical journey was

encouraged by one teacher in particular, who he said “not just tolerated, but encouraged” him to be himself. This teacher made such an impact that they continued to stay in contact once the family moved to the rural community. Being in such a large family put a big focus on identity – Michael recalled one instance of becoming jealous of a younger sibling’s musical success because he felt it compromised his position as the older and therefore better musician. Part of the family’s access to instruments came through Michael’s grandfather, who made instruments. He and some of his siblings took piano lessons, although a change in teacher caused this to cease for Michael.

Towards the end of primary school, and into secondary school, Michael had a long spell of ill-health where music – specifically writing songs – became a lifeline. Largely isolated from peers, he eventually built a small group of friends, drawn together through a shared sense of being outsiders. He reflected on a state of disbelief that these young people wanted to befriend him. Michael didn’t socialise much, as the notion of socialising was intertwined with drug and alcohol problems among local young people. He was bullied severely, as were his friends, to the extent that police became involved. By this time, Michael was playing viola with a regional youth orchestra, and singing with the National Youth Choir of Scotland Boys’ Choir.

Michael went on to study music at college before pursuing conservatoire studies, which others around him saw as “ambitious” given his experiences growing up. He perceived the conservatoire as being a place where he’d be surrounded by like-minded classical music enthusiasts, like he had experienced at college, not realising that the conservatoire would be full of insecure musicians and a hyper-competitive, toxic environment.

6.4.6 Suzanne’s Story

Religion had a strong presence in Suzanne’s early life, attending Catholic school, including an all-girls boarding school during teenage years. Remembering school music experiences, she recalls the male headmaster tapping girls on the shoulder during choir practice as an indication that they were to mime instead of singing aloud, as an indication that they ‘couldn’t sing’. Suzanne’s recollection of this was that it was humiliating for those who were tapped on the shoulder, and that it was wrong to treat people like that. Suzanne’s other significant memories from school were of her leading songs with her peers, accompanying them on guitar, and being “someone who probably brought quite a lot of people together through music”.

Suzanne found excitement in theatre, taking part in summer schools as a teenager. She noted that she enjoyed the workshop aspect of these theatre activities, and that this pushed her towards pursuing theatre studies at university. Reflecting on her parents' response to her university choices, she inferred that her parents felt studying was not meant to be enjoyed, and that they suggested Suzanne was therefore being selfish in her decision to study the arts, as opposed to doing something that would help people. That Suzanne felt drawn to community arts within her first few experiences, and went out of her way to access more opportunities in this area, may have fulfilled the part of her that wanted to please her parents and prove to them that studying the arts could also help people.

Suzanne has worked in various community music settings for over 20 years. During that time, she has also spent a short time working as a vocal teacher in secondary schools. Her first experience of community arts was through a university placement as a Theatre Studies student, where she worked in a hospital day centre.

6.4.7 Trevor's Story

Trevor grew up in a small but very musical town, in a single parent, low-income household, which he described as "a very lefty kind of house" in "a little hippy town surrounded by hills". They moved there following a short stint in another area where the family felt they didn't fit in, after which point Trevor was home-schooled, from around the age of 8. There were always cheap musical instruments around the house – whistles and guitars – and family heritage pushed Trevor towards learning English and Irish folk music. A serious sporting-injury at the age of 14 left him bed-bound for 6 months, at which point Trevor's musical learning took off – within two years he was doing paid gigs. During his teens he also spent a lot of time making his own instruments and recording contraptions.

Having been self-taught, Trevor had no intentions of studying music at university or college – he wanted to study something else but be in a place with a strong Irish music scene, ending up studying music quite by chance. He had applied for English Literature programmes, and one sole music programme he had heard about through folk music courses, which he ended up gaining a place on. By this point he was already teaching Irish music, and he continued to get involved in schools and community work during this time.

6.4.8 Isaac's Story

Isaac, a drummer and guitarist, enjoyed some success in the popular music industry, with a record deal which subsequently fell through. Finding himself working

in a supermarket, he fell into community music through a teaching opportunity. Reflecting on his early childhood, “there was always music” with both parents being musicians. He was given a drum-kit – not without earning it – and learned by ear at home. Isaac didn’t engage with music at school – instrumental music lessons were offered to “a select few” and the choir and orchestra-based activities were not of interest to him. At the age of 12, a local band asked him to be their drummer, which kick-started a career in playing in bands. This playing experience took him to college, and a performance-led career and a record level opportunity.

After financial support for the band fell away, Isaac was working in a supermarket when a friend suggested he teach guitar and drums. Although reluctant, he agreed to cover a community guitar workshop, but quickly realised he would need to upskill himself. He persevered and quickly built up a student-base, simultaneously pursuing his own skills development as a musician, and drawing on some prior experience of youth work in a sports context. Isaac feels that his own experiences of disengagement with school music enable him to support young musicians who also feel that current school-based offerings are not suited to them.

6.4.9 Rosie’s Story

Rosie is also a choir leader and singer. Graduating from her undergraduate studies in 2011, she began advertising her availability as a singing tutor and looking for any singing-related jobs, out of financial necessity. She took on some work as a youth worker, supporting young people in a pastoral care role within arts contexts, including as a volunteer to gain experience. She secured a training post with a community choir and has since enjoyed a dual-career as a performing singer and community choir leader.

Rosie recalls not enjoying music in a small-town Catholic primary school, having experienced the Montessori education system as a young child in the United States. She moved back and forth between the US and Scotland twice, before settling in the West of Scotland before starting secondary school. This constant moving forced Rosie to develop her ability to adapt to new surroundings, which she went on to cite as part of her personality, and integral to her community music skillset. It was at secondary school that she became aware of diversity and difference, having been exposed to greater cultural diversity in the US and noticing the different on her return to Scotland. During secondary school she also became aware of additional support needs, through seeing her mother, who was working as a support assistant at her school, support a friend in class. These early experiences made the notion of difference normal for Rosie.

Reflecting on her earlier career aspirations, Rosie initially thought she might be a music teacher and was unaware of the possibility of working in community music. When she told her school music teacher she wanted to study music at university she was told she wouldn't be able to, but she defied them to apply for a place anyway. As a singer she'd had no formal training, although she had completed school qualifications as a first study singer. She was offered a place on a conservatoire music education degree but chose to study a broader university music course that several former pupils from school had attended, knowing that it was a small, person-centred course. At this point she also moved away from her aspirations of being a music teacher, to focussing on music performance.

6.4.10 Graham's Story

Graham was mostly raised by his grandparents, due to a difficult home life. His great uncle was a significant part of his early musical life, encouraging him to sing. His grandparents also encouraged this creativity. In his parents' house, a very working-class family, there was no music, no noise, and as his father battled mental health issues which eventually culminated in a breakdown. At the age of 6, Graham had the opportunity to learn trumpet through the Boys' Brigade. He excelled in the marching band, although he was not encouraged at home and despite making extraordinary progress, it was not treated as anything special by his family. Having learned through the band, when Graham was tested for musical aptitude at school, he failed the test, but he continued to bring his trumpet to school for talent contests. In secondary school, he caught the eye of music teachers, who immediately pushed Graham to try to gain a scholarship for junior conservatoire studies. His understanding of junior conservatoire was limited to knowing he'd get to spend every Saturday playing trumpet all day, which was enough for him to agree to audition. However, he didn't get in, and after 3 attempts decided it was not for him as he felt it was an elitist environment – he had seen others from school get in and felt it changed them. Music quickly became an escape, with band rehearsals every day after school.

“I always loved playing, and hated the rest of school, so I'd always skive and just go and play, but I never felt like anything spectacular – it was just something I did, because home life was miserable, I was confused about my sexuality, I was getting bullied.”

By the age of 14, Graham started working to pay for sheet music and school music trips, as his parents weren't willing to invest in something they didn't see a future in. He failed all of his school exams except music, and so had to complete a year of college to fulfil the conditions of his offer. Following his earlier rejections from the

junior conservatoire, he had decided not to pursue undergraduate studies there, preferring to attend university so that he could pursue composition which was not a conservatoire option at the time. By the time Graham graduated from university, he was already working as a full-time musician, mainly teaching and performing.

6.5 Chapter Conclusions

In this chapter, I have introduced the 30 teachers and practitioners who took part in this study, sharing a summary of their life stories. In particular this was done to highlight formative events and experiences that shaped their musical and/or professional lives. These teachers and practitioners represent a wide range of personal, social, geographical, musical and professional lives. Their life stories shine a light on instances of significant family or school-based support for pursuing musical studies and influencing career trajectories.

In Chapters 7-9 I will now present the thematic analysis of the full interviews with each teacher and practitioner. In these chapters I draw out common issues, address practice and practical issues, and look in more depth at particular aspects of the stories that have been presented here, such as the role and impact of gatekeepers and role models.

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Chapter 7 Learning and teaching: working within a system

7.1 Chapter Introduction

The Scottish education system exists as a structure: it has progression from early years through to tertiary education; it has curricula outlining what is taught and learned, and how; it provides an organised learning route to Scotland's learners. Primary schools are structured organisations, as are universities where those who teach in primary schools are trained – there is a hierarchy of staff and a precise schedule that are central to their ability to function as intended. The curriculum itself is a structural object, systematically organising each subject area into discrete learning objectives that progress from basic to advanced skills and knowledge. This chapter explores what happens within these sites, systems and structures of learning, from teachers' experiences in Scottish primary classrooms, to the professional training of primary teachers, music specialists and community music practitioners in tertiary education and the workplace. Thus, the learners discussed in this chapter include teachers and practitioners. These structures, by design, are hierarchical. They are also therefore liable to house structural inequalities that impact learners and teachers. These structures are the sites within which beliefs are formed and enacted.

Community music practitioners' accounts highlight similarities between community music and music education, with regards to how teachers and community music practitioners learn to teach and facilitate musical learning, and the educational structures that shape this learning process. This chapter explores tertiary music education and community music training programmes as the learning grounds of primary music specialists and community music practitioners, as well as Initial Teacher Education (ITE) as the main route into primary generalist and specialist teaching.

I examine how pressures on primary generalist teachers to meet the demands of a growing curriculum have impacted on their classroom practice and time, contributing to a hierarchy of subjects where music is undervalued, and ultimately informing curriculum reforms to SQA music. These reforms also have had a subsequent impact on secondary and tertiary music education, which will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 10.

The biggest overarching issues that emerged from interviews were time – use of time, lack of time, allocation of time – perceptions of who should be delivering

primary music and the implications of where one learns how to do teach. These issues are widely known amongst practitioners within the education sector but have not been fully reported on within academic research since CfE was rolled out. As the interview process progressed, I became increasingly aware of how these issues are manifested in daily classroom practice, and how they intersect and contribute to the wider issue of primary school music provision in Scotland.

7.2 Theme: Understanding Curriculum for Excellence

This section explores teachers' experiences of working with Curriculum for Excellence, and some perceived pros and cons of it. Despite its great potential for interdisciplinary learning, music within CfE is viewed by many teachers as inaccessible, vague, and lacking progression, which can impact how interdisciplinary its application is in practice. This impacts the extent to which music is included in primary schools, depending on provision, and can have consequences for the secondary and tertiary sectors.

7.2.1 Interdisciplinary potential

Interdisciplinary learning is one of CfE's 'Guiding Principles' (Scottish Government). Thus, it's no surprise that it emerged in teacher's views on CfE. Specialist teachers in particular commented at length about how the primary school is an ideal environment for CfE to fulfil its interdisciplinary potential, with one teacher tying together every subject.

"Curriculum for Excellence is all about interdisciplinary learning, and the primary school and music in the primary school totally opens that up, right, so in the primary school now if they're doing a topic, whereas before they would have done here's my maths, here's my English, here's my topic work, in the afternoons doing topic, and now they're looking at how can you put everything so it's all relevant in together, and you can put music into all of that, you know, everything can have a bit of music." [S3]

Not only does CfE offer interdisciplinary potential, but music is seen as the most versatile subject, that can be used in interdisciplinary learning with any other subject. CfE, in theory, is an ideal curriculum for not just including, but actually *centring* music. It is a curriculum designed with the ability to use a creative subject such as music to meet the learning outcomes of every other curricular area.

"Everything that you speak about Curriculum for Excellence, any curriculum for that matter, music ticks every single one of them." [S6]

Meeting its interdisciplinary potential, however, depends on how music education is approached, and what its musical learning objectives are. Reflecting on the aims of

primary school music, and the aims of CfE, a broader idea of music education emerges, one that is less about music and more about achieving personal development *through* a curriculum. Musical learning will happen, but its reach extends across the curriculum.

"the music's like a tiny part of what the teaching is in a way, it's how you develop the person, that's what Curriculum for Excellence is about, isn't it."
[S8]

The problem here is perhaps that some generalist teachers don't have the confidence to embed music in this way, and don't have access to specialists to support them. A generalist teacher alluded to this – "I don't often teach music, unless it's really fitted in to the curriculum." [G5] – a situation where a specialist teacher might have been able to see more links between music and the rest of the curriculum, and thus achieve interdisciplinary learning through music. What, in theory, could have improved music education and enhanced its presence across primary school learning, through an interdisciplinary approach, seems to have done the opposite for some teachers.

7.2.2 'We don't know how to use it'

In a bid to create an open, flexible curriculum, the architects of CfE – that is, the Scottish Government and Education Scotland – have made a music curriculum so broad in its aims, that some teachers simply don't know how to implement it. There is so much room for interpretation, and there are so many ways of achieving its goals, that without some understanding of music, some generalist teachers find it hard to design musical learning activities or create distinctions between which goals are being met.

"I mean we have these Es and Os, but I mean you don't know what they mean" [G3]

This teacher refers to the 'Experiences and Outcomes' (Es and Os) that make up the music component of CfE. For context, Figure 3 on page 118 shows three of the four Es and Os for music, and how they progress from Early Level, aimed at nursery and Primary 1, through to the Fourth level, which is pitched at early Secondary School (Parent Zone, Scottish Government).

Music				
Through music, learners have rich opportunities to be creative and to experience inspiration and enjoyment. Performing and creating music will be the prominent activities for all learners. Through these activities they develop their vocal and instrumental skills, explore sounds and musical concepts, and use their imagination and skills to create musical ideas and compositions. They can further develop their understanding and capacity to enjoy music through listening to musical performances and commenting on them. They use ICT to realise or enhance their composition and performance, and to promote their understanding of how music works.				
Early	First	Second	Third	Fourth
I enjoy singing and playing along to music of different styles and cultures. EXA 0-16a	I can sing and play music from other styles and cultures, showing growing confidence and skill while learning about musical notation and performance directions. EXA 1-16a	I can sing and play music from a range of styles and cultures, showing skill and using performance directions, and/or musical notation. EXA 2-16a	I can sing and/or play music from a range of styles and cultures and perform my chosen music confidently using performance directions, musical notation and/or playing by ear. EXA 3-16a	I can give assured, expressive and imaginative performances of vocal and/or instrumental music from a wide range of styles and cultures, using performance directions, musical notation, and/or playing by ear. EXA 4-16a
I have the freedom to use my voice, musical instruments and music technology to discover and enjoy playing with sound and rhythm. EXA 0-17a	I can use my voice, musical instruments and music technology to discover and enjoy playing with sound, rhythm, pitch and dynamics. EXA 1-17a	I can use my voice, musical instruments and music technology to experiment with sounds, pitch, melody, rhythm, timbre and dynamics. EXA 2-17a	I can use my voice, musical instruments or music technology to improvise or compose with melody, rhythm, harmony, timbre and structure. EXA 3-17a	I can use my chosen vocal and/or instrumental skills to improvise and compose, showing developing style and sophistication. EXA 4-17a I can use music technology to compose, record and produce music and to enhance performance. EXA 4-17b
Inspired by a range of stimuli, and working on my own and/or with others, I can express and communicate my ideas, thoughts and feelings through musical activities. EXA 0-18a / EXA 1-18a / EXA 2-18a			Having developed my ideas from a range of stimuli, I can create and present compositions using a broad range of musical concepts and ideas. EXA 4-18a	

Expressive arts: experiences and outcomes

Figure 3. Experiences and Outcomes for Music in Curriculum for Excellence (Scottish Government)

By avoiding specificity, music is actually too broad for interpretation without some understanding of what it is, how it works, and its different forms of existence. This lack of clarity is echoed by specialist teachers, who understand how to achieve CfE’s goals for music, but can see that all criteria can be met in every lesson.

"They're really vague [...] I could cover every one in every lesson. When I'm doing my long-term plans I highlight every outcome because there's only 4, and I think they're just so vague [...] people are maybe just shying away from it, because they don't know, like you're just looking at 4 outcomes, like they're just so vague" [S1]

Many generalist teachers said they found these Es and Os difficult to translate into activities that they could deliver to their classes. As the specialist teacher cited above points out, the experiences and outcomes are very broad and non-prescriptive, and can essentially be achieved in every music lesson, but this lack of specificity creates a barrier for teachers who are not confident working with music, or who feel they lack the knowledge of how to interpret them. These Experiences and Outcomes that can so easily be applied to any musical learning activity are actually creating difficulty for teachers.

7.2.3 Many ways towards the same outcome

Further criticism of CfE from specialists attacks the broadness of its experiences and outcomes for music, with some teachers perceiving its aims as sub-standard. The lack of prescription in the curriculum's aims make it easy on one hand for generalists to incorporate music, for example through singing and topic work, but this is perceived by specialists as inadequate as far as musical learning is concerned. This is perceived as a 'dumbing down' of music, a lowering of standards.

"With Curriculum for Excellence now, they can totally tick a box by saying they sang a topic song, that's music, done. It's awful. I think there still is this culture of everything being in boxes, despite Curriculum for Excellence supposed to be breaking that down, I think that's just been sort of done in such a vague way that nobody knows what they're doing. " [S10]

Part of this problem appears to be rooted in language – it is the wording of the curriculum that was described by teachers as creating ambiguity, through its broad approach. This was picked up on by specialist teachers more so than generalists.

"it is so woolly [...] When it says 'I can take part in (whatever language it uses), play an ostinato for whatever' that could mean a child who just sits and goes like this *demonstrates simple clapping* to one who's actually playing a quite complex piece of tune and using notation" [S2]

In this way, CfE focuses on the individual achievement and progress of each learner, which is part of its inclusive, learner-centred ethos, but teachers felt this diminished the more advanced progress made by some learners. This touches on the wider issue of competitive learning cultures – where advancement is given more value than the achievements of the individual, using 'better than' or 'worse than' comparative markers (Florian, 2015). In a way, CfE has intended for all learners to be able to achieve goals within their individual capacities, but there's a tension between this and wider beliefs around notions of ability.

Both specialist and generalist teachers find frustrations with putting the curriculum into practice. CfE had much potential on paper for integrating music into every aspect of primary education, through a broad set of experiences and outcomes that are inclusive of all learners. However, in practice it is *too* broad for some generalist teachers to interpret and apply in the classroom, so CfE's intentions are not being fulfilled in practice for every learner.

7.3 Theme: Teachers' Time

Teachers' time – the time teachers are allocated by management; the time teachers themselves allocate to subjects within their timetable; teachers' use of preparation time; teachers' lack of time; training time – was the most cited structural issue that arose in interviews with generalist teachers. Time shapes what happens in schools – schools run on a schedule, teachers are paid to work a certain number of hours in a week, including time delivering lessons and preparation time.

Non-contact time – this preparation time – emerged as a significant issue that has shifted how generalist teachers interact with music. Curriculum reform in the last two decades has also put generalist primary teachers under pressure through the expansive and expanding CfE. Generalist teachers noted that a 'growing' curriculum meant that subjects such as music were likely to be the first to lose their time, in a bid to meet other demands, including literacy and numeracy attainment goals. This then 'others' music, through the implied hierarchy of which subjects deserve to be prioritised. These priorities are often prescribed by government and become embedded in the structures of Scottish education.

7.3.1 Non-contact time: McCrone reforms

Non-contact time – also referred to interchangeably as Reduced Class Contact Time (RCCT) and McCrone time – is the time allocated to the generalist teacher to do their administrative and preparatory work. Specialist teachers are frequently employed to cover this time by delivering subjects such as music and PE that are considered 'specialist', but sometimes a generalist teacher within the school takes on the role of covering non-contact for their colleagues.

In Scottish state schools, a qualified and registered teacher now must be present in the room at all times. Not all music specialists are GTCS (General Teaching Council of Scotland) registered, therefore in some cases the generalist teacher is required to attend classes to be responsible for behaviour and discipline – in this case specialist delivery is *not* used for non-contact cover. This may include when music is provided through programmes such as Sistema Scotland, and the Youth Music Initiative, where musicians are recruited to do the music delivery, and therefore they are not GTCS registered. This was the case for some of the specialists in this study, depending on their exact role.

Under McCrone reforms, primary school music – already being delivered by GTCS-registered specialists in many places – became further removed from the generalist primary teacher, as generalists were now no longer able to attend the music classes

provided by the specialist, to observe, shadow, and/or participate. This distancing of music from generalist teacher duties was frequently mentioned by both specialist and generalist teachers. Teachers who had been working prior to the McCrone Inquiry and Report reflected on the withdrawal of their time to spend with the music specialist, which had enabled them to feel confident repeating or developing on the music lesson with their class after being able to observe the specialist.

The introduction of non-contact time has created a growing distance between generalist teachers and music. Even generalist teachers who want to engage with music can't attend music classes because that is their only time away from their pupils, and they have other tasks to complete during that time. Prior to the McCrone report, teachers were able to attend music, which is reflected on as being useful by those who have been in the profession longer.

"because of RCCT time, well non-contact time, when you have specialists in, you tend not to be with them – that's your time out – so I feel the teachers are maybe not getting as much of the background, because they're not physically in there. We used to always be, we used to have to be. And I liked that, because otherwise, especially with the older ones, I would be struggling, you know?" [G2]

These teachers saw the value in attending music lessons with the specialist teacher, but following non-contact time reforms, it is becoming less common for generalist teachers to do this. Having access to observe specialist teachers delivering classroom music is an integral part of developing generalist teachers' confidence for teaching music. The removal of this access through the introduction of non-contact time has had a negative impact on generalist teachers' self-perceived capacity to deliver music with their classes.

"I think I'm probably quite unique, in that because I was interested in music, I actually went to see what the music teacher was doing. I don't think that's the norm, I think most people see it as, it's their RCCT time so the children are in music, and then they're brought back" [G4]

This is not to say generalist teachers are to blame – it is the system that has created this distance and prevented teachers from being able to attend music classes due to the pressures of a growing workload, and the structured clash of specialist provision with generalists' preparation time. For teachers with an interest in following up music lessons outside of specialist coverage, attending the music lesson even for a short time is one of the only ways for them to build a relationship with the specialist teacher, who they would otherwise not have much contact with.

While an interest in music may encourage generalist teachers to attend music, it is not the only motivation – the introduction of McCrone has meant specialist teachers in state schools are now responsible for behaviour management and discipline during music lessons, which can prove difficult for the visiting teacher who only has an hour with the class in a week or fortnight. In such cases, the generalist's reasons for attending the music class are less about musical continuity, and more about ensuring the specialist and generalist can work as a team with regards to pupil behaviour.

"It is my non-contact time, em... I often go about 10 minutes early, because I've got some difficult boys, so I like to see how they've got on, so that there's a behavioural relationship between me and the teacher, and we feed back on how they've got on, but also I like to see what she's doing at the end of the lesson." [G5]

Due to the nature of non-contact time, generalist teachers who have an interest in connecting with music teachers will try to attend the beginning or end of the music lesson. However, they are fighting against a number of barriers that will prevent them from being able to engage with the specialist, and this contact is not compulsory, ultimately depending on the generalist's desire and capacity.

"we could liaise a lot more with the music teacher and find out exactly what music she's teaching in the music lessons, and then look at some of it in class, but a lot of the reason we don't do that is time constraints." [G1]

Timing continues to be a barrier though, at the scheduling level. Amongst the overall pressure on generalist teachers' time is the timing of when the visiting music teacher is scheduled to take a class. For example, the generalist teacher is likely to have more preparatory work early in the week, and this can impact their availability to attend specialists' classes.

"I kind of see the plenary and see what's happening. If I'm organised enough for the week, I go in for a bit longer, but unfortunately that's rare [...] My non-contact's on a Monday as well, so it's... I used to have it on a Thursday and I would go and watch her then, but it's quite hard on a Monday" [G5]

Generalist teachers are aware that music should not solely be the responsibility of the music specialist teacher, acknowledging that they "should probably do more" [G1], but they work within a structure that does not allow them to engage with the specialist teacher to create continuity.

The McCrone report is relatively recent – for many teachers in this study it marked a change in both generalists' and specialists' roles. A number of teachers had already

been teaching for many years before McCrone came into effect, so they were able to reflect on this change, and the impact it has had on their role and remit.

“Well they didn’t have non-contact at that point, so at all times the teachers stayed with us, and we were told at an in-service day actually, you’re not actually, you’re in to facilitate teaching music, but you’re not actually responsible for delivering music, that is the class teacher’s responsibility.” [S3]

For the visiting teacher who doesn’t have as much time to get to know every child, the presence of the generalist teacher can provide continuity for the class, as well as providing support to the specialist.

“Luckily for me with the YMI stuff there’s always the class teacher” [S10]

This presence of the generalist teacher, out of legal necessity, puts them back into direct contact with music delivery. This is important to note given the cuts to GTCS registered music specialists and an increase in music delivery through schemes such as YMI – this could increase generalist teacher engagement with music, and also provide the opportunities to learn through observing specialists that have been noted by generalist teachers in this study. Furthermore, specialist provision meant there was some level of classroom music provision for learners, and thus the generalist teachers felt like they were allowed to remove music from their own responsibilities.

"So if I again am very honest, we are let off the hook, because we have somebody who takes our classes." [G1]

Some generalist teachers were not engaged in any music delivery because that was considered the domain of the specialist, and so there was no obligation on their part to be involved in the delivery of this subject. Some of the newer teachers have always had access to music specialists, and so they have never used music beyond their ITE and haven’t developed a music teaching practice at all.

"In my probation year we had a music specialist, and so I didn't have to teach, that part of the curriculum was covered by the music specialist as part of my time out of class, so I didn't teach music" [G3]

The delegation of music teaching to specialist teachers is seen as removing pressure on generalists to include music within their teaching practice. This shift in the generalist teacher’s remit is evidenced in the accounts of teachers whose careers pre-date the McCrone report, prior to which generalists were either responsible for delivering music, or obliged to attend the music lessons with a music

specialist teacher. Under the McCrone agreement, music specialists were brought in to cover non-contact time, giving generalist teachers allocated time away from pupils, to do preparatory and administrative work. This has meant that even if a generalist teacher wants to attend the music lesson delivered by the specialist teacher, they now have other work that needs completed in that time, limiting their capacity to engage with the specialist's lessons.

Whilst specialist music provision alleviates some pressure from the generalist teachers who face a curriculum that grows every week, with new top-down demands from government policy initiatives and school management, it has the unintended effect of reducing generalist teachers' interaction with teaching music, which subsequently impacts their confidence to deliver music.

"I've had a lot of experience working with specialist teachers, so I've learned a lot from them... I like to go in with the teacher and sort of copy what they've, you know, mirror that in my next lesson" [G2]

With these generalists no longer able or required to attend music classes, they have lost the valuable opportunity to shadow specialists and learn through observing them – a benefit noted by teachers with experiences from before McCrone reforms. These older generalist teachers were previously able to attend music lessons with the specialist and felt more able to do follow-up lessons with their classes as a result.

"I would like a music specialist, just there for blocks of time just because it gives you something to hang your coat onto" [G4]

The loss of practice in music delivery – of practical learning opportunities and the resultant skills and confidence maintenance – has created a barrier for some of the teachers, who previously had some confidence in delivering some music to their class. Teachers' ability to interact with the specialist teacher relies on them having time, which is increasingly disappearing amidst growing workloads, and also depends hugely on the timing of the music lesson.

7.3.2 Curriculum for Excellence: the ever-growing curriculum

Generalist teachers spoke frequently in their interviews about an 'ever-growing' curriculum, continuously placing new demands on them, and subsequently reducing their time and capacity to invest in subjects such as music and the expressive arts. Music was cited by these teachers as being the subject most likely to be cut at the expense of other subjects such as maths and language, in a bid to meet literacy and numeracy attainment targets. In a time-conscious classroom, generalist teachers

rely on music being covered by a specialist teacher in non-contact time as they cannot fit it elsewhere in their timetable. This is seen as a kind of respite for the generalist teacher.

"general primary teachers just leave it to the music specialist to get on with it, so they'll look at that part of the curriculum and we don't, that's how it works in our school." [G9]

This kind of dependency has become the norm for many of the generalist teachers. The specialist teacher has become the primary facilitator of music education, and generalist teachers no longer feel pressure to fit music into their own delivery – they have a growing list of demands competing for their time.

"we have to fit so many subjects, it's unbelievable [...] If the specialist wasn't there, there would be much less music in the curriculum" [G1]

The inevitable impact of this expanding curriculum on a school day that remains the same length, is that there is less and less time available for teachers to meet every demand. This pressure begins to skew any sense that all subjects are equal – hierarchies and priorities begin to emerge, placing greater importance on some subjects over others. This is manifested in many ways. For example, the literal quantity of time allocated to teaching each subject and pupil progress reporting mechanisms for each subject.

7.3.2.1 More subjects, less time: an emerging hierarchy of subjects

There are a number of structural issues that indicate the value of music compared to other subjects. I've already discussed how these hierarchies are created – through external pressures to prioritise literacy and numeracy attainment, through the delegation of music provision to specialist teachers and the removal of generalists from this space through non-contact time. In this section I explore the views held by the generalist teachers, with regards to how this hierarchy was evidenced in their accounts of their working practices.

Whilst the generalist teachers felt music should be treated with equal importance, they also acknowledged that it was the first subject to be dropped if time was limited, that they were less prepared to teach it. These teachers acknowledge that there shouldn't be a hierarchy between different subjects, and that all parts of the curriculum have an equal claim to being valued, however music and the arts still get side-lined.

"I'm quite bad for not doing music when it's not their music time [...] It's part of the expressive arts, so you're supposed to have an equal amount of art, music, dance and drama, and expressive arts is the first one to go in the curriculum if there's no space, because we're told to do this many reading lessons, this many maths lessons, this many writing lessons, and it just squeezes it down, squeezes it down [...] It's just not valued" [G5]

It is not only music that suffers from this implied hierarchy of which subjects are prioritised in a busy and expanding curriculum – the Expressive Arts as a whole are often the first subjects to lose their time allocation in a busy teaching plan. This is also evidenced in school reporting mechanisms, where a significant portion of the school report is dedicated to numeracy and literacy, whilst teachers at that school are not asked to provide much feedback on their pupils' Expressive Arts progress, despite it being the largest curricular area on paper under Curriculum for Excellence – that is, there are more Experiences and Outcomes to be met within the Expressive Arts section of CfE.

"In [Local Authority] they've just changed the reporting format, so there's not a box for music, it's just expressive arts now, and you only have like for the expressive arts I think it's 100 words, so it's not a lot of reporting, which just makes you think they're, it's not as important [...] maths and literacy are like 400, you've got like a general comments which is 400 as well." [G8]

Time shortage seems to be a significant issue, paired with a curriculum that keeps growing, and attainment targets. The alleged benefits of exposure to musical activities on literacy and numeracy are often cited, and used as justification for funding music education. Whether or not these benefits are real – recent studies have begun to raise questions over this – the teachers believed that music has positive impact on other areas of learning, yet admitted that classroom music was still the first subject to be cut if teachers don't have time.

"we're expected to do music lessons I would probably say once a week, as part of Curriculum for Excellence, but we've got such a packed curriculum [...] it's just finding time to fit everything into this curriculum which is getting fuller and fuller by the day" [G3]

While these teachers acknowledge that music is important and deserves its share of time in curriculum delivery, the fact that it is the first subject to go if time is tight, shows some level of hierarchy. It is a complex hierarchy, and teacher confidence is one of many of its complexities – if someone is lacking confidence in their ability to do something, they will avoid doing it. I explore this in more depth in Chapter 8, with regards to how teachers and facilitators establish the aims of their jobs and whether they think they have the right skills and competencies to fulfil these aims.

Part of the hierarchy of subjects is the sense of competition between subjects, fighting for time and attention. With regards to how teachers use their time, one generalist reflected on how subjects that are allocated more time get more attention in a way that perpetuates music's lower ranking.

"it's more advised to go watch PE because we still have to teach a lesson so the PE teacher will teach one, we still need to teach another hour of PE, whereas if the music teacher teaches music, we're never told "oh you must do another hour of music" [G5]

Legal requirements for pupils to have two hours of physical education, only one of which is provided by a specialist, puts pressure on the generalist teacher to attend that class so that they can deliver a connected follow-up lesson later in the week. Without pressure to deliver a follow-up music lesson there is an implication that the generalist teacher doesn't need to attend the music specialist's class. Additional initiatives at government level also add pressure to teachers' workloads.

"they're just piling on more pressure about outdoor learning and a lot of schools now doing the daily mile, which is great, and it's great to get outdoors but a mile a day, that's like 20 minutes out of your day, everyday... so where do you cut that from, what do you take out of your curriculum?" [G8]

This continuously growing list of tasks for the generalist teacher is pushing music and the expressive arts further and further down the list of priorities. Time is a finite resource – the school day has a fixed number of hours, so without increasing the amount of time available, any new additions to teachers' workloads have to be fitted into the existing number of hours.

7.3.3 Music in ITE: a matter of unmemorable hours

A consistent theme in speaking to generalist primary teachers about their experiences with music during ITE, particularly on the PGDE route, is that they could not remember what this part of their training entailed, and that little time was given to music. Amongst the explanations for this could be that many years have passed since these teachers went through ITE, and that music is not the only subject presenting them with a hazy memory. The quantity and quality of training could be another explanation. Teachers in this study received an average of 3 hours of music training throughout their entire ITE programme, which in some cases was even optional. Whilst the role of subject knowledge versus teaching knowledge in building self-efficacy and self-confidence in teaching music is up for discussion elsewhere in this thesis, it is clear from speaking to teachers that a lack of training in

music, which they perceive as a specific and specialist subject, is a significant barrier to building confidence in their ability to deliver music.

"I didn't think there was enough input, to be honest... it wasn't in the timetable a great deal in the four years. It was covered obviously, everything was covered, but my memory is a bit vague about that" [G2]

With postgraduate courses, the teachers in this study felt that their training was overall limited, that music wasn't the only subject to be neglected in this respect. The general pace of the postgraduate training meant that every aspect of the curriculum was squeezed into a short space of time, with a reliance on placements for teachers to experience what they felt was more effective learning.

"I can't really remember doing all that much music to be honest [...] because it was a year course, you didn't feel that you didn't get a lot of everything. I felt I got more, learned much more, once I was actually on placement, and actually once you were in school teaching, I think that's when things actually fell into place to be honest." [G4]

The structure of postgraduate training also varied – some courses offered an option to take music, while others allocated a day in the year to each subject group.

"To be honest, I don't think a lot. I think it was like you had an expressive arts kind of block, and you had your art, your drama and music, so it was probably only a day's kind of training for it." [G8]

Teachers with musical backgrounds felt that they relied on this prior experience to develop confidence in teaching music, and that ITE training on its own was not enough for their peers without musical backgrounds to do the same.

"I remember thinking that all the lecturers obviously had a million things to say about their subject, and we had to learn it in, it was not enough time. It was ridiculous in fact. You just picked up a tiny, like a feel for how to teach the subject, but very little about how to, and I think if I didn't do any music or know any music myself, I'd be lacking in confidence with that." [G6]

Music wasn't the only subject teachers felt they couldn't remember training in – there was a general sense that teacher education happened but that to recall how they learned to teach anything was difficult.

"it was about teaching, it was about teaching music, and I don't have a, you know, a postgraduate year is like a blur, and it's 3 big teaching practices, well it was in those days, so you were barely in and then you were out, and you did 3 stages, and music didn't really come into it from that point of view, you know. We would go to lectures and classes about music, and I don't really remember an awful lot about it, but I also don't remember a lot about

how on earth do they teach you how to teach maths, and how did they teach you to teach English, because they didn't, you know, they didn't." [G10]

The overall experiences of the generalist teachers about ITE suggest that learning to be a teacher is a classroom-based task, and that ITE curricula struggle to cover any subject in great detail.

For some teachers, though, they do have memories of learning about other subjects in ITE, and it is just music that they felt was perhaps not as memorable, or had less impact on them. They can recount what was covered in their training for other subjects, in a way that they can't for music, on account of the activities perhaps being more engaging to them on an individual level, or perhaps because the delivery was less remarkable.

"I do not remember one music lesson that I did during the PGDE. I remember PE because I remember doing gymnastics, and I remember art like different lessons that we did, but I don't remember music. I remember drama as well quite clearly... It definitely happened, but I don't remember what we did, I can't remember anything at all." [G3]

This shows that music components of ITE may be less engaging for generalist teacher education students, whether it is due to poor delivery, or simply that the content is out of reach for students. It could also be that because students aren't putting music lesson training into practice when they enter the school workforce that they easily forget their training, whereas they are encouraged or obligated to teach other subjects and therefore have clearer memories from using the lesson examples they learned in ITE.

7.4 Theme: Music as 'other'

Music was perceived by some of the generalist teachers in this project as a different kind of subject, that relies on a different kind of knowledge to teach at primary level compared to other subjects. This is related to the question of who should be delivering primary school music education – does a 'special' and 'other' subject require a 'specialist' teacher? By having a specialist teacher come in to deliver certain subjects, they are removed from the remit of 'general' to 'special' and therefore become the 'other'.

7.4.1 A different kind of subject

A 'normal' subject that can be delivered by a generalist teacher with ease is defined as one that can be learned about through facts and books – one that the generalist teacher can study and learn through reading to then teach to their pupils. Music is

not considered 'normal' in this way – it is not learned through facts and books, and it is not considered a subject that a teacher can self-teach themselves.

“RME is easier to teach than music... it's just like teaching any subject, you know it's like teaching history or geography, or science. RME is the same kind of thing – you look up the facts, how you're going to tell them these facts, whereas music, I think, people are more intimidated because you need, it's easier if you know what you're doing a little more” [G6]

This notion of fact-based subjects being easier for generalists to teach can also be seen less explicitly in the ways in which teachers define the aims of primary school music – some define the aims of primary music as knowledge- and skills-based, which perhaps requires a degree of learning on the teacher's part, while others focus on developing creative expression and enjoyment. Ideas around what musics are valid in education can also come up – WEAM in particular often being viewed as the ideal music education. The approach to teaching Religious and Moral Education (RME), used above as a comparison with teaching music, demonstrates a reproduction of knowledge as education. This transfers to music as a re-creative approach – i.e. teaching music and knowledge about music that already exists, rather than creating new music. Re-creative musicking is a key tenet of WEAM practices.

Music is seen as requiring additional training in a way that literacy, numeracy, and other subject areas are not. This view of music eliminates everyday engagement with music.

“I really don't think that teachers can be asked to teach these subjects if they are not specialists in them, they haven't had the proper training.” [G9]

In trying to understand what this “proper training” would entail, teachers describe the “physical mechanics” [G1] of music as a difficulty, comparing themselves to multi-instrumentalist specialist teachers they have come across in their schools [G4; G5]. This perception of music as a specialist subject, fuelled by the very notion and presence of specialist teachers, further others music from being a subject for all learners and teachers to engage with.

"It should be a musical specialist. A primary teacher cannot be all things to all people, so I do think it should be a professional musician. With teaching qualification as well, but I don't think you can expect a non-musical teacher to teach music. It's like a non-sporty person trying to teach hockey or rugby to children, I don't think that works." [G9]

Ultimately, music is viewed as requiring additional skills that other subjects – aside from perhaps PE and the other expressive arts – don't require. Viewing music as a re-creative subject somehow adds to its othering, because the acquisition of knowledge to successfully teach re-creative music practices is seen as requiring a different approach to book-based subjects. Viewing music as a creative subject would in theory remove this barrier, but brings its own learning journey of understanding how to teach creative music.

7.4.2 Specialist segregation

Earlier in this chapter, the issue of non-contact time has been discussed with regards to how generalist teachers' time is used, and time-related restrictions on the generalist's ability to engage with specialist provision. Another consequence of having a specialist deliver music is that music is essentially then separated from every other aspect of the curriculum, both in terms of space ('the music room'), who is teaching ('the specialist'), and when it is taught ('music time'). CfE has great potential for interdisciplinary learning, and whilst some teachers and specialists will communicate to ensure there are links between general classroom activity and music lessons, this depends on both teachers having the access, time and capacity to engage with each other.

"She is quite standalone... sometimes she just teaches them a block of music, whatever she's decided, and she teaches them from P3 to P7, so she does music progression that way, rather than tying in with our topics." [G5]

This distinction of music as a subject that is only covered by the specialist teacher, following a programme of learning that is completely separated from other learning, forces it away from interdisciplinary integration with both the rest of the curriculum and the generalist teacher's activities. This could potentially lead learners to perceive music as a subject that only a 'special' teacher can teach, perpetuating beliefs of selective musicality.

This segregation is also seen as having an impact on how music is valued, as an implication of it being separated from the rest of the curriculum. The culmination of having a different teacher, a designated time away from the rest of the curriculum, disparity in the amount of provision (some see the specialist every week for a year, others for a term, or a set number of weeks), and no continuity or relationship with what's happening in the classroom outside of music, is that music suffers, and the fact that music provision is allowed to suffer in this way leaves music teachers feeling undervalued both in their role and that of their subject.

“then you feel your subject’s being demeaned a bit, you’re covering, well the kids are getting a good general music education, but it’s not going anywhere, you know, you don’t get the same children every week, maybe 2 terms a year, class teacher doesn’t see what you’re doing, you can leave what you’ve done, but actually if they’ve not seen it, it’s quite difficult to continue something [...] I don’t think it’s best use of our time, but then maybe we’re in a job because we’re covering non-class contact time [...] GIRFEC’s at the centre of everything, our subject could be used in a more, but then RCCT is the overriding thing that has to be covered” [S7]

This also contradicts inclusive policy of supporting and catering to every learner’s needs (GIRFEC, Scottish Government), as music is viewed as a subject that can be used to enhance wider learning, which is not possible if the only music provision is led by specialist teachers, and those specialist teachers are distanced from generalist teachers and the rest of the curriculum. Learners are then disadvantaged in a multitude of ways, from missing out on the potential of music enhancing their wider learning, as well as any consistency and continuity in their music education.

7.5 Theme: Training teachers and practitioners

This section explores the environments and structures within which future generalist and specialist primary teachers, and community music practitioners, are trained and educated, specifically focussing on the views and experiences of the trainers and educators – section 7.6 addresses this from the learner’s perspective. This includes initial teacher education for both generalist and specialist teachers, as well as further and higher education in music. A number of the teachers and practitioners interviewed in this study carry a dual role that includes training teachers and practitioners, so they were asked about this to gain insight into what informs the formal training of teachers and practitioners. Deemed capable of being professional educators, and responsible for training others, this also situates these teachers and practitioners as experts in their practices. It also provides an opportunity to highlight limitations of training from the perspective of professional educators.

7.5.1 Training community music practitioners

Three of the community music practitioners are involved in delivering community music practitioner training courses, one in further education, one in higher education, and the other in a work-based setting. All three of these practitioners talked in interviews about using the community music workshop as a model within which practitioners can learn as participants of community music activities.

“using community music practice to develop their own community music practice [...] to help create their skills as facilitators [...] using facilitating skills in order for people to recognise that they have that ability too” [C1]

This dual role of facilitating a musical experience as well as facilitating a training process is done through the use of the workshop model, through allowing them the experience the workshop as a participant would. Two words that seem important here are ‘help’ and ‘create’ – that the role of the facilitator is to aid someone, which is an enabling process towards an emergent outcome. This differs from a traditional definition of teaching to *impart* knowledge – community music, and facilitating community music, is about enabling people to find their own way of doing something.

“it’s also about creating the right environment where people can find their own methodology, rather than me just saying “well this is how you should do it”” [C3]

A particularly interesting aspect of how these practitioner-trainers spoke about this way of working was in relation to the notion of ‘space’, and particularly in terms of creating space. Community music practice has been described by practitioners in this research as the creation of a “meaningful, safe space” within which “community musicians are facilitators that enable people to come together” [C6]. To transfer this into the training context, practitioner-trainers use the principles of their community music practice in their training, using facilitation as their teaching style. In “creating an environment where people feel safe to try something” [C2] in the workshop, trainee practitioners simultaneously experience a feeling of safety alongside learning how to facilitate such a space.

7.5.2 Training teachers

One of the primary music specialists in the study is involved in training primary generalist teacher education students. She highlighted a significant structural issue regarding the point at which ITE students are given some training in music. In a typical undergraduate ITE programme, specific subjects are not focussed on until the third year of a 4-year programme. However, the overall degree structure arranges placements chronologically, from early years in the first year, focussing on upper primary level by the third year. This means that without any prior music training, ITE students are expected to learn how to deliver musical activities without the building blocks of early years and lower primary music.

“their teaching practice in 3rd year is in 2nd level, but I was trying to say this is where we’ve come from, but we need to show the journey before, to see why you’re here, what you’re trying to do, that’s quite hard for 3rd year students to cope with, music in the 2nd level, when they’ve not had the necessary building blocks, but I only can do what I can in the time” [S7]

Time also once again arises as part of the problem – lecturers have such a minimal amount of time, just two workshops in this case, to impart as much information and as many ideas as possible. Whilst music is not the only subject to be shoehorned into such a short period of time, the question of equality versus equity comes to mind – should all subjects be treated equally, or is there a need to allocate more time and resources to those subjects ITE students and new teachers struggle with the most?

7.6 Theme: Learning how to facilitate musical learning

Musical learning occurs as an intentional outcome of primary school music education and a by-product of participation in community music activities. This section explores how primary school teachers and community music practitioners learn to facilitate this musical learning and deliver the activities that enable musical learning.

Delivery in schools and community music contexts is key to how they achieve their intended outcomes – that is, the acts of teaching and facilitating, and how these practices are learned, are of great importance in understanding how to enable successful learning and positive experiences for pupils and community music participants. There are many places where this learning can take place, including Further and Higher Education Institutions, and organisations, as well as less formal arrangements.

7.6.1 Perceptions of the effectiveness of formal education and training

Education and training are key aspects of professional developments and career trajectories. Experiences within professional and vocational education can be influenced by a range of factors, including the structure of programmes and the educators who are responsible for training future teachers and practitioners. Across this study, teachers and practitioners commented on the ineffective, unmemorable, and poor educational experiences they have had, particularly with regards to university study and how well (or not) it prepared them for the working world.

7.6.1.1 Music in Primary generalist ITE

Asking generalist teachers to reflect on their training in music delivery, ITE was considered inadequate, often unmemorable, or remembered negatively. Teachers could often barely remember how much music training they received, whether they had received it at all, or any of the content of it. Those who did have memories

tended to have negative ones. There seems to be a disconnect between what ITE students think they need to learn, and the way ITE educators are designing and delivering their programmes, in that training is not pitched at the correct level for all ITE students.

"I have to be brutally honest and say the music workshops were not great. I didn't enjoy them. [...] they weren't even basic. If they had been basic that would have been fine. I felt that we needed to start with teaching us what music was, and there was a big assumption that we all knew what music was" [G1]

For one teacher who had a positive relationship with music, it was the ITE music lecturer that became an issue, after they clashed over the way the training was being delivered. Given that the teacher also had a musical background, they didn't feel that their ITE, or the lecturer, had taught them anything new about working with music. Also, by making music an option, alongside other expressive arts subjects, teachers are then likely to opt for the subject they already have some experience and interest in, over those they have less knowledge of. Whilst this means those with prior music experience are likely to take advantage of optional training, it means those who haven't got this background may further distance themselves from music.

"The music education that we got... em... it wasn't great, to be honest with you, in fact my one memory of the course was actually falling out with the musician, the tutor... I remember not really feeling that the musical education that I got at [teacher training college] at that particular time, was particularly useful... I think we had to choose an expressive art, and because I was interested in music I chose that, but I don't remember learning anything that I thought that I couldn't probably do myself." [G7]

Music being presented as an option was particularly prevalent with teachers who had gone through training in the 1970s and 1980s. This meant some teachers qualified as generalist teachers without having received training in every subject in the curriculum.

"we could choose whether we did music or PE and of course I love music so I did music... we had the option of taking it or not, so you could go through teacher training without having done any music. I went through teacher training without having done any PE... so I don't think it meets their needs at all." [G9]

In exploring where teachers felt they *did* learn, the classroom was their training ground, peers their teachers. Scottish ITE includes a substantial amount of

classroom placement time, in both undergraduate and postgraduate routes, and this was viewed as more useful than university lectures.

“I really had to learn within teaching practices, from the teachers that were there. I mean we did songs, I could do basics, but when I think back, the actual training didn't really equip me properly, I wouldn't say.” [G2]

The experiences of these teachers show that ITE provision has varied greatly over the last few decades, but generally is perceived as being inadequate with regards to music.

7.6.1.2 Music degrees as preparation for music education and community music

In the case of primary music specialists, there isn't actually a formal route into specifically being a primary music teacher – many specialists have been trained as secondary teachers, and others may not have had any teacher training. This policy of not requiring a qualification promoted the idea that teaching skills and knowledge are secondary to music skills and knowledge. Whilst state schools now require an ITE qualification and/or GTCS registration, through proof of experience for those without the qualification, the private sector does not require it, and many forms of primary music delivery, such as through Sistema Scotland and the Youth Music Initiative, bring in musicians (who are not necessarily educators), to deliver classroom music.

“In terms of their qualifications, I believe they'd done a course with [a Kodaly specialist], like a day. Which qualified them... they're not actually explaining what they're doing, so they might sit and tap their knees and do all this, but I would always explain to a class, certainly eventually, what we're doing. Keeping a steady beat, this time we're going to do the rhythm –they had no differentiation between those two things, which is something that if I was teaching a class like every week for a year, even at p1, they would know that. So yeah, I think there's maybe a lack of skill with some practitioners.” [S10]

Some Scottish Local Authorities use a system of sending Secondary school music teachers in to deliver music in the primary schools, however these teachers may not have had any primary teaching training – the postgraduate ITE courses in music education in Scotland are specifically geared towards Secondary school music teaching, but are valid as Primary school teaching qualifications. The result is that some primary teachers learn a significant amount about primary school teaching whilst on the job, from their primary colleagues. Despite the qualification allowing teachers with a PGDE or PGCE in Secondary Music Teaching to work in a primary school, another structural flaw – and perhaps a signal of value on the primary sector

– arises with the suggestion that the probation period is only complete after teaching in the secondary sector, and can be completed exclusively in the secondary sector, but the same is not true vice versa, or certainly not so at the time of this teacher's ITE.

"I'm trying to think back, I'm sure when we did our probationary year, which is now called NQT year, I'm sure we had to do secondary to get the qualification. I'm sure, because we had a 2-year probationary period, and you couldn't just go in – I might be wrong with this, but I'm pretty sure – you couldn't just go in and do primary, and primary alone, to get your, to become a fully-fledged teacher." [S9]

However, primary teaching is very different from secondary teaching – the age of pupils alone means a huge shift in approach and communication, as well as a change in remit. The primary school is a community, where all staff are involved in the life of the school, and supporting pupils in a multitude of ways, from tying shoelaces to organising orders for the school canteen. This is markedly different from the secondary school, where pupils are of an age where they are more independent. This issue is particularly raised when discussing the restructuring of primary music provision to deploy secondary music teachers into feeder primary schools to provide music lessons.

"a primary school is a different beast [...] it's a world and you're involved and you might be going to get lines [...] you've sometimes to take dinner orders [...] I've had p1s I've had to help get ready for PE after the lesson." [S2]

With regards to the actual skills required by new teachers, the music specialist presents a different challenge than with generalist teachers. Music specialists come in with musical knowledge, but it is the teaching side they require training and mentoring in. This is not to say they don't require some mentoring on how to pair their musical backgrounds with their newly developing teaching practice, but there is a challenge in finding a suitable mentor who can provide that support – and because there is usually only one music specialist in a school there are no in-house teachers available to provide both music and teaching support to the new music specialist.

"I did learn fast, but that is the only way, I mean a PGCE doesn't give you it, or PGDE, it doesn't give you that experience, you don't have enough experience, it's not possible. So really important to be mentored really carefully. One of the problems, I mean nobody could mentor me musically, because there's nobody else in the primary school that actually knows anything about music generally speaking, or not very much, so it was the teaching and the classroom management that I was mentored in, and

actually the musical side, I was always going to know just so much more than anybody else" [S8]

Some of the specialist teachers had backgrounds in other practices – community music, music therapy, instrumental instruction – where they felt they had learned skills they could transfer to classroom music teaching, but without any actual formal teacher training.

"I didn't have any training really as teaching, because, because I had a special interest in the music therapy and they kind of tailor-made my diploma, so when other people went out to their teaching part, I did music therapy, so I actually never got any training in mainstream teaching, for want of a better word." [S6]

This shows the value of practical learning, but also that there are other ways for music educators to successfully develop teaching practices – all of the specialists quoted above have built up busy portfolios of teaching work over years of practice.

Community music practitioners recalled their early work experiences of learning how to facilitate workshops and other community music activities. Although some of them had undertaken community music training in some capacity – either at university or through a work-based scheme – learning on the job was a significant aspect of how they have developed their skills and practices. Even with training, it wasn't always clear to the practitioners how their training or qualifications translated into real-life workplace competencies – rather the two were detached with the former providing a theoretical backdrop for the practical learning they would go on to do in the workplace. The very existence of community music qualifications poses an interesting problem if those who acquire them cannot demonstrate what they have learned but the qualification allows them to work unsupervised.

"I haven't got a clue what I'm doing but my degree says I've got a 2:1 in community music" [C10]

Although some of the practitioners did not feel their community music study made a significant contribution to preparing them for the workplace, formalised community music study has the potential to provide a structured environment within which future practitioners can develop their practice. At the heart of providing this structure is the community music lecturer or training leader.

Similar to the way in which community music practitioners talked in their interviews about learning to facilitate music workshops, teachers talked about where they learned how to teach in general, and more specifically how they learned to teach

music. From what emerged in the interviews, this learning largely took place in the classroom, with support during placements, and more independently following graduation from ITE.

7.6.2 Learning about inclusion through lived experience

Across the study, teachers and practitioners reflected on their life experiences and the role specific events played in making them aware of inequality in and accessibility to music education. For teachers this often took the form of noting the exclusion of others from musical activities, and making active decisions to not replicate this exclusion in their own practice.

A number of the community music practitioners have experienced adversity in their lives, which they feel has given them insights that heavily inform their practice as facilitators. For some this comes in the form of exclusion from participating in music at school, or a barrier in pursuing a dream, and for others it comes through experiences of exclusion, discrimination or bullying.

“I saw a lot and experienced a lot and was always quite sensitive to what was happening and to people's, where people were at, and I think that, you know, it all informed my practice a lot. Training in crisis intervention so early... really gave me a chance to kind of... put in a kind of a... what would you say, a um, infrastructure, of the place that I operate from in all my work, comes, something goes it goes all the way back to that in a way.” [C2]

For some of these practitioners, music acted as a positive force to help them through hard times, and it is this experiential learning that has shown them how to practice sensitivity, empathy and connectivity in the community music setting. How, then, do you train community music practitioners without this lived experience?

7.6.3 Mentors and modelling good practice

Some of the life stories in Chapter 6 touch on future teachers engaging in role play as young children, imitating inspirational figures from their school lives. Picking up how other teachers and practitioners deliver through master-apprentice-style learning leads to developing practices that begin with imitation of the experienced facilitator or teacher, before the learner develops their own approach. This has allowed some of the practitioners and teachers in this study, particularly those without teaching qualifications, to develop their practice in work-based settings, in a supported way.

"I suppose I learnt a craft of teaching through doing the Taiko stuff [...] working almost as an apprentice, alongside somebody who was very good at delivering the workshops" [S4]

In the Taiko context, and in many of the community choir settings discussed by practitioners in this research, a trainee practitioner fulfils a supporting role in the workshop/rehearsal, assisting the lead practitioner(s), learning how to facilitate but using someone else's approach and model. Then, once the trainee has become more confident, they may be asked to take on more of a leading role, which gives them the flexibility to experiment with their approach and put their own stamp on their practice. They may then go on to become the trainer, supporting the next cohort of trainees.

This method of learning through observing someone else's practice is common in music education contexts too. Teachers often refer to their teachers as role models, whose practice they have experienced intensely as students. They then find themselves drawing on these approaches in their own early teaching experiences, down to using the same language and resources.

"I think I basically was modelling myself on my own flute teacher [...] I would speak like her and everything, and I would write in their notebooks the same things that I used to get written in my notebook, and it was basically copying." [S10]

This detailed imitation of one's own teacher can be positive, but it can also lead to the perpetuation of problematic practices and views. For example, the teacher quoted above also noted how she had to re-evaluate her outlook on who music was for after moving from teaching in elite, musically-focussed environments to a broader inclusive musical learning environment. This requires a lot of reflexive capacity within the teacher or practitioner to be able to critically evaluate the practices of their own teachers, to carefully select the approaches and ideas that they believe are positive enough to incorporate into their own practice.

7.6.4 Learning by doing

Teaching and facilitating are described across all of the interviews as practical acts. To learn how to teach and facilitate therefore require some element of practical learning, i.e. learning by doing. Whilst acknowledging that teachers and facilitators may need opportunities for practical learning, some of the community music practitioners raised questions around how this practical learning can be embedded in training in a safe way. Community music practice can involve working with vulnerable groups, including young people, disabled people, and going into

environments such as prisons and hospitals to work with people in adverse circumstances – just a few of the settings the practitioners have worked in.

For some of the practitioners, they found themselves working in community music unintentionally, or through necessity. I discuss these routes into community music practice in greater detail in Chapter 9, but what I wish to highlight here is that the unpredictable nature of ending up in a community music setting put some practitioners through an intense period of learning on the job, in a situation that was often far out of their comfort zone.

"I did feel like a fish out of water in a community setting early on" [C1]

"there was some musical confidence that carried from one bit to the next, but in terms of actually doing the job I was out of my depth, and for the choir bit, yeah I definitely, definitely, definitely learnt on the job, definitely." [C6]

Generalist teachers also experienced a similar feeling of 'sink or swim' learning in their first placements, with just a few primers before being sent into the classroom.

"you got maybe a few lessons showing how to work with kids and then bang you were into it on placement or into it on, just in your actual teaching." [G4]

University-level training in community music is relatively new – the first degree programmes appeared in the 1990s. While it is fairly easy to find modules in community music on undergraduate music programmes in universities and conservatoires in the UK, some of which have been experienced by community music practitioners in this study, the effectiveness of this training is unclear.

"Definitely self-taught. I mean I remember graduating from uni like I don't have a damn, I'm just applying for jobs, community music jobs, and I haven't got a clue what I'm doing, but my degree certificate says I've got a 2:1 in community music and composition, so I mean I knew nothing, I really didn't, I didn't learn anything about community music, I learnt everything on the job" [C10]

'Learning by doing' was referred to by some practitioners as their preferred approach to learning in all spheres of life. In one case this was perceived as a personality trait. For another, they likened this practical approach to the way they developed their musical skills. Either way it was talked about as an approach to learning that 'just is' the way it is.

"Learning by doing, which suits me completely, because that's how I learned to play my instruments. Well everyone plays by learning by doing don't they" [C4]

"just getting thrown in at the deep end, but it was great though, I think that's been something that has really helped me [...] for me personally, I'm someone who loves to learn on the job, if that makes sense [...] I'm quite good at just making it work, if you know what I mean, working on my toes, so I think that's just part of my personality, I guess [...] but it definitely was an intense couple of months" [C9]

The personal desire to learn through doing influenced some specialist teachers' decisions on how to pursue music teaching. This particular teacher preferred to be learning to teach from the beginning, opting for a music education degree rather than studying music then undertaking a postgraduate teaching qualification – often referred to as a "baptism of fire" [G6] for its fast-paced nature.

"I'm much better in a practical situation, so like I was saying before, I didn't want to sit and do 4 years of music then go and do the year's teaching practice, I preferred to do it from day one, and that really suited me a lot more, it was a lot more practical, hands-on, so just decided on that one and that was it really. " [S9]

It's not only community music practitioners who learn by doing – teachers cite classroom-based experience as a significant learning environment for them to develop their practice. The learning journey becomes organic – developing gradually through the act of 'doing' and through incremental progress without there necessarily being specific markers of learning milestones.

"it was just I suppose like learning to teach as you were teaching, just very much practical based learning... I clearly got a better teacher the more I was doing it" [S10]

This 'organic' gradual learning through doing is echoed by a practitioner.

"One thing led to another so then I became more comfortable with what I was doing, and more confident, and I just kind of gradually got better at it" [C8]

In the case of the primary music specialist this learning happens in the workplace because there is no formal training route if they have not gone through a postgraduate secondary teaching qualification. It also depends on which areas the teacher needs to develop their skills and knowledge in.

"One of the things I did was practice supervision [...] that involved going and sitting in other people's lessons, and then going away with the pupil another day, making them remember, making them do what they'd been taught, so I learnt tons through doing that, that was the best, that was really fantastic, and that's when I began to be more, more sure that was actually doing

something right. I began to develop my own, picked up things from different people, and, because you can only teach your way. That's another whole thing isn't it. You have to teach from yourself. Yeah. So, I picked up lots of things from lots of other people, but I put it together in my own way" [S8]

Similar to learning through imitating other teachers, some teachers also talked about building up a teaching skill-set that combines the best of what they picked up from those around them, and creating a way of 'doing' teaching that reflects them as an individual, using the parts of others' teaching approaches that suit their individual personality. This individualistic way of developing a teaching practice is supported by practical learning opportunities in a way that theoretical learning through the ITE lecture theatre cannot fulfil.

7.6.4.1 Taking Risks

Across the study, learning by doing has raised issues around risk, to both teachers and practitioners, and the people they provide learning experiences to. Allowing mistakes to be made in 'real life' scenarios, is risky, putting pupils and community music participants at risk in this process of professional learning. Whilst for teachers the impact usually centres on the quality of teaching and learning, the risks in community music can be more significant, particularly working with vulnerable people, and in healthcare and prison settings.

Whilst learning through practice is cited by the practitioners and educators as essential, there are caveats: how do you mitigate the risks of quality of learning and experience for pupils and community music participants; how do you protect and enact an ethical duty of care towards all involved?

"it was definitely trial and error, I mean obviously I was completely winging it, the whole way." [C10]

More importantly, is the theoretical community music training perceived by practitioners as successfully preparing them for practice the workplace? The experiences of community music practitioners suggest that there has to be a practical learning environment to some degree, and that room for making mistakes is a valued part of the learning journey.

"I think I learn most things, as I do in music, by making mistakes. So, if I make a mistake I go over it again and try and get it right, and when I get it right I know that I know what it's like to get it right and I know what it's like to get it wrong. When I make a mistake for the first time I didn't know I was going to make that mistake, so I think, yeah, I learn from mistakes, I don't

think the knowledge, the theoretical knowledge I learned from community music was going to help me in that setting, I had to find out by mistake" [C1]

"also just having the opportunity to take a risk, to take loads of risks and make mistakes, it's the only way you learn about your art in any way. This work is an art form, so yeah you have to treat it like that." [C4]

These parallels between musical learning and developing practice give insight into the relationships practitioners have with the ways in which they undertake their musical learning. The difference however is that learning to make music in isolation does not carry risks that can impact vulnerable people. This high-risk, mistake-allowing approach can be dangerous in a community music setting. In hindsight some practitioners have reflected on their own naivety in their early workplace experiences with a sense of relief that potentially dangerous circumstances were avoided through chance.

"it wasn't a disaster, thank heavens, but it so easily could have been because we were dealing with such huge amounts of people, and I guess there was an element of being naïve" [C5]

"you're a bit like 'hey, I'm 19, what could go wrong? I'm going into... you know, run some theatre workshops with a primary school class for them to help them learn their...' yeah I must have been fairly blasé about it" [C6]

Reflecting on their first experiences as community musicians, these practitioners were very much thrown in at the deep end and found the experience daunting. Some hadn't worked with people with additional support needs before and found themselves in a position of vulnerability – much like the people they were working with – in trying to adapt their practice on the spot.

"I'd never really been around people with additional support needs before, and I'd be lying if I said that it wasn't slightly terrifying, you know, that whole thing about "how am I going to have a conversation with somebody who can't speak, or move, who's dribbling" I mean, like, you can be as politically correct as you want, but when you go into something like that for the first time, it's really intimidating, and it must be to them as well" [C7]

"I left university, and they contacted me and said would you like to run this little project down in Ayrshire with children with complex needs, and I was like oh my goodness I've never done anything like that before by myself" [C3]

Along with this vulnerability of being in a new work environment came a lack of confidence. Practitioners struggle through but don't seek help or ask for clarity – perhaps because it is also unclear who they should approach in a casual, freelance

work opportunity. This community music practitioner was asked to cover a group guitar lesson but was not informed of whether parents would or should attend, and so felt confused at the presence of a parent but unsure as to whether they should ask. This can lead to various issues, including safeguarding of young people in the presence of adults.

"I remember being pretty unsure, pretty nervous, I didn't feel at all confident or comfortable really... no I was thoroughly unprepared [...] I remember the very first session, I mean I turned up with my guitar and all that, and there was a group of young people and there was a parent there, and I was confused as to why is there an adult here, but I wasn't confident enough to actually just ask or try and find out what was going on... And then yeah just in terms of managing the group was tough to begin with" [C8]

In discussing the difference between placements during training and entering the workplace as a graduate, it became apparent that the presence of experienced practitioners was a key support system during training, and the sudden absence of this support made practitioners feel somewhat unexpectedly vulnerable.

Reflecting on the role of training in creating these risky situations, some of the accounts from practitioners in this research suggest a lack of risk-management within community music curricula, specifically the absence of discussing ethics.

"We never talked about ethics, in my memory... and if we did it was once... it felt like we were unprepared a lot of the time." [C2]

The absence of considering ethics is displayed both in accounts of community music training programmes that do not cover ethics in their curricula, but also the work-based examples of practitioners embarking on working with vulnerable people without preparation or prior training. Whilst practitioners feel learning by doing is important, the needs of the community music group should come before the needs of the practitioner, for the sake of the group's safety and wellbeing, and so it's clear from these accounts that the issue of risk to both practitioner and participant has not thoroughly been addressed in education-based or work-based community music training.

7.6.5 The classroom as a place of learning for both pupils and teachers

Like community music practitioners with their large proportion of work-based learning, teachers also do a significant amount of their learning through teaching practice in the classroom, including a large proportion of time during ITE. Due to the workplace-based nature of this, a number of teachers have acted as mentors to ITE

students visiting their schools on placements. This provided some insight into how useful teacher education students find their time in the university classroom versus in the primary classroom.

“that wee girl said to me ‘I’ve learned more in 6 weeks in your class than I’ve learned all year’ but that’s the way it should be [...] I think it’s a job that you learn more on the hoof than you do sitting 4 years of a B.Ed.” [G10]

Qualified teachers also act as professional, work-based mentors for teacher education students. This makes the primary school classroom a highly important place of learning for new teachers. On placements students are supported by the main classroom teacher, however they are left to teach independently once they enter the Newly Qualified Teacher (NQT) phase – formerly known as the probationary period, and still considered a step away from being fully qualified. For teachers who pursue a postgraduate teaching qualification, they will have had much less classroom experience than a teacher who studies an undergraduate teaching qualification. This makes staffroom interactions even more important, as the new teacher does not have a peer in the classroom with them.

“I didn’t find it particularly helpful, I think I learned more about teaching from my first year in the job, from the teacher next door you know, I didn’t feel that I was as prepared for the classroom as perhaps students are now, and I think I’ve learned a lot since actually doing the job.” [G7]

This value placed on work-based learning calls into question the purpose and perceived effectiveness of ITE. If ITE graduates aren’t able to articulate what they have learned from their ITE studies before entering the classroom, and attribute much of the learning to their time spent on placement and in the workplace, what is the role of the university in educating teachers?

“you probably spent 50% of the time out in schools on placement – that’s what equipped you to teach [...] the theory’s all good and well, they can tell you how to look after, how to deal with somebody who’s misbehaving, but you actually just have to experience it and learn for yourself” [S3]

These teachers accounts highlight the need for practical learning opportunities in the primary school classroom, but at the same time, new teachers require support until they build up their confidence. It’s not only confidence in music that is the issue – it is teachers’ general confidence in managing the behaviour of their class. This can be daunting for a new teacher who is still in the early stages of developing their teaching practice, and the additional challenge of a behaviourally challenging class can make the prospect of a practical learning activity such music even more intimidating.

“I've not done it at all this year because my class, I've got quite a hard class. I've got some nutters in my class... and so handing them some bongos, tambourines and stuff is pretty low on my list of things that I'd like to do. So classroom management is a constant challenge. I don't feel confident at all doing music.” [G6]

This impact of broader teacher confidence on the prioritisation of music – seen as a subject that may encourage pupils to misbehave, or sometimes as a reward for good behaviour – contributes to the decline of music's presence in the class timetable. Any gap in practice of delivering music contributes to a reduction in confidence, further distancing teachers from wanting to include music in their teaching practice.

7.6.5.1 The classroom/workshop learning model

In both community music training and ITE, the higher education classroom is used as a model where the lecturer is the teacher and the students are learners, taking part in lessons and workshops as a pupil/participant would in a work-place setting. This type of modelling approach allows teachers and practitioners to experience the lesson from the learners' perspective, noted as highly useful by practitioners and teachers alike.

“we experienced lessons as a class would [...] being taught a lesson through experiencing the lesson, I found those kind of workshops really, really useful.” [G5]

What this evidence suggests is that learning needs to happen in a practical setting, but without leaving new teachers unsupervised until they have been able to build up enough experience and confidence in the classroom.

As has been highlighted in Section 7.5.1 of this chapter, community music practitioners are also often trained through participating in workshops led by the community music lecturer or trainer. This was mentioned more by trainers and lecturers than practitioners – perhaps because the practitioners in this study developed these approaches to training practitioners after themselves having to learn in the workplace without much support.

7.7 Theme: Teaching without training

This section explores the various ways in which teachers work without specific training, whether that be training in music or how to teach, or how to teach music. Generalist primary teachers undergo intensive teacher education, usually including an introduction on how to teach music. They refer to having a musical background –

i.e. some advanced and formal music education – as making individuals musically capable and providing the knowledge and skills they think are necessary for teaching music. Primary music specialists will have music training but may not have any training relating to teaching music. This section focuses on teachers' views of what they feel they can contribute despite not having training, as well as how they feel they are perceived by colleagues with regards to their training and qualifications.

7.7.1 Generalists covering Reduced Class Contact Time (RCCT)

First, I should clarify and remind you that not all of the primary music specialists are technically specialists – although there perhaps aren't technical criteria to prescribe who is and isn't a primary music specialist. As noted in the Methods Chapter (p69), the inclusion criteria for this group of contributors was that they had to be responsible for music delivery as opposed to generalist classroom delivery. This meant that some of the teachers in this category are generalist primary teachers who, through various routes, are now effectively responsible for teaching music, although may not be classed as (visiting) primary music specialists.

This entry into primary specialist teaching is not necessarily planned by the teacher – it can come at the request of the school, as exemplified in the experiences of one of the generalist-turned-specialist teachers, and an observation made by a generalist about another teacher. This means there is no specific music-specialist training – these teachers may instead embark on specialist CPD training or draw on their private musical practices.

"one of my friends who works in another school [...] she's been em... leading their choir in their school, and she's now been asked off the back of that to do music specialism in the school. Partly to cover the RCCT time, but also because I think they decided that they would like her to do that as part of their curriculum." [G1]

In this case, a generalist teacher (not directly involved in the research but known to a teacher who was interviewed) who was already demonstrating a capacity for leading music activities was asked by their school to cover non-contact (RCCT) time, which is often outsourced to visiting specialist teachers. Visiting specialist roles have been cut by local authorities amid shrinking annual budgets, and so non-contact cover is becoming the remit of generalist teachers in some schools.

The decision to teach music is not always the choice of the teacher – another generalist teacher was asked to cover RCCT as it would better suit their part-time

working hours, but they were allocated music as a subject at the request of their colleagues. This generalist took on RCCT time to accommodate her parenting responsibilities and is now solely delivering music across the primary school, for two years. What I find interesting in this case is that this teacher made reference to not having “the actual qualification” (e.g. a music teaching qualification) when in fact the only requirement for a music specialist now is that they have GTCS registration, which she has as a qualified generalist primary teacher. In fact, two of the teachers interviewed are employed as music specialists in the private education sector, because independent schools don’t require GTCS Registration, and at least one other was qualified as a generalist primary teacher before deciding pursue music teaching. This misconception about being ‘qualified’ to teach music bears importance when addressing teacher confidence in music, and generalist teachers’ preparedness to deliver music.

This teacher provides some RCCT cover for all teachers simultaneously through leading a whole-school singing session, having been heavily involved in choir singing throughout her life, but aside from undertaking some CPD as a teacher, does not have a music qualification.

“I don't have the expertise of the musical specialists... but yet I feel that I do have an awful lot to give and a lot, quite a lot of wide experience that I'm willing to share and I'm willing to, em, help others with.” [G7]

Addressing the role of expertise versus experience, this teacher draws on her lived experiences as a choir member, but also having observed her choir leaders over the years. In these cases, a caveat of not being a specialist is often provided by the teacher, focussing on their experiential knowledge as their primary contribution. Such teachers, who often have active musical lives and certainly a passion for music, feel a strong desire to pass on their enjoyment and instil it in their pupils. These teachers may find themselves volunteering to lead music activities in the school, such as school shows, or the choir – which in the first example led to a generalist teacher being asked to take on a more music-dedicated role through RCCT cover.

7.7.2 Specialists teaching music

Specialist music teachers tend to have a formal music background, usually involving the study of music to undergraduate degree level. They may or may not have teaching qualifications and training and depending on whether they have been employed in the state or independent school sector, they are subject to different regulations regarding GTCS registration. Even having a music qualification is not

stipulated, and there is huge variety in the outcomes of studying music at degree level depending on the programme and a person's areas of interest for study. This results in a lack of consistent structure in specialist music teachers' roles and remits – “a mixed bag, depending on what's asked of you in the schools” [S7].

The role of the music specialist is also varied and unclear. Being a primary music specialist can mean anything from helping generalist teachers find songs to sing with their class, to helping with the school show, to delivering a full and progressive music curriculum that is completely external to generalist input and delivery of CfE. The Additional Support Needs sector shows the application of CfE in its most basic form, focussing on providing initial exposure to music, enjoyment, and ultimately tailoring the learning to fit the needs of learners.

“it's letting the children explore and experience, and have fun, and enjoy, and develop their, kind of encourage them to be slightly out of their comfort zone, and give them performance chances, you know, really informal stuff, really low key stuff, to support them and to get to know the children as the children, and try to find their talents, and the things that they enjoy and do a lot of that... it's got to be child-centred... you can't dictate it all” [S4]

The remit of music specialist teachers goes beyond classroom music lessons. School shows are central in the life of the primary school, and music specialists play a significant role in enabling schools to deliver musical productions such as concerts and productions. In this way, specialist teachers also become part of the wider school community, fulfilling a role that is distinct from 'teaching'.

"I still help out at one of my primary schools, during, not doing music but just for their school shows, so they phone me every single year, because they don't have any music specialists, and they phone me every year and say will you come and do my show" [S3]

“there would be times when I would work closely with the teachers in delivering like the school nativity” [S4]

In in-service training, specialist teachers note that they "were told we weren't responsible for delivering music, we were just there to facilitate it." [S3] The implication of this is that the generalist teacher was explicitly expected to be there to participate in the delivery of the music lesson, with the support of the specialist teacher.

“we were told at an in-service day actually, you're not actually, you're in to facilitate teaching music, but you're not actually responsible for delivering music, that is the class teacher's responsibility” [S10]

This idea of the specialist as a facilitator is echoed with regards to the types of tasks they might be expected to fulfil. This situates the specialist in a sort of consultancy role, using their expertise to respond to case-by-case enquiries from generalist teachers.

“So the music specialist should be there to facilitate creativity, and if that just means if a general primary teacher was to say I really need a song for this, then fair enough I can come up with a song, but it should be this joint thing that’s going on, there should be creativity but it should be jointly coming from the music specialist” [S3]

This diversity in the role of the specialist teacher means there may be huge variety in the experiences of learners based on the type of remit the specialist is fulfilling in each school. Some learners may see a joined up approach of generalists working with specialist teachers, whilst others may experience the detached setup that has been highlighted in section 7.3 with regards to the use of non-contact time and the separation of generalist and specialist teaching.

7.7.2.1 GTCS Registration and Independent Schools

Two of the primary music specialists specifically worked in the private education sector, in independent schools, because they were unable to pursue teaching qualifications due to life commitments and circumstances, and it is no longer possible to get GTCS registration based on a portfolio of teaching experience if you don’t also have an ITE qualification. This can prevent even those with decades of teaching experience from becoming a GTCS registered teacher.

“I would really like to be a class teacher. [...] but I never got that ever-elusive Standard Grade maths, so even though I’ve been teaching for 20 years, they will not accept me on a postgrad until I get my maths. [...] that’s why I’ve come to the independent sector, because I would never get a job because I’m not GTC registered. Independent schools can hire anybody, with whatever qualifications” [S6]

GTCS registration requirements can have a significant impact on who works where, and this in turn impacts learners’ experiences through the by chance nature of how teachers arrive in their careers. It also has implications for how specialists are perceived by generalist teachers. This particular specialist teacher worked in the independent school sector, before taking on a role in state schools under the Youth Music Initiative – meaning that they now have a generalist teacher in with them as they are not GTCS registered but have had several years’ experience of teaching unassisted in the independent school sector.

“I find it really frustrating that there’s that red tape surrounding that, that I’ve got all these years of class teaching experience without the paper to back it up, and you don’t get the same respect from a lot of people. [...] in fact a lot, nearly all the schools that I go into assume that I’m a primary teacher, and I’ve had this chat with a few other colleagues as well. I think they have other people that go in that maybe don’t have the same experience and maybe can’t discipline the kids and stuff like that, that they’re like oh it’s just the music specialist, whereas they’ll often say to me “but you’re a primary teacher as well aren’t you” no I’m not, I’m just one of those music specialists!” [S10]

This notion of music specialist teachers not possessing adequate teaching skills presents an interesting question given generalist teachers’ self-declared expressions of lacking confidence delivering music – generalists don’t feel they can teach music, but simultaneously acknowledge the importance of teaching skills through their views of music teachers as not being ‘real teachers’. This is especially interesting with regards to how qualified teachers view the effectiveness of their qualifications, the implication being that they feel classroom-based, work-based experience is more valuable than teacher education programmes, but see a distinction between a ‘real’ primary teacher, i.e. one with a teaching qualification, and a music specialist, who may have extensive work-based experience.

Chapter 8 explores this further, looking at how generalist and specialist teachers think teacher education relates to the in-practice skills and knowledges required to successfully deliver music in the primary classroom, calling into question the meaning and necessity of a qualification.

7.8 Conclusions

As highlighted in this chapter, there are a range of structural issues that impact on primary school music in Scotland, and the professional learning of teachers and community music practitioners. The experiences of the generalist teachers interviewed show that ITE does not adequately prepare teachers for delivering music education in the primary classroom. Generalist teachers are increasingly under pressure with a growing curriculum and are not able to engage with specialist music provision due to the use of specialist provision to cover non-contact time.

Interestingly, Wilson et al’s (2005) report on Scottish teachers’ experiences with music under the previous 5-14 curriculum cites similar issues to those represented in this chapter, particularly around knowing how to enact the curriculum and vagueness of the music curriculum. This report also highlighted concerns over the gap between primary and secondary music provision, and teacher education. Primary teachers who contributed to the research behind the 2005 report voiced

their anxiety about teaching arts subjects, and their reliance on specialist teachers. The confidence issue is one that has also been evidenced in other countries, as noted in Chapter 2. Considering teachers' experiences of ITE, and in particular criticism of the minimal amount of time allocated to music within B.Ed and PGDE programmes, this brings me back to the literature on teacher education in music.

Considering the Scottish experience (Wilson et al, 2005) alongside that of English and Italian teachers (Biasutti, 2010; Biasutti et al, 2015), existing literature suggests that the quantity of ITE for music has little bearing on teachers' confidence. This focusses the issue onto the question of *quality* of music training for teachers, and also takes us back to questions over whether we can realistically expect generalist teachers to deliver primary school music – note that the ideal scenario would be that they can, just as they deliver every other subject, however there are a number of barriers for teachers as highlighted in this chapter.

Disparity between generalists' conceptions of who should be delivering music and specialist teachers' views of their role within the primary school show that there are misunderstandings on the part of the generalist about the qualifications required to teach music in the primary school and their role when working with the specialist.

Three key impact areas emerged from the issues highlighted in this chapter:

1. The music components of CfE are inaccessible to many generalist teachers, contributing to a confidence deficit, and pushing music further down the list of priorities.
2. Generalist teacher confidence issues paired with inconsistent music specialist provision has resulted in huge school-to-school variations in pupils' music education. This means that there is no continuity from primary to secondary school – pupils who have had primary music provision will have to start from the beginning in secondary school if their peers from other schools have had none, as the secondary teacher has to cater to the whole class. Ultimately, this limits the progress pupils can make in their secondary school music education, which in turn impacts their access to tertiary music education.
3. The design of secondary school music qualifications to be attainable without any prior music education has enabled funding to be cut in the primary sector, reducing music provision to a skeleton of its former status, which then creates a cycle of decline in music education in Scottish schools.

From interviewing teachers and practitioners who are additionally responsible for delivering training in further education, higher education and industry-based training schemes, it is clear that current training opportunities in music education and community music are under constant revision and reflection. However, a significant amount of learning still happens in the workplace, where community music participants and primary school pupils can become vulnerable to bad practice. Understanding these circumstances through a structural lens allows systematic problems to become visible, presenting areas where practical solutions can be applied to alter and dismantle problematic structures.

In Chapter 10 I will discuss the impact of these findings in the wider context of music education in Scotland, including secondary and tertiary education. I will also use educational theories to situate my findings on how teachers and practitioners learn their practices.

Chapter 8 Teaching and Facilitating: Two sides of the same coin?

8.1 Chapter Introduction

In this chapter I explore the study data referring to the acts of teaching and facilitating, to understand how teachers and practitioners conceptualise their practice in delivering musical and/or educational activities. This is done through analysing how they describe the aim of their job, and the skills, knowledges and qualities they think they require to do their job well.

Whole class primary music teaching and many forms of community music (particularly the practices carried out by the practitioners in this study) both involve leading musical activities with intentional and unintentional learning outcomes for a large group of diverse participants. There is no mandate for the content of activities – it is ultimately up to teachers and practitioners to determine this. In the case of primary music specialists and community music practitioners there is no defined route into the profession. For generalist primary teachers, there is no requirement for them to have had a musical background or training prior to entering the classroom. With this in mind, in this chapter I present interview data relating to the acts of facilitating and teaching – what the people delivering musical activities to groups think it is they are doing, and the skills and qualities they think they are utilising in the process. First of all, let's establish how the teachers and practitioners in this study define the aim of their jobs, and what it means to teach and facilitate musical learning in primary school and community music contexts.

8.2 Defining the aim of the job

In interviews, teachers and practitioners were asked to define their job roles and aims, and what skills, qualities and knowledges they felt were important to enable them to do their jobs well. Their responses provide an insight into the cross-sections of what happens in music education and community music activities, showing how these roles converge and differ in the act of delivery.

8.2.1 What does Community Music do?

Community music practitioners reported engaging in a wide range of practices and musical activities – West African drumming, choral singing, improvisatory musicking, structured composition, instrumental instruction, and song-writing. Community music spans a wide range of genres and traditions of making music, across cultures and includes both new musics and more established ways of working. There is some

resistance from those working within community music to give it a fixed definition, because it seems to contradict the flexible, open and inclusive ethos that underpins its practices, and because it spans such a wide range of practices. That said, there are loose ways of framing what is meant by community music, in this study, through the shared views of the practitioners who were interviewed. At its heart, community music is about two things: community and music.

“community is a group of people and music is music, so maybe that’s as simple as it needs to be – a group of people making music” [C4]

Its main aims are to enable those who participate in community music to have positive experiences and build their interpersonal skills, but it is also about musical experiences – this is what distinguishes it from other community activities and makes it community *music*. In the eyes of practitioners, community music centres around community – either to build a community of people or working with(in) an existing established community. Key to this *community* aspect of community music is its aim to instil a sense of belonging within the community through some shared characteristic or interest, whether that is music itself or another aspect of participants’ identities.

“when you’ve got connection and connectedness, and you’ve got people feeling a sense of belonging, and achievement, working towards goals and a sense of achievement, so, that would be, yeah, that would be community music and a community musician would enable that to happen.” [C6]

Community music sometimes acts to specifically provide music-making experiences for “people that wouldn’t normally be reached” and through this “has slight elements of being exclusive by its inclusivity” [C5]. This denotes community music as including the excluded through targeting specific groups of society, a view echoed by another practitioner. The shared characteristic of these community music participants is that they have been excluded from society or from participating in music, or both, and community music seeks to promote both their social and musical inclusion.

“Community music is... a way for people who would not necessarily have the opportunities to learn music, as I had, that want to get involved in being involved in music, creating accessible routes to make that possible. So, you as a the musician, as a community musician, will engage the group to involve, to create their own music, or create music that is... close to the kind of music they like, but that has a relevance to their own particular time and to their own circumstances, so it reflects the community from which they come, so that’s really what music is, it’s accessible music making for people that want to reflect their community values.” [C1]

This specific remit, often seen in community music, to focus on the specific barriers faced by particular groups of people is perhaps one of the elements that makes it most distinct from other forms of musical activity, and particularly music education. Often community music projects represent an alternative to formal music education provision, for those who may be excluded from this provision.

The role of the practitioner within community music is to enable participants to have positive musical experiences, without barriers. Music is the vessel for community-building as it is perceived as a natural part of interpersonal interactions in many global societies. It is often also the shared interest that brings people together to participate in community music activities.

"community music is a group of people from any walk of life coming together for the single goal of making music... it's just a body of people with a common goal of making music, and no barriers. Yeah, no barriers, trying to make it as accessible to everyone as possible, because making music, making sound or whatever, is one of the most natural things you could do, so trying to make it as natural as you can" [C9]

Whilst some definition can be drawn from expressions of seeking to build community through music, and create positive musical experiences within a community, these are still very loose and broad notions of what community is, and what it is for.

"it was a while before I realised that community music was a thing... I guess for me community music is anything that uses community – being a collection of people – no sorry, that uses music to benefit a community, that would be a collection of people, whatever they are." [C5]

This lack of definition and formalisation in some cases means people will be community musicking without realising it or knowing that what they were doing had a name and a place within the wide array of musickings that exist in the world. This can be said of some of the practitioners, who were immersed in community music practice but were completely unaware that this kind of work had a name or was part of a movement.

8.2.2 What is the purpose of Primary Music Education in Scotland?

An aspect of community music that I always saw as having the potential to overlap with primary school music activities was the aim of the activity, the intentional and unintentional learning outcomes and areas of self-development. With this in mind, generalist primary and music specialist teachers were asked what they felt the aims

of primary school music were. The responses were varied, from achieving structured and measurable outcomes relating to technical aspects of making music, to broader aims of enjoyment and personal development.

There appears to be two schools of thought amongst the teachers. The first is focussed on WEAM outcomes such as instrumental skills, staff notation and a knowledge of WEAM history. The second is less defined, with fun, enjoyment and personal development as its core aims. Even if musics beyond WEAM are considered, all of the teachers framed their language and approach around WEAM. By this I mean they centred WEAM with anything else as other in relation to it. This perpetuates hierarchies between different ways of musicking.

While many of the teachers saw the content of primary music as being driven by WEAM, there are some similarities with community music and other wider musical activities. For example, the aim of primary music to provide opportunities for pupils to experience music as a fun activity, to enjoy participating in making music, music for self-expression, communicating through music, and opening doors and widening access to music.

Access to musical learning also arose from the interviews as an aim of primary school music – that the aim in the primary sector was to expose young learners to different kinds of musical practices, and contribute to enabling them to make more informed choices as they navigated more specific opportunities to pursue learning particular instruments or styles of music.

8.2.2.1 Music education as WEAM

WEAM-centric approaches to music education put the historical lens of WEAM, and its theoretical structures and rules at the centre of how music is treated. This includes the dominance of notation-based approaches, the organisation of pitch and rhythm, and a focus on learning how to play instruments and sing following certain rules of what ‘good playing’ and ‘good singing’ is. All of the above are legacies of WEAM that are visible across contemporary and popular music genres in the Global North. Historical knowledge about prominent figures in WEAM are also considered ‘good cultural knowledge’ to be learned. The idea of being musically gifted is also one manifested in WEAM culture, that we can observe through the idolisation of ‘great’ individuals.

“I’d love it if every child got to play an instrument, that would be an absolute ideal, but I think in general music education for the general masses, so the whole class teaching, should be about rhythm and giving the children the chance to experience different kinds of instruments and that will maybe

encourage someone who found they were particularly gifted at a stringed instrument or a percussion instrument or, they don't really get to try out brass but there are brass specialists who give them a go [...] I would really like it if they got an idea of rhythm, an idea of classical composers, just so that they had a bit of culture?" [G5]

Another way in which WEAM embeds itself in school music education is through the idea of what progress is – for example, is progress more about a widening of knowledge about lots of different practices, or the development of one particular set of ideas about what music is? WEAM takes on the form of cultural currency – and in some ways its dominance in education is a response to its wider cultural dominance, through providing learners with the type of cultural capital they need in the existing world. It is this kind of perpetual cycle that can be difficult to break, where educational institutions fulfil a role of preparing learners for the world.

"Keeping bits of singing going, keeping instrument work going and giving them the opportunity to actually lead onto, I suppose, doing bits of musical notation, so that they understand that it is just different from words, it's just a different way of writing it down... but I think to have an awareness of that is a good thing, and then to be able to realise scales and notes and how you can actually read these and how you can then go from untuned to tuned instruments." [G4]

The positioning of notation as a musical language also emerged, in part as a means of documenting and transmitting music, but it also acts as a measurable entity that can be used to assess progress through learning the 'correct' ways to write down music. This idea of progress was recurring, through an expansion of musical knowledge and advancement of technical skills.

"I think it should certainly progress, I think skills should progress more throughout the primary school [...] I'd like to see children have more appreciation for different types of music [...] instrumental as well as music with vocals." [G3]

Now, all of this is not to say that WEAM approaches do not include other types of music – a WEAM-centric curriculum may include musics other than WEAM – rather, WEAM is the reference point for how other musics are introduced. WEAM becomes the sun around which other ways of musicking orbit, again placing them at the top of the hierarchy.

"I think it's a lot of things, it's teaching them about the mechanics of music, like pitch and tone and volume and rhythm, but then teaching them just about singing and playing and how, how enjoyable that is and how much pleasure you can get out of it... so that's just music for music's' sake. And

then there's also music to support learning in other areas, so it's... it's lots of different things." [G1]

Here, WEAM manifests itself through understandings of what pitch, tone, volume and rhythm are – often described using WEAM terminology, literacy tools and frames of reference. In this way, WEAM is applied to other musics without centring the genre of music itself. This contributes to the erasure of other ways of thinking, playing and documenting music, and places WEAM as the dominant musical culture. This is particularly an issue in an increasingly diverse society, where learners may understand music in a wider range of ways.

8.2.2.2 Music education for enjoyment

Now, by positing 'music education for enjoyment' as separate from 'WEAM education' this is not to say that WEAM is not enjoyable, rather that the enjoyment of WEAM education is not its main intention, and that there are approaches to music education that centre enjoyment ahead of any other goal. Broader statements on the aim of primary school music focus less on any particular kind of music, and more on 'soft' outcomes such as enjoyment, confidence and awareness of a range of musical cultures.

"It's about instilling confidence in somebody, and I'm a great believer in that, in every child, going, and you're speaking about learning outcomes or what's my aim, I always say my aim is that every child goes out the door happy, with a smile on their face, and they feel as though they've done something fun. I actually want that. That's my aim." [S6]

This enjoyment can go alongside developing musical knowledge and skills, including instrumental skills and WEAM theory. 'Soft' skills are also part of the outcomes of primary music for enjoyment.

"Enjoyment. I think they should enjoy doing it. I think it should help them to develop their confidence, their ability to listen, to work with others, to communicate, to create, to express themselves. [...] I think it would be great for children to come out of primary school with some ability to know how to sing well, to have had a wide range of experiences of singing from different cultures, styles of music, of having listened to a wide range of music, to be able to play an instrument with a certain degree of skill, to be able to read music, yeah to be able to have a bit of an all-round experience of music." [G7]

In particular, the idea of mitigating and preventing a lack of musical confidence emerged, through the aim of getting learners to associate music with enjoyment. This directly tackles the ways in which music is 'othered' and made 'specialist' by aiming to open up music to all learners.

“Just to give them access to music, to realise it is a joyful part of life [...] so that they’re not scared of instruments [...] to make them want to have a go.” [G2]

Through enjoyment, music education becomes inclusive, because whilst some teachers may not see musical progression as a possibility for all learners, enjoyment of music has no such barriers. There are also two strands of enjoyment: enjoying music, and enjoying learning (about) music. In this way the aims of music in the primary school are not always explicitly geared towards music education.

“The initial aim is to get a love of music, that’s the first thing, and no matter what age. And to realise that everybody can do it, as well. Everybody can take part, it’s not open just to certain ones, you know, I think some of them feel, say if they’re in maths and you’ve got some real high flyers and they’re maybe not as hot on maths, whereas when it comes to whole school song practice, they can all do it, and I think that gives some of them a real sense of achievement, they maybe wouldn’t particularly thrive in other areas.” [S9]

Music, and other expressive arts subjects, are viewed as areas for pupils who do not attain as highly in other ‘more academic’ subjects to shine. Music can enact inclusion in a way that other subjects such as maths and language cannot, because music does not have to focus on the dichotomy of right and wrong answers.

“it’s very much the case that music is something that people who maybe struggle with the language or maths side of things can have some success with music, because they might find that they can hold a rhythm or hold a tune.” [G1]

Continuing on ways of creating inclusive music experiences in the primary school, one of the generalist teachers specifically made reference to actively avoiding ‘high-brow’ music – i.e. WEAM – as this went beyond their perception of how much their learners need to know and detracted from providing an education for all learners.

“participation, enjoyment and introducing them to slight differences, but not huge, you know, not high-brow, you can’t go [...] where teaching’s concerned, every child, every child has the right to an education, and it’s my job and all other educators’ jobs to ensure that that happens.” [G10]

In further widening access to lifelong and life-wide engagement with music, primary school music activities are viewed as a door-opener, a primer to increase learners’ awareness of the range of musical opportunities they can choose to take up later in their education. Primary school music becomes the place of exposure and experience, as a precursor to musical learning.

“I think to make the children aware that music is to be enjoyed, and it’s just to make them open to different kinds of music, different styles of music, and if they want to take it further, fine.” [G9]

These views of music education clearly set out the levels of responsibility felt by primary generalist teachers to provide musical experiences that are not dependent on their own musical background or confidence. In this way, the presence of music in the primary curriculum is cemented through the teachers’ self-expressed obligation to introduce their pupils to music, however there are visible discrepancies in how music is used in the primary school, to what educational ends music is included in the curriculum, and for which learners opportunities are given.

8.2.2.3 Music education towards other non-musical ends

The presence of music within the primary school, and wider education for that matter, is often justified by the extra-musical benefits of participating in musical activities. Some of the ‘soft’ extra-musical outcomes have already been explored as by-products of enjoying music education – for example, confidence, communication and working with others. With the increasing pressure to improve numeracy and literacy, which were explored in Chapter 7 as factors contributing to music being pushed out of the curriculum due to time constraints, some teachers are also using these non-music-related goals to keep music in their classrooms for ‘harder’ impact.

“I see the value of music, in that it’s not just for the sake of teaching music. I think it helps children learn. I can see, I think there’s a bigger picture to it.” [G4]

This use of extra-musical benefits is used by both teachers and management/funders to justify the inclusion of music in the primary classroom. Within the context of CfE, specifically, this also provides further credence for including music in fully embedded, interdisciplinary way.

“It’s just so good for health and wellbeing, mental skills, just as a person. Music just ticks all the boxes and just, you need that basic skills of feeling the beat, doing rhythm work, and so good for helping, support numeracy and literacy” [S7]

These outcomes are also completely distinct from the Experiences and Outcomes outlined in CfE for Expressive Arts. Whilst CfE lays out clear intentions for interdisciplinary learning, musical learning outcomes were sometimes altogether absent from expressions of the purpose primary music education serves.

8.3 Defining the acts of Teaching and Facilitating

This section explores the self-identified definitions of how teachers and practitioners describe their approaches in the classroom and community music workshop, including how they relate to fulfilling the aims set out in Section 8.2 of this chapter. For wider context, dictionary definitions are also provided, as these definitions were implied as distinctions between the two acts.

8.3.1 What is facilitation?

Facilitating, by definition, means “to make easier : help bring about” ([Merriam Webster](#)). It is an enabling process, often described within community arts, education and youth work contexts. Community music practitioners define facilitation in community music contexts as the process of helping people to have musical experiences, usually with other people (i.e. a community).

“community musicians are facilitators that enable people to come together in meaningful, safe spaces, so kind of... share music, create music together, and the community musician’s job is to facilitate that happening ” [C6]

The community music practitioner is the individual who fulfils this remit and is the enabling person in a community music setting.

“to be an enabler, and to build capacity and skills, and to be as versatile and reactive as possible, and to generally to work with whichever group you’re assigned the task of working with, to give them as positive an experience as you can” [C8]

As within any educational activity, space and structure are key mediators of power and access (Morgan, 2000). In inclusively-minded work, one community music practitioner notes that community/inclusive music activities are “about creating an environment where people feel safe to try something” [C2]. To reiterate an aim of community music, it’s about “trying to make it as accessible to everyone as possible” [C9].

Another feels that structure is essential to progress, and with regards to work where there is a planned outcome of a performative nature, “in those experiences I’m often creating a framework” [C3]. In this case, there is a planned musical goal within the community music activity, that the facilitator has set out in advance, which drives the shape of the activity.

“my practice is to find an accessible route for that person, and I can, it’s, I love thinking ‘how can I make, find an access path for that person to get

closer to the musical instincts inside them, and be able to express themselves through music’.” [C1]

Two key skills emerge in this trainer-practitioner’s account of what facilitating a workshop involves – the active and the reactive. These skills have to be used simultaneously and constantly throughout the workshop, to provide the safest environment for participants.

“50% back up, you've got to have some knowledge in you before you go in, and 50% you are winging it and finding stuff out, and actually that's a good way, because when you are actually in the process of running a workshop, you have to be in two, two hats on you. One is delivering and one is listening, so you're both active and reactive, simultaneously, and that's a real skill, to develop that, where you can be in a room where you are, you know, engaging people in being involved, and at the same time, watching and observing, and I think that's probably the biggest challenge for most new practitioners – how can I do that? And I think the best way, my view is the best way of being able to do that is recognising that it's not about you, it's about the group and it's about the individuals within the group, and if you focus more on them than yourself, you will start to be able to be much more fluent in your practice.” [C1]

Similarly, another practitioner uses the term “responsiveness” [C2] to describe the process of observing what is happening in the room and responding to it. This dual process of watching and reacting is also discussed by teachers in relation to what ‘good teaching’ is.

8.3.2 What is teaching?

To teach is to “impart knowledge to or instruct (someone) as to how to do something” ([Oxford Dictionary](#)). In the context of this research, generalist and music specialist teachers in Scottish primary schools describe teaching as imparting knowledge about music and providing basic instrumental music instruction.

8.3.2.1 What is ‘good teaching’?

In discussing what the act of teaching entails in practice, generalist primary teachers and primary music specialists often referred to the skills and qualities they associated with enabling them to achieve ‘good teaching’.

General qualities such as patience, reflexivity, willingness to ask for help and try new approaches were described by teachers as a means of creating an enjoyable learning environment.

"positivity and things like that [...] being friendly, being, the willingness and openness to just be open, and adapt to everything” [S1]

"You've got to be fun, got to be fun, and obviously you've got to have good discipline, and all the teaching skills that you would normally need [...] communication and behaviour management, and just classroom management. [S3]

"I think you have to be empathetic, and patient" [S4]

Both generalist and specialist teachers described the need to be creative and flexible in their teaching practice, responding to learners' engagement on an ongoing basis.

"I can tell when I know I need to change what I'm doing, you know, if children start to get restless and fidgety, you know they're getting a bit bored or you've not got their attention." [G7]

This ability to identify when learners are disengaging with the lesson and adapt to re-engage can be likened to the responsiveness described by community music practitioners in their definitions of facilitation. Flexibility is also described as a means of creating a free and fun environment.

"One of the big things is the ability to experiment, like you can really be quite free in the primary, you can have a lot of fun and be quite free, and it's amazing how the kids respond to it, if that makes any sense." [S1]

At the same time, good teaching requires some level of organisation and structure to allow the visiting teacher to build a relationship with each learner and create a meaningful music lesson in the short period of time they have with their learners.

"classroom management, just generally being able to organise your class, you know. Knowing well it's no good if they all just come in and sit anywhere, then that's no good to me because I've got to learn your name because I've got to make this personable for you." [S3]

What strikes me as perhaps the most important reflection on good teaching that arose in the interviews is the acceptance of not knowing everything and needing assistance.

"you need to be really open, and relaxed [...] even having the ability to ask for help" [G8]

Whilst learning from colleagues is widely talked about in my interviews with teachers, the active process of asking for help is different and requires the admittance that a teacher does not know everything. I will come back to this later in this chapter, in exploring teacher confidence, and the fear of not knowing.

Amongst the teachers, specialist and generalist, there is no clear consensus over the role of subject-specific knowledge and skills. Is a good teacher one who can provide specialist knowledge, or one who shows that learning is lifelong and that teachers are learners too? Is a good generalist primary teacher one who turns their hand to every subject?

8.3.2.2 What is 'bad teaching'?

Just as markers of 'good teaching' define how to do the job of teaching, and do it well, teachers also reflected on how they learned what *not* to do. Across all of the teachers and practitioners, notions of 'bad teaching' largely emerged through accounts of negative experiences at school. This contrasts with how notions of 'good teaching' are presented – these tend to be more closely linked to reflections of teachers' own practice. These accounts show how these teachers and practitioners identify what they would define as bad practice, through the negative ways in which it has affected them, both in the moment, and over time. In some cases, those who teach, either in classrooms or privately, articulated their active attempts to teach differently to the bad examples they had experienced.

"I got thrown out of class because I was making a noise when I shouldn't be, and my teacher actually said to me, and I remember the words, "Get out of my class, [S10], you'll never be a musician!" and obviously those words have stuck with me my whole life, and I suppose it could have gone either way, it could have put me off for life. It makes me think as a teacher, be very careful what you say, even when you're having a bad day, that child might remember you saying something that you don't even remember saying yourself" [S10]

Understanding how to teach in the primary sector was referred to in demonstrating how the approach in secondary schools becomes inappropriate at the primary level. For example, the primary school is thought of as requiring more of a nurturing approach, with a particular way of communicating with pupils.

"I think a lot of secondary teachers it's all about discipline and being on top of your class, and shouting a lot, and primary school is much more about just engaging with the pupils, and just when you open your mouth just capturing everyone, they're just captured by what you're saying. I think it's just, there's a slightly different way to speak to pupils, and I think in the secondary you see both types of people, you see people who speak to them the way I speak to them, and you see people who do all the shouting and things" [S3]

"You've got to like children. I know it sounds stupid. I see teachers who don't like children. [...] you need to want to nurture, you really want to enjoy being around children" [S6]

In cases of secondary teachers being deployed into primary schools in a restructuring of how primary music is delivered, primary teachers noted the lack of awareness of how to teach well in the primary school, and spoke of a lack of willingness on the part of these teachers to engage with the full life of the primary school.

8.4 Theme: Differences between Teaching and Facilitating

A number of the primary music specialists and community music practitioners in this study have worked across formal, informal and non-formal musical learning environments in their working lives, employing a range of approaches in their practice to fit each setting. In discussing this, the formal and in/non-formal are made distinct through the use of teaching and facilitating as the primary mode of delivery in each, respectively. This section explores these distinctions, and the subsequent differing skill sets and knowledge-bases required of each.

8.4.1 Different goals, different approaches

As has already been outlined in this chapter, the remit of community music and some primary school music follows a broad aim of providing positive musical experiences, with a range of musical and extra-musical outcomes. These approaches often involve informal or non-formal activities, which may happen in seemingly formal settings such as schools but are centred on enjoyment. Some primary school music, in contrast, aims to teach particular skills and types of knowledge, such as WEAM theory, history and instrumental skills. This also requires a distinct approach. In setting out the key differences, a community music practitioner who has worked in schools and higher music education as an instrumental instructor highlights the role and the position of the learner-participant in each context, as the guiding force of determining the teacher or practitioner's approach.

“I think they are similar, but I think the outcomes are different. A teacher will teach somebody certain knowledge base information, which is to do with developing a proficiency, developing musicality or developing skills in being able to engage more with music. So a teacher will be focussing on specific methodologies to enable that person to make progress faster than if they were doing it on their own, and that's really, the teacher is the guide, the support to enable that person to progress faster. The community music practitioner is really somebody who is not focussing on the proficiency of the musician, but much more to do with drawing music out of people [...] making somebody aware of their musical instincts, and helping them to be able to access them [...] So I think there is a distinction, and sometimes you will use

different methodologies but some of those methodologies will also overlap.”
[C1]

This practitioner suggested that community music could also act as a precursor to pursuing a more formal musical learning journey. In this scenario, community music is the initial interaction which allows a person to discover the type(s) of music they wish to explore in more detail through the pursuit of music education. The role of the teacher throughout is one of supporting and enabling, just like the community music practitioner – the approaches have similarities, but the intended outcomes differ.

A community music practitioner who is less confident working with younger children reflected on the skillset they felt was needed in that situation. They saw difference in working with people from different age groups, and that a different set of skills was required in being able to do that.

“when you’re working with young kids, you need a different skill set, you need to be really good with young kids, to be able to be fun, to be able to play games, to be able to do stuff with them that’s inspiring [...] I’ve never been one to work with small kids because you need to have that sort of primary teacher mentality.” [C7]

This idea of the ‘primary teacher mentality’ as part of the community music practitioner’s toolkit for working with young children suggests that it is not teaching per se that is different from community music practice, but it is the age group and demographic of learners and community music participants that guides the skill set needed by a practitioner or teacher. This is echoed by primary teachers who note the differences in approach that are required between teaching at the nursery, primary and secondary level.

8.4.1.1 Instrumental Instruction as a community music activity

Many of the community music practitioners in the study are involved in teaching instrumental music, often on a one-to-one basis, in addition to facilitating group activities. Some of the primary music specialists also work in these areas. Asking these teachers and practitioners about their views on the similarities and differences between teaching and facilitation, an immediate emerging difference between teaching and facilitation was with regards to formal, top-down instrumental music teaching, where there is an explicit aim of transmitting a set of knowledges and skills, even though it may happen in a community music setting. In contrast, facilitation was described as a more participant- or pupil-led approach, much less about knowledge-transfer and more about creating positive musical interactions and

experiences. In some cases, the instrumental tuition aspect of community music practitioners' work portfolios was distinctly separate from their community practice, labelled as teaching or tuition, but for others it was considered part of their community work due to the specific aims of reaching certain groups of people who might be excluded from such opportunities.

This is one of the reasons for focussing on whole-class primary school music as opposed to instrumental instruction in this study, because there is a clear distinction between the one-to-one, knowledge-transfer based aims of instrumental instruction, and working with a large group to experience music and learn about it in a way that isn't necessarily focussed on the development of technical skills as applied to instruments. Some of the practitioners work in community music settings where their remit is to deliver instrumental musical learning with young people. These practitioners also labelled this activity as teaching or tuition.

8.4.2 Different kinds of knowledge and skills

Looking broadly at community music and music education for enjoyment and exposure as one school of thought, and WEAM education as another, two different approaches to teaching/facilitating emerge, each with their own associated knowledges and skills for the teacher/practitioner to possess.

Some community music practitioners advocated a person-centred approach that placed more focus on knowing the person you're working with over artistic or musical skills.

“as a facilitator you need to know more about how you, about the person rather than the art, arguably, whereas if you're a teacher sometimes you feel that you need to know everything about the art rather than needing to know about the person, so I think, I think it's so important to know about the person over the art, and the art comes so much more naturally.” [C4]

While many practitioners felt that musical knowledge and skills are secondary to people skills, some felt that musical expertise really is necessary. This prioritising of musical knowledge and skills echoes the views of many generalist teachers, particularly those who see delivering music as something outwith their current achievable capacity.

“with music, because it's a practical skill, I don't feel like I could teach myself how to teach it [...] it's something you can't really teach yourself out of a book, it's harder to do so you kind of push it away and forget about it.” [G4]

In comparing themselves to the ‘real’ music teachers they see around them, they begin to create ideas of what makes those ‘real’ teachers capable of teaching in a way that they, as the generalist, can’t. This particularly manifests itself in WEAM skills and knowledge, and predominantly through instrumental music skills as an explicit display of musical expertise.

“the music teacher at our school teaches them all different instruments and she herself plays at least four instruments.” [G5]

This disparity between musical knowledge, skills and expertise, and teaching knowledge, skills and expertise, roots back to the different aims of music education. WEAM skills and knowledge are required to teach WEAM because there is such a thing as right and wrong notes, theory and knowledge regarding the particular historical context of that music. However, this is not a *general* music education – it is by its very nature of specialising in one musical tradition, a specialist education.

“I think you would be able to be a good music teacher, a generalist, without a music background, but I think having the music background helps” [G10]

The distinction here between teachers with and without music backgrounds is implicated in the distinction between music education for enjoyment and personal development (focussed on process, experience, exposure and developing ‘soft’ skills), and WEAM education (ultimately teaching a set of knowledge and skills pertaining to a particular musical tradition, and assessing progress through the product of learning).

8.5 Theme: Similarities between Teaching and Facilitating

Whilst there are some clear differences between teaching and facilitating, particularly in terms of the contexts within which these acts take place, and the aims of what happens there, the two have a significant amount of common ground too. There is some overlap in their intended aims, as well as in approach and delivery.

8.5.1 Facilitation as a branch of teaching

Community music practitioners were not the only people who talked about facilitation in relation to their practice. Primary music specialists described their role as one of facilitating their pupils’ musical learning journey and facilitating music lessons with the generalist teacher as opposed to being solely responsible for their delivery.

“the music specialist should be there to facilitate creativity, and if that just means if a general primary teacher was to say I really need a song for this, then fair enough I can come up with a song, but it should be this joint thing” [S3]

Facilitation comes into the music teacher’s role through the skills they use to engage learners, and the qualities they embody when they teach. Revisiting the definition of ‘facilitation’, the particular aims of using facilitation techniques in teaching is to inspire and motivate learners, to engage them in their learning, and *enable* them to access the learning process through this. This is described by teachers in terms of performance – stepping into the character of the facilitator.

“as a music teacher, you have to be larger than life [...] you can’t inspire your children if you’re not yourself, and I suppose learning that skill to overcome thinking about yourself as a person, you are a facilitator [...] to get enthusiasm from the children and motivate them” [S7]

For this teacher, reflecting on how they also work with the generalist teacher, they describe a very similar skillset to that of a community music practitioner – empathy, observing and responding to the generalists’ needs, opening up generalists’ self-belief of what they can do, making music accessible, and enabling generalists to bring existing skills to the surface.

“being able to empathise, work with people, and see the needs, see what people want, identify ways for them to access music in a, trying to get teachers to see it’s non-threatening, we’re music specialists but that’s our job, they can’t do what we do, trying to bring out the skills that they have, and access the resources that they, I know, would encourage” [S7]

Further expanding their role of enabling learners, primary specialists also facilitate a learning process for generalist teachers. This forms a crucial part of professional development for generalists, where specialists step into the role of teacher educators.

8.5.2 Space and environment

Just as community music practitioner trainers talked about creating the right learning environment for community music students (See Chapter 7), teachers also talked about environment and space for learners. For specialist music teachers this expands to include generalist teachers, an extension of the facilitation process discussed prior in this chapter.

“you have to make this a safe environment for your pupils, but also for the teachers” [S3]

Viewing the specialist-delivered music lesson as a learning environment for both primary school pupils and the generalist primary teacher – if they are indeed present – the primary specialist takes on a dual role of facilitating a learning experience for both pupils and teacher. This duty of care towards the generalist teacher is part of the specialist teacher's attempt to allow the generalist to maintain their authoritative front in the presence of pupils, by not forcing them out of their comfort zone, whilst simultaneously trying to build the generalist teacher's confidence with music.

"I never want anybody to feel threatened by the fact that if I'm a music specialist that I'm teaching music, it's about helping them bring out what they have in them, and their skillset, yes, enabling them to learn." [S7]

This emphasis on creating a safe and welcoming space is a key tenet of community music. It is the safety that allows pupils and teachers alike to explore music in a supported environment, to experiment and create, and ultimately – going back to how community music trainers approach their work – to allow pupils and teachers to find and develop their own relationship with and approach to music.

8.6 Theme: Teaching and Facilitating as Performative acts

This section explores the emerging theme of performance – specifically of teaching and facilitating as acts of performance in the classroom or community music setting. Some of the teachers and practitioners in this study have clear performance-related identities, for example as musicians. A number did not speak of such identities or have particularly notable backgrounds in any kind of performing arts. I sought to explore how these performance backgrounds relate to teachers' and practitioners' conceptions of what it is they are doing when they teach or facilitate, and the role performing arts training may play in bringing broader performance skills to the surface of a teacher or practitioner's practice.

Interviewees from across all three job roles use language that describes the act of teaching and facilitating as a performance. Some of them do this using metaphors and imagery – the calm-looking duck who paddles frantically beneath the water, the piper capturing the children with his music – whilst others are much more explicit about the performative nature of teaching and facilitating. Notions of presence, capture and engagement are prominent in these descriptions.

8.6.1 Performers performing

The notion of teaching as a performative act is not new (Burnard, 2011; Hooks, 2014; Mark Liew, 2013). In this study, community music practitioners, particularly those with backgrounds as arts performers, are very explicit in discussing their roles as teachers and facilitators as performance-based. The role of the practitioner is situated as the ‘front person’, the person who is centre-stage, mediating a connection between the music and the audience.

“when you are the person up front, that’s that kind of performance thing, and I guess that’s what makes me quite good at it, because as a trained performer that’s really what you’re doing all the time, you’re reacting to your audience” [C5]

In these comparisons, the performative aspect of facilitating is talked about using the language of arts performance – the learners/participants as audience, the performer-facilitator being centre-stage. The role is not top-down, although the frontman-audience dynamic may initially seem so – rather the frontman is in a constant state of evaluation, reading the audience’s reactions and responding to their needs in real time.

“I always likened leading, facilitating a group, it’s a bit like a performance of sorts, you know. It stimulates the same part, the same thing, you’re up there and you’ve kind of got your audience, and it’s a different thing but it’s creative, it’s a creative process where you’re problem solving, you’re trying to meet the needs of your group.” [C8]

Here, the community music practitioner connects musical improvisation and the ‘bag of tricks’ or collection of musical phrases and idioms that is a known part of jazz education, likening it to the practitioner’s need to have pre-prepared contingency plans. This practitioner also felt that performance and community music practice benefit each other because of the performative nature of community music.

“I’ve definitely noticed through doing community music has let stuff flourish in actual performing, I honestly think that they’re hand in hand, and vice versa, and I’ve said this before to people that I’ve talked to about community music – it’s just performing, like you are performing. Every time you stand up doing, well me primarily in choirs, big, no matter what kind of day you’ve had, you’re just like I’m now performing, because that’s what you need, you need the best 2 hours of your week because that’s why you’ve come out, or because that’s why I’m here” [C9]

This practitioner saw performance skills as being similar to facilitating, but *not quite* the same, however she does describe the process of performing calmness, hiding it from the choir. The notion of bringing people from different worlds together in a

feeling of connectedness is also similar to the feeling of going to a gig and the audience becoming connected through the experience of being there together to witness the same performance.

"actually it's not about you and your performance, and that's so often where I think the skillset, it may look quite similar but I think it's quite different [...] it's not a performance if you're a community musician, it's about your enabling, and a facilitator and bringing out [...] it's about having the skills that I can somehow make you and you from your different worlds feel connected, and almost not notice that it's come from here, that you've just had this amazing choir rehearsal and you've not noticed that someone at the top's been paddling like a mad swan up there trying to keep all this happening, and juggling balls, but actually it just looks like we're having a good laugh." [C6]

This distancing of the notion that facilitating is a performance may have something to do with the questions it raises over authenticity, honesty and transparency in community music practice, which I discuss later in this chapter.

The performative aspect is only one part of facilitation. Similarly, it is only one part of teaching. The role of performing according to these two primary music specialists is specifically with regards to communication with pupils, to engage and motivate them in the learning process.

"I think it is a performance, well not all teaching... it's really interesting. As a music teacher, definitely, there's performance, definitely. And I suspect for other teachers, you know, if you're teaching a maths concept for example, or language, you've prepared everything in the same way that you would prepare for a music lesson, you prepare, and in order to enable the children to hold on to what you're doing, you are going to be performing, and some teachers do that more naturally than others – I'm thinking about non-music – but if you think about a good lesson, that teacher is performing, aren't they? I mean they are, but for music, because you're modelling, you're explaining, you're playing, and singing, it is just a performance, a performance the whole time, so it's why it's so bloody tiring. And obviously the modelling, the modelling of performing whatever it might be, then the kids are performing as well, but yeah I do see it as a performance, and I think to be an effective teacher you have to have a bit of that in you, I would think." [S8]

Performative teaching is also linked to the idea of what 'good teaching' is – performative teaching creates engaging and memorable learning experiences. Bringing in the question of who can perform well, and thus who can engage their learners well, this specialist teacher suggests that some teachers are more "natural" performers – much like some people view musicality as a natural ability. Moving beyond musical performance, the modelling approach to teaching is also directly a

performance – through the demonstration of what is going to be learned, and how, teachers perform, and pupils learn to model that performance.

“You’re having to be an actor, really, as a musician, as a music teacher, you have to be larger than life.” [S7]

This teacher specifically refers to acting as the type of performance. For them, it is about being able to perform a role, to be in the character of the teacher. Most significantly, it is less about musical performance – and this could be key in widening performance skills to teachers regardless of their performing arts backgrounds.

Now while all of the community musicians and primary music specialists have some explicit relationship with music, the generalist primary teachers present a different perspective. Self-confidence emerged as a quality that varies from context to context, for example a generalist teacher who is confident in front of their class and with friends, but not in a presentation/performance scenario. Of course, there are different power dynamics at play in these different settings, which interact with confidence levels.

“I’m kind of very confident socially, when we’re in a crowd, but all of a sudden when you’ve got to stand up and do something where everyone’s watching you. I don’t like it...It’s different from when you’re doing it as a teacher... Definitely, as a teacher I’m not nervous at all” [G6]

These notions of teachers and practitioners as performers, actors, role-players, open up questions around how performance skills can be developed, and in whom they reside. Are performance skills a result of performing arts training? Are they a personality trait? What about teachers who don’t have a performing arts background?

8.6.2 Non-performers performing

Two groups of individuals in this research have clear backgrounds in the performing arts, specifically in music. But what about the generalist teachers who don’t have backgrounds in performing arts? Do they see teaching as a performative act?

Whilst some of the generalist teachers do have rich musical backgrounds, they always described teaching music as directly linked to their musical backgrounds – for example the ability to accompany pupils on guitar or piano or lead singing activities. They did not describe either their music teaching skills or general teaching

skills in relation to performance, or even some of the broader allusions such as capturing learners through their presentation.

8.6.3 Performance skills

As the previous section has highlighted, teaching and facilitating are referred to by many practitioners and teachers as acts of performance. What, then, are the performance-related skills that a teacher or practitioner should have, and how do they acquire and/or develop them? This section identifies from interviews some of the specific elements of teaching and facilitating that relate to the act of performance.

8.6.3.1 Having a presence

The notion of ‘having presence’ came up frequently in interviews. Creative physical and verbal communication skills were identified as signifiers of ‘having presence’, as a means to capture the attention of activity participants.

“you’re trying to speak and act and use your body in such a way that they’re engaged and they’re listening.” [C5]

In this description of teaching/facilitating, the use of performative language – ‘act’ – suggests that being an engaging person can be ‘put on’ rather than necessarily being an inherent personality trait. I.e. you can ‘act’ engaging. This idea of being an actor was recurring, and role play and characterisation were also used in describing the act of teaching.

Coming back to the aim of primary school music, one of the specialist teachers referred to the aim of their job as being to capture pupils’ imagination through their behaviour.

“primary school is much more about just engaging with the pupils, and just when you open your mouth just capturing everyone, they’re just captured by what you’re saying.” [S3]

This idea of capturing is also echoed by a community music practitioner, who goes further in claiming his role as a leader, as the Pied Piper – the character from an old folk tale who uses his performance skills to capture the children of the town.

“you have to be the Pied Piper, you have to be able to capture, you have to be able to animate, so yeah you have to capture people, you have to be a presence. I’m obviously I’m extrovert, I’m flamboyant, I’m loud, I use humour, I use my whole space around me to jester, but I capture.” [C10]

While the original tale of the Pied Piper may cast a sinister light on the character, it is often used metaphorically to describe “a charismatic person who attracts followers” ([Merriam-Webster Dictionary](#)). Whilst the Pied Piper plays a musical role in the folk tale, the overall sentiment is of having a presence, and being able to capture the attention of those around them, to gain their engagement and – importantly in community music – their trust.

8.6.3.2 Leadership skills

Linked to being able to capture the attention of pupils or community music participants, interviewees mentioned leadership qualities, and the role of being a leader as an incentive to pursue their line of work.

One of the primary music specialists also has a strong interest in conducting and has always been drawn towards leadership roles. In both teaching and conducting, there is a position of authority, a certain level of command, which was a driving force in the life ambitions of this particular teacher, significant in both their music and teaching careers.

"I've always enjoyed the management, leadership style of things as well, and learning that way. " [S1]

A community music practitioner also likened the skillset of a good practitioner to that of a good project manager, reflecting on how their capacity to fulfil one role allowed them to fulfil the other. This practitioner has a lot of experience of project managing within community music and arts education.

"I'd actually managed [inclusive music organisation] for 4 years, which meant that I was very much... enabling practitioners to go out and work with people making music, I was managing projects, I was ensuring good practice, duty of care, all the stuff that for me is core to my practice, and what I teach much students, but I wasn't the one out delivering in the field in the context of music. [...] I was a project manager, so I wasn't actually facili- actually being a musician or a practitioner as such, but I think a good project manager is a facili- is a practitioner, whether it's music or whether it's enabling and holding a group, the, actually, the principles are the same for me, it's all the same, and that's why I get confused as to what hat I'm wearing." [C2]

Leadership traits become embedded in the broader process of facilitating, with little distinction between different working contexts and roles. Another primary music specialist reflected on how becoming a mother contributed to her developing her leadership qualities, through a shift in her personality, and a necessity to take on a position of authority as a parent.

"I did become quite a different person, so yeah, or if at toddler groups there's always a sing-song, but it's usually quite painful [imitates people not singing properly] so I would be the one [shouts] "right, how about doing this one!" and I would just be singing louder than anybody else, you know, and that, most people hate singing, so that was, the mothers were quite happy for me to lead it" [S6]

Musical performance, and the hierarchies within such contexts (e.g. performer-audience; artist-layperson), is not entirely distinct from leadership qualities, especially within formal ways of musicking. There is often one or more leaders, the nature of performing requires having presence and being able to command an audience. Building a musical performance career requires initiative, some degree of confidence in demonstrating skill and ability, perhaps even knowing how to over-sell yourself.

"I guess I'd have been seen then as quite a live musical identity, and someone who probably brought quite a lot of people together through music, yeah, it just feels so natural, yeah, it's the same sort of thing that I feel now where it's ok to be the one that instigates or is part of people making music together" [C6]

Being this person who initiates collectivism is a key tenet of being a community music practitioner, but one that, certainly through the experiences of some of the teachers and practitioners, has emerged in these individuals' lives in an organic way, through the environments they have found themselves in socially.

8.6.3.3 Presenting skills

Amongst primary music specialists, presenting skills were frequently mentioned amongst the general teaching skills that make a good teacher. Presenting in this context is closer to the role of, for example, a host at an event or on a television show, or even an academic presentation context such as a conference. Again, there is to an extent a role being adopted – that of the presenter.

"I think if they're a teacher they know how to present, they know how to engage the children" [S7]

"pitching your experience and being able to present, I think, is a big thing" [S8]

Whilst presenting is discussed in the interviews as its own skill, it is one of many ways in which performative skills are mentioned. Situating presenting skills within the wider artistic skill-set of public performance, the presenter is similar to the front-person in a band, or a leading role in a theatre production, a conductor or a soloist in a classical music setting.

8.6.4 Switching it on: Authenticity, honesty and transparency

What perhaps seems the most significant point made by some of the community music practitioners, is that they describe the performative nature of teaching and facilitating as an act that can be put on. That is to say that it may not be about actually being confident, or actually enjoying yourself, rather it's about being able to look like you are confident and look like you are enjoying yourself. This could also apply to the presenting skills described by the teachers in Section 8.6.3.3. It is the ability to switch on 'performer mode' and activate a performance of competency in the skills and qualities of good teaching and facilitating. This brings in questions over the authenticity of the act of teaching.

Can a person learn how to perform teaching or is it a part of their personality? Asking the interviewees about the skills and qualities they felt were necessary to do the job, they referred to the 'presence' discussed in the previous section of this chapter, as being linked to the performative act of facilitating or teaching.

"in terms of being able to be confident and perform the role of the facilitator or the teacher, you have to have an aura or a presence about you" [C4]

This roleplay forms part of creating a safe space – particularly in community music where this is central to the wellbeing of participants. In creating a safe environment for community musicking, the practitioner has to perform their role to the extent that participants are oblivious to any potential disruptions, and so that any changes to the activity plans are seamlessly smooth.

"So the duck as the kind of cool, calm, collected face on, and everything's fine, everything's good, but underneath the water, the feet are going aaargh, because that is exactly what you're doing as a community musician, because you're thinking I've got this plan, and I took an hour to make this plan, and we've done nothing from this plan, because blah blah blah, so I think that's a definite musician trait, but the only way you get those, that bag of tricks I would say again is by doing it, because sometimes you don't even realise what you're doing sometimes, not that you don't realise what you're doing, but you're kind of morphing, you are winging it, you are improvising because of the situation that's going on." [C9]

The process of facilitating is one of acting, getting into character and keeping a poker face – masking any sense of anxiety so that the audience are unaware. This is a particularly important task in community music, in order to maintain a safe, calm and friendly environment.

8.6.5 (Performance) Anxiety and Confidence

A significant issue for non-musicians, or as one interviewee calls them, “non-musically confident individuals”, is that of confidence in working with music. As I’ve previously noted the WEAM-centric views around the purpose of primary school music, notions of subject knowledge and the barriers to teaching music are similar. Music is viewed as a skill-based subject, largely around the ability to recreate existing music, and thus teachers are perceived as requiring these skills and abilities. Questions over subject-specific knowledge and skills, as well as self-perceptions of musical ability and musicality, can leave some individuals lacking a positive musical identity.

“I think they enjoy it when you enjoy it [...] I think when you kind of just let yourself go a bit, they're a bit like "right ok, this isn't embarrassing, I can like be silly or... do the actions and not worry about what somebody else is thinking about me" [...] a lot of teachers will not do that because it looks a bit like they're not very good at something.” [G8]

Confidence is central to successful performance – whether it is true confidence or purely a performed facade. This is a significant barrier for some teachers, as they are reluctant to show a lack of confidence, and thus a lack of authority, in front of pupils.

“when you’re dealing with primary school kids it’s about having no fears, and it’s about, you know, because why I always say about music, because I could never be a maths teacher because in maths you’re either right or you’re wrong, and in music there is no such thing as a perfect performance, and see if you slip up, that’s alright.” [S1]

As previously mentioned in this chapter, one generalist teacher reflected on “good teaching’ as a willingness to ask for help. This is connected to the anxiety surrounding teachers and their authority in the classroom – the accounts above show teachers being unwilling to show weakness in front of learners, much of which stems from their self-confidence.

This is in stark contrast to community music experiences, where part of the practitioner’s rapport with their participants, or community music students, is built from showing vulnerabilities and weaknesses, particularly with regards to musical skills, in a bid to allow participants and students to demonstrate their own skills and strengths, but also to find solidarity and connection through the shared experience.

“I’ve never run a workshop with young people who don’t, where there isn’t at least some of them that have musical skills that are better than mine.” [C2]

In a way that perhaps differs to teachers' experiences, the community musician is less focussed on having more knowledge than the people they are working with, and more concerned with creating a less hierarchical experience for all involved. This is a marked difference from what happens in schools but could open doors for making music more accessible to teachers.

8.6.5.1 Overcoming Anxiety

Looking at the accounts of teachers and practitioners overcoming anxiety – as musical performers and as educators – the interviews elicit suggestions of how someone with anxiety about performing music teaching might overcome this barrier.

In the case of musical performance, one practitioner had severe musical performance anxiety as a young learner: One practitioner overcame their anxiety by taking up an instrument that was more suited to ensemble playing – it was the solo performance that caused their anxiety, and they were able to rebuild their confidence through playing with other musicians without the pressure they faced being on stage on their own.

Some of the generalist teachers who had developed some confidence in delivering music highlighted the role of school management in helping them build confidence. Trust in particular is significant for these teachers – that is, management *trusted* the teachers in their ability to deliver music, and this consolidated their self-belief that they could deliver music.

These interventions, intentional or not, provide a significant turning point in teachers' and practitioners' professional development. The external validation of one's competency as a teacher or musician can be a huge confidence booster. Doing tasks that you are familiar with, or have prior experience of, can have a similar effect.

“I used to say that I would be more confident in leading groups, and I... I don't like one-on-one situations; again because I feel like I'm going to get found out as a fraud and not a musician. But now, having done the [mentoring project] [...] where adults come in to realise their musical aspiration. Usually it's writing their own songs and recording them and performing them, so... actually doing that process has made me feel comfortable in both facilitating a group and facilitating one on ones” [C5]

Having established his own practice as a singer-songwriter, using this medium as an entry point for working one-on-one with adults after previously focussing on group work with young children, made the learning journey a safe one for both practitioner and participant.

8.7 Theme: Inclusion in practice

One of the guiding interests behind this research was to look at inclusion and access in music education in Scotland. This section explores teachers' and practitioners' views on how they enact inclusion in their practice.

Following CfE and the Scottish Government's aims to create an inclusive learning environment in Scottish schools, and community music's underlying principles of inclusion and widening access, teachers and practitioners were asked about their observations of inclusion in their places of work and in their practices. This showed similarities in the goals of education and community music, in terms of offering every learner and participant the opportunity to experience music, and also provided an understanding of how the notion of music as the 'other' and as a 'specialist' subject impacts on access to music education in schools.

"I think as educators we've got a responsibility to open the doors and plant the seeds, to expose people, to teach them, to open their eyes to what's out there, what's available.' [G7]

The role of the teacher is one of removing barriers and widening the range of opportunities their learners can access. This is embedded in the remit and responsibilities of their job, thus embedding inclusive aims.

8.7.1 An inclusive mindset

With regards to teaching inclusively, particularly in an Additional Support Needs unit or school, one of the specialist teachers shared her views on how teaching music differs in that situation, and how her mindset had to change.

"when you're doing the particular job that I'm doing, you can't think that you're going to be teaching music. For most of the children, you are not teaching them how to play music, you're not teaching skills. What you are doing, is you are giving them musical experiences, that's what you're doing, and I think you kind of have to realise that, because you're really only going to have one or two students that are actually able enough to kind of really teach them to read music and play rhythms correctly and be good on the xylophone or whatever. I think you need to be creative. Yeah, I think you need to be creative. I think you need to, you need to not be too academic. You have to be practically minded. You have to be willing to be in the situation where the children are playing instruments or they're singing, and it doesn't sound musical, so you have to be ok with that." [S4]

This view on how to teach music in an inclusive way echoes some teachers' descriptions of the aim of music education in Scottish primary school – that is, to allow learners to have a wide range of musical experiences and focussing on

process over product. In this particular account there is a clear distinction however between inclusive musicking and musical musicking. This separation of intentions and outcomes of music education depending on the learner is potentially problematic, through the limited view of what 'sounding musical' actually entails.

8.7.2 Being more than a musician

In understanding the lines between being a musician and being a community musician, practitioners highlighted their concerns over two types of community musician. First is the community musician who is not adequately skilled or experienced as a musician. This could be likened to the generalist teacher who has little to no musical background, skills or confidence. However, what this first type of practitioner does have is teaching skills.

Second is the professional-musician-turned-community-musician who lacks the facilitating skills required to be a community music practitioner. This person is a highly proficient musician but has no teaching or facilitation skills or experience.

“there’s so much you need to know and the biggest problem is that a lot of people come from the conservatoire, can’t get work and go into community music, and you’re like banging your head. It’s not recognised as being important. I couldn’t be the 1st trumpet in [professional orchestra], but they couldn’t do my job.” [C10]

In revisiting the characteristics of what a good facilitator is, as described by practitioners in interviews, some link can be seen between the need for creative and flexible musicianship, and the perceived absence of such skills in some musical genres and practices. To take the example given in the quote above, a classical orchestral trumpet player would be highly proficient in sight-reading, with a high technical skill level and good ensemble skills when working with other professional level musicians, however they may not have any experience of composing music, making music with a wide range of levels of musical experience, or improvising.

It is important to acknowledge the limited role of expert music skills, because creating an inclusive environment requires a different approach, it requires a wide range of skills beyond being a musician.

“it’s got to be child centred, you can’t let, you can’t dictate it all. You can’t be a stuffy music, failed musician who sits in a small box all day teaching an instrument and being stuffy about it. You have to create a rapport with these children who have a whole range of difficulties that you might never know anything about.” [S4]

An inclusive educator has to put the child at the centre of their teaching and build a relationship with them – it cannot be a top-down dictatorship. In this respect, musical skills are secondary to teaching skills – it is the teaching and facilitating skills that ultimately allow an inclusive environment to be established.

8.8 Conclusions

In drawing together these emergent themes, it appears that teachers' perceived aims of music education vary widely, from teaching particular types of music such as WEAM, to creating enjoyable experiences – much like community music. Music is often also given its place in the curriculum because of the benefits it offers to wider learning attainment in literacy and numeracy. Ellison and Creech (in Hallam and Creech 2010) note that these additional impacts of music education are recognised by teachers and form the basis of policy for improving music provision in primary schools, although this does not translate into reality.

These perceived aims also have a bearing on the skills teachers and practitioners think they need to possess in order to fulfil their duties. In particular, there are mixed views regarding the role of musical skills and knowledge versus broader knowledge about teaching and facilitating. Hewitt (2002) describes the differences in generalist and specialist teachers' conceptions of creative musical learning activities using the dichotomy of 'process and product'. In Hewitt's study, specialist teachers seemed able to use their prior musical knowledge and understanding to take a process-based view, while generalists were more concerned with getting things 'right' and had set expectations of what 'proper' musicians would do. Thinking about the generalist teachers in struggling to interpret the Experiences and Outcomes of CfE Music (Chapter 7, Section 7.2), and their subsequent lack of confidence in delivering music according to these proposed outcomes, the notion of teaching music 'correctly' aligns with Hewitt's findings (2002).

There are many areas of overlap in the approaches used by teachers and practitioners, with distinctions between teaching and facilitating mainly being driven by their perceived aims of music education. Where music education is understood as the transfer of knowledge about existing musical practices, a didactic teaching approach would be seen as appropriate. By contrast, a music education focussed on enjoyment uses facilitation to enable positive musical experiences. Although the way teachers and practitioners described the act of teaching and facilitating is different, there are clear overlaps in their descriptions of required skills and qualities – being patient, being reflective and responsive, being open to change, being flexible, showing confidence.

The musicians amongst the teachers and practitioners – largely the primary music specialist teachers and community music practitioners – describe their role as a performative act. Whatman (1997) noted in her research that teachers with backgrounds in the performing arts took to the task with ease through conceptualising teaching as a role to take on. Metaphors – like the calm duck – form part of this performance of identities (Whatman, 1997; Williams, 2006).

The performative aspect of teaching and facilitating also appears to be connected to confidence – and to an extent, false confidence, that is, the ability to perform being confident. Most significantly, those who view teaching and facilitating as performative acts also describe their performative role as one that can be switched on at command. This has implications for teacher education, with regards to addressing the lack of confidence felt by generalist teachers about delivering music in the primary classroom, perhaps by opening up new strategies for improving teacher confidence through performance skills.

I take three main premises forward from this chapter:

1. That teaching music and facilitating musical learning are similar in many ways, suggesting that community music practitioners, primary music specialists and primary generalist teachers share a great deal in their practices;
2. That amongst these similarities is the idea of performing teaching/facilitating. This notion of performing has implications for confidence – if one appears confident in their performance can they successfully teach even if there are nerves behind the mask?
3. That by addressing the various aims of music education, and their implications for curricula and teaching practices, we can evaluate which approaches foster inclusion and accessibility for both teachers and learners. I explore this further in Chapter 9, by looking at how teachers and practitioners fulfil the role of gatekeeper of musical learning.

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Chapter 9 Theme: Gatekeepers

9.1 Chapter Introduction

The most significant emerging theme in both scale and impact, is ‘gatekeepers’ – capturing both how the teachers and practitioners in this project have had their lives shaped by access and barriers to opportunities throughout their lives, and the roles teachers and practitioners play as providers of access to musical learning.

Stemming from the quite literal job role of controlling the gates to a city, gatekeeper is the metaphorical label applied to a person who has control over providing access to an opportunity.

Generalist primary teachers, primary music specialists and community music practitioners are gatekeepers to musical experiences, social experiences, learning experiences, through their leadership role in the classroom and workshop setting. Thornton (1989) makes a distinction between the written curriculum – textbooks, published curricula – and what he calls the ‘operational curriculum’, that is, the one that is delivered by the teacher, informed by the teacher’s decisions on content, structure and approach. Ben-Peretz (1975), in setting out her notion of ‘curriculum potential’ notes the room for interpretation in the written curriculum. As discussed in Chapter 7 of this thesis, CfE for Music in Scotland has been described as open, flexible, ultimately a blank slate for teachers to interpret as they see fit. This chapter explores how teachers and practitioners conceptualise their own identities, and how this impacts on their practice in the workplace, with particular regards to providing musical learning opportunities.

At a time when so many opportunities for young people to experience musical learning are based on chance by their circumstances – for example, access to instrumental tuition is a postcode lottery – this research sees gatekeepers as being in a position to mitigate inconsistency and chance, through fostering an inclusive mindset and a flexible, person-centred approach. This position as a keeper of access, and how it is used, is informed by the attitudes of the educators and facilitators who hold it – our views are shaped by the world around us – and so the formative experiences of these workers, and their life journeys, influences their practice.

This chapter looks at the lives of teachers and practitioners, finding out how they entered the jobs and careers they are in – and how gatekeepers in their own lives shaped this – and how aspects of their lives may contribute to their practices and views, and how this impacts them as gatekeepers to others’ experiences.

9.2 Becoming Gatekeepers: Career choices

Through questions about their life history, teachers and practitioners spoke in detail about how they arrived in their current work positions. Their career paths were mediated by several factors: the home environment, family, teachers, school opportunities and support, and other important influences in their lives. The turning points in their lives became visible through the granting and denying of access to opportunities that could shape their life and career trajectories.

Career choices can be intentional. Sometimes they are a force of hand. It is not uncommon for music graduates to find themselves in a position of financial vulnerability, forcing them to look for work in areas they have little training in. Bennett (2007) noted the disparity between classical music students in Australia aspiring to become international performers and realistically graduating into a career split between performance and teaching, with a gender imbalance of women tending to teach more, and men perform more. Bennett (2009) also highlights the role of teaching work as an initial “fall-back career”, albeit one that can become a passion. Often this can mean working in educational or community-based settings, with young and/or vulnerable people, without necessarily being trained for such environments. This creates risks for both teacher or practitioner and pupil or participant. This notion of risk in early workplace learning has already been presented in Chapter 7.

It is plausible to consider that risk level is related to the preparedness of teachers and practitioners upon entering their workplace – for example, adequate and appropriate training could be viewed as a way of mitigating risk, in the same way that health and safety training is used in the workplace to reduce risk of incident. The ways in which individuals end up in their jobs can have a significant impact on how prepared they are for the workplace, and so this section explores how career choices shape experiences of entering into the workplace. A number of the practitioners and teachers interviewed in this study had no intention of pursuing the jobs they are now in, getting jobs through chance opportunities, sometimes through financial necessity. For some musicians, they pursued post-school study in music because they simply hadn't developed any other interests due to their intensive focus on music during formative years. Community music and music teaching potentially offer a steadier income than music performance work. Teachers were drawn to the profession by potential opportunity and job security. In the case of community music practitioners and music specialist teachers, this meant they weren't necessarily prepared to teach or facilitate, and for generalist primary teachers, they weren't always prepared to teach music.

9.2.1 Being Gatekept: Limited choices

Family and school played a significant role in the initial musical development of teachers and practitioners, and music was a key part of home life for those who felt music was the only path they were prepared to take. In some ways, the decision to pursue music was taken without any clear thought process or plans for the future.

Family support is crucial in the early years of a musician's life and career. Structural factors such as financial status, socio-economic background, and cultural heritage may also play a part in determining the range of choices available to a young person when choosing a career. Shoffner and Klemer (1973) identified a number of ways in which parents are involved in determining their children's vocational choices, from nurturing and supporting their interests and providing a positive developmental environment, to providing information on the job choices and opportunities that might be available to them. The value that is placed on music, the arts, and freedom of choice, can help or hinder a young person's aspirations. Teachers have a similar responsibility in instilling confidence in their pupils and raising aspirations.

Stephanie Pitts (2012) explores the role of opportunity, policy and role models in shaping musical life journeys. Looking at where musical learning takes place, Pitts notes the range of environments where young people engage with music, and the opportunities within them for developing confidence, and having positive (and negative) messages reinforced implicitly and explicitly.

In this study, encouragement played a significant part in the lives of those who had strong musical identities and aspirations, through support from family and teachers. Their musical identities were consolidated at an early stage. In contrast, some of the teachers and practitioners lived very musical lives but had never felt actively encouraged – music was just something they did, but it wasn't treated as something special by family or teachers – and so while music was a prominent part of their childhood and adolescence, their sense of musical identity developed later. Others who were told they couldn't study music or pursue specific types of musical practice felt these experiences of discouragement acted as catalysts for them to prove people wrong.

9.2.1.1 Barriers

Barriers to pursuing a career of your choice can come in many forms – family, race, sexuality, gender, class, education, location – to name just some of the most obvious. Across this study, teachers and practitioners reflected on the barriers they

encountered in their personal, educational and musical lives, and how these barriers have shaped their career paths.

Musical lives are a journey of negotiating barriers. Being able to study music in the first place can be a struggle for some young people, depending on their socio-economic, cultural, or geographical circumstances. The value of the arts as a viable career choice continues to be debated, and different sides of the argument can be seen manifested in the education system. For example, in recent years, English schools have seen a decline in uptake for arts subjects following the introduction of the EBacc, a government-endorsed set of subjects for GCSE, which excludes the arts (*English Baccalaureate*, Department for Education, 2017). Scotland has seen continuous cuts to local authority budgets which has in turn resulted in cuts to instrumental music services (*Change the Tune: Invest in Instrumental Music*, Education Institute of Scotland, 2018).

Teaching can often be undervalued as a career option too – as demonstrated by the often heard – and highly contestable – saying ‘those who can’t do, teach’. Such views can create barriers for prospective generalist primary teachers, as they are dissuaded from pursuing a teaching career by family and/or school.

“I wanted to be a teacher my whole life. Earliest memories, aged 5, sitting with my dollies on the stairs, wanting to be a teacher. Then went to secondary school, and I was clever. Well I was clever, I was clever in primary school, I was clever at secondary school, and when we did careers talks they said, no don’t go and be a teacher, you’re too clever to be a teacher, go and do something else.” [G10]

The value judgement placed on teaching could have completely changed this teacher’s life, were it not for them realising during their undergraduate studies in Law that it was not the right choice for them, and changed their degree subject, fixing their trajectory on a future career in teaching. Careers advisors in schools play a significant role in gatekeeping young people’s futures, from telling pupils that “that’s very narrow if you just want to teach” [G9] to not providing pupils with a full scope of where a specific subject like music could take them.

Bandura et al (2001) make the case that children are more likely to based career decisions on what they *think* they are good at, as opposed to their academic grades. In the case of music, this could be detrimental to building musical career aspiration – many of the teachers who didn’t pursue music had judged themselves as not being musical enough compared to others, despite having musical successes in and out of the music classroom.

Generalist primary teachers – including those who have acted as the music specialist in some capacity – reflected on having missed out on their potential musical futures. Sometimes these futures were actively blocked, and other times they were not fulfilled through lack of active encouragement and opportunity from family and teachers. This access of opportunity is key in allowing young people to experience music – and it is this access of opportunity that teachers and practitioners also hold the key to.

“I had a strong sense that all of these people doing violin and other things that play in the orchestra, they’re better than me, they’re doing something different and I’m not part of that, and I wish I was. And now I wish I had been encouraged to do that, but it wasn’t, I just didn’t.” [S2]

Encouragement plays a role in developing self-confidence and aspiration. Lack of active encouragement can subconsciously steer aspirations away from areas where there has been no positive reinforcement. The impact this can have on career trajectory is significant – it can rule out a musical career, and completely change the shape of someone’s life.

"Interestingly enough, when I went to university, one of the things I wanted to do at University was music, I would have been interested to do music, but I never thought I was good enough [...] I remember feeling that I fell short of the qualifications that I needed and I did regret that, you know, that I wasn't able to do it [...] I wish I had pursued the music more [...] perhaps if I had followed the route, even to have had music as part of my degree, that I might have been able to, you know, like become perhaps a peripatetic music teacher, or a secondary music teacher, I don't know [...] I don't know if I didn't have the belief in myself, or if I didn't have the encouragement or other people saying "[name omitted] you can actually do this" so I opted not" [G7]

The way in which encouragement plays a role can be subtle, and so it may not be easy to spot the negative impact of an absence of support. Where this loss can be seen is in some of the musicians’ sense that they could have done something else with their life had music not become such an immersive pursuit, and had they had the opportunities through family and school to engage with other interests. Sports were often used as a potential alternative life: those with a swimming pool swim; those with horses learn to ride. These comparisons present an alternative future self, where trajectory is directly influenced by the presence of other opportunities in a non-imposing manner. For many musicians, their pursuit of music is through the embedded presence of music in their lives, and less a conscious choice.

9.2.1.2 Putting all the eggs in one basket

In contrast to those for whom pursuing music was not an option, some of the community music practitioners and primary music specialists reflected on feeling like they could only pursue music. On reaching the end of secondary school and thinking about post-school education, their lives had been so immersed in music up until that point that they had not developed skills or aspirations in any other area. They had, intentionally or not, put all of their eggs in one basket – that basket being advanced musical study in universities and conservatoires.

This lack of conscious decision-making, effectively a process of elimination, marks a crucial point in determining how these individuals would potentially spend the rest of their working lives. They perceived music as the area they were most likely to succeed in, by virtue of having not developed their potential in any other areas.

“It was really just out of a sense of what can I do, not a lot, I’m quite good at music, I’ll do that” [C5]

Alongside a lack of preparation in any other subject area, some had not considered that they might want to do anything outside of the music sector. While they may have had the potential to pursue a different career, they had only ever given thought to their musical career path.

“I had never really seriously considered any other line of work outwith music” [C8]

Part of this immersion in music was driven by parental support and encouragement, a strong, positive musical identity, and a very active musical upbringing. While this encouragement is positive for the development of musical identity, music became such an immersive part of some musician’s lives that on leaving school they had not invested in any other subject enough to consider further study.

“When it came to what are you going to do at university, well there is only music isn’t there? I mean what else would I do? So stupid because actually I probably could have done some other things, but I never even really considered it.” [S8]

This particular music specialist teacher was a child of musicians and went on herself to marry a musician. Reflecting on not knowing if she could have done something else with her life, she is conscious as a mother now to make her own children make more active and considered decisions about their futures. This is not to say she made the wrong decision – they knew they had a deep passion for music, she just

hadn't thought on a practical level about what she would actually do with music after studying for a degree in it.

An important aspect of pursuing music beyond school is knowledge of the options available. One of the music specialists reflected on her awareness of the difference between a conservatoire music education, and a university music education. This type of knowledge and awareness is important for parents and teachers too, as influencers in young people's education and work choices, as it allows them to inform the young people they come into contact with.

“There was nothing else on the cards, even thinking about when I did my UCAS applications, the choice was is she going to go to a conservatoire or is she going to go to a university to do music. Not if I was going to do a different subject or even do a combined honours degree, it was just always music.” [S10]

Whilst those who only felt able to pursue music held a certain privilege in having enough access to musical opportunities to successfully go on to study music and work in music education, performance and community music, it is important to acknowledge the other lives they could have lived had they invested in other areas early on.

The following extracts from an interview with a primary music specialist show how early forced immersion in music through family narrowed down the teacher's choices in what they were prepared enough to pursue after leaving secondary school. This teacher had resisted going into education, perhaps in defiance of her parents, instead foraying in music therapy before becoming involved in early years music, which led her into education.

“I come from a long line of music teachers – my dad was head of music, my mum's a piano teacher, my step-mum's a jazz singer – so I kind of had no option, you know, it was all mapped out for me really! [...] My mum was really strict with me, I had no option. I had no option. And it was a case of you're doing all your grades and then you can do whatever you like, but then of course by the time, ok I did my grade 8 when I was 15, so it was a bit like oh actually I haven't really tried anything else, I haven't tried any other avenue, and it's only the older that I've got how much I appreciate it. You know, I was almost bitter and resentful, thinking I could have been a horse-rider or an architect, or something. Actually I completely love what I do, I think I have got the best job in the world. Best job in the world, I absolutely love what I do. I'm so lucky. So I'm really lucky that my mum gave me the opportunity.” [S6]

Although she recalled as early as Primary 1, saying, “I’m going to go to music school and I’m going to be a musician.” [S6], she felt that music – specifically piano lessons – just happened during her childhood and wasn’t something she requested. She grew up with a piano at home and felt that this provided a “natural” and unforced point of access that progressed as she grew up.

Career-related decisions are particularly important in the current financial climate, when sustaining a living as a musician is increasingly difficult. Through the lives of musicians involved in this research, it is already evident that some became gatekeepers to others’ musical lives not because they wanted to teach or work in community music, but because they needed a job to survive financially, and music education and community music offered work that would use their existing skills and qualifications.

9.2.2 Access and opportunity

Access to a variety of opportunities is key in allowing young people to develop their interests and be exposed to potential interests. Amongst the individuals in this study who had positive musical childhoods, and successfully pursued music as a career in some capacity, were stories of fully supported lives at home. The notion of the ‘musical family’ arose as an immersive, organic way for music to become a positive force in someone’s life.

“my mum and dad were very encouraging, 5 kids, very busy family, everybody played instruments” [C3]

Music was enjoyed by some as a family activity, between siblings. Early exposure to collaborative musicking was even cited by one of the practitioners as an early foundation step being laid for their future.

“I’m from a family of 7, that’s worth pointing out, we all sing and everything, so kind of music’s been part of my life all the time, so I guess yeah being a part of groups of people of different ages all making music together, that feels like home for me, you know, and I guess that’s why I just love it so much” [C5]

Accounts of musical households also gave insight into the kinds of music the teachers and practitioners were exposed to, from listening habits, to playing around with instruments. These musical behaviours of family members contributed to the day-to-day immersion and embedding of music in future musicians’ lives.

“it was a very musical family, it was just a musical house we had... dad’s a Beethoven man, mum’s a Bach lady” [G10]

For those who are now parents themselves, the notion of a musical house was something some tried to instil in their own homes, based on replicating the positive experiences from their own upbringing. The ‘musical home’ also plays a role in shaping children’s interests, through easy access to certain instruments or types of music, or other interests such as sports.

"I think it's just from us, she just sees it as normal, it's just something that she'll do. If we were a sporty family then she might be more interested in sport things, I think it's just what she sees us doing." [S5]

This point of access to music can shape the whole life trajectory of a person – it is in this way that some of the teachers suggested they might have been a horse-rider or swimmer if they'd had access to horses or a swimming pool through family.

9.2.2.1 The Music Room: Access to instruments in the home

Amongst musicians’ stories of music in the home, and perhaps the most central aspect of having a ‘musical home’ and a ‘musical family’, was the frequently mentioned music room. The music room is a part of the house, usually containing a piano, that is dedicated to making music, practising and learning instruments. A place of importance, but also once (and perhaps still?) a marker of socio-economic status (Vorachek, 2000), the music room was described as the centre of musical activity, and for those who pursued music, the primary point of access for developing their engagement with music.

"I've always grown up with a piano in my house, so it was just something, it was a natural progression." [S6]

The concept of the music room is perpetuated amongst those who had experience of one in their own upbringing, making it a priority in their own homes as adults, and as parents, for their own children to experience as they had. The music room as a site for early musical interactions is viewed by those who had such experiences as a key intervention for embedding music in the lives of their children.

"I can't remember how I learned to play the piano [...] my grandpa had a piano [...] his eyesight was failing and he just, and he wasn't playing very much and he just said obviously you enjoy it, obviously you're musical [...] they wanted rid of a piano, did we want the piano? So we ended up with his piano in our house, and my mum and dad got me piano lessons." [S3]

The presence of a piano in the home was often a result of inheritance, from living or deceased relatives. In this way, the socio-economic implications of having a piano

in the home are somewhat altered – and in these cases inheriting an instrument can open doors that otherwise would remain locked.

"it was when his parents died that his piano was brought to the house, that I first got the opportunity to play an instrument." [C1]

This pivotal moment is where a gateway to musical learning is opened, and a life trajectory altered. The role of extended family in creating musical learning opportunities has proved important in the lives of many musicians, both in terms of providing access to instruments and wider musical experiences.

9.2.2.2 Musical families

This section focuses on the role of the teachers' and practitioners' parents and other family members in their musical lives. Parents, as the main providers of access to musical learning in the home, were often described in interviews as encouraging, sometimes pushing, forces supporting musical development. This parental input was not always received positively – some musicians felt their musical learning was stunted as a result of being forced into practicing by their parents. The overlap of parenting and musical educating also created tensions.

"So my dad would sit next to me and practice, make me practice every night, and I just dreaded it [...] I don't know who made the decision to have piano lessons, but it wouldn't surprise me that it would be my dad that would instigate that and make it happen" [C6]

By contrast, one of the generalist teachers found playing the piano with her father – a professional musician – to be a source of happiness, and an opportunity for father and daughter to spend quality time together.

"My dad worked long, long, long hours when I was growing up, so I liked my dad teaching me because it was like an hour we used to sit and learn together" [G3]

Parents also acted as the observers who would notice interests and take the initiative to pursue more formal musical learning opportunities. In this way, even where parents were not themselves musically active, they maintained a role of influencing musical life trajectories of their children.

"I was just sort of picking, messing about on the piano and my mother thought 'he needs lessons, we'll get him lessons'. So it was her encouragement." [C1]

Families can shape the types of musical engagement young people become involved in, and the ways in which they develop their musical practices. Those with

parents engaged in classical music would tend to be exposed to that tradition, whilst other experienced a more informal way of learning music.

“I never learned how to read music, it was always passed down through like family coming to visit and bringing a guitar” [C4]

Through both instrument access and playing a supporting role, family members are a key part of musical development. They can play both a positive and negative role, either enabling a positive musical relationship to develop, or creating a negative association with music through a disciplinarian approach to musical learning in the home.

9.2.3 Following positive role models

Teachers in this study who made more active decisions about their futures could often identify role models amongst their own teachers, who had created and raised aspirations in them during formative years. They had positive learning experiences with who they felt were good teachers. Not all teachers had positive role models – some had particularly negative experiences, that have influenced their teaching as they actively try to avoid replicating bad practices.

A significant aspect of teachers' roles as gatekeepers is tied up with the type of role model they are viewed as. Good role models can open doors, bad roles models can close them. In this way, the presence of positive role models in their own lives as a means of replicating good practice is important in maintaining access to musical learning from generation to generation.

In discussing early career aspirations and reasons for becoming teachers, positive role models were a notable influence. This influence is evident in many ways, from childhood memories of role playing their own teachers outside of the classroom, to simply aspiring to be like them. Good teachers were often described with attributes such as being friendly and fun.

“I just always wanted to be my teacher [...] They just made it look so easy and so much fun, and I just wanted to be that person” [G2]

Teachers have the power to empower their pupils through their actions. One generalist recalled a specific experience where her classroom teacher asked her to lead a classroom music activity, which provided her with a sense of musical confidence and external validation of her musical ability. It was also an opportunity for this future teacher to take on a leadership role amongst her peers in this particular music activity.

“You can start us off – I remember her saying that, and I was only about 8!”
[G9]

Not only did this create a positive opportunity for this future teacher to experience leadership in this musical context, but their own teacher had a significant influence on their future trajectory by cementing teaching in their mind as a potential future profession. Positive role models become both passive and active influencers, through their position as inspirational figures, and the impact of their direct actions on those affected by them.

9.2.4 Job security: seeking a stable life

Many teachers reflected on the prospect of job security as a significant influence in pursuing teaching. For musicians, teaching is seen as an appealing career choice for music students as it offers stability in a way that a performance-based career does not – performing careers can mean self-employment, freelancing, no steady income, less access to pensions and savings. Even amongst generalist teachers, teaching still carried a value as a stable job with a good return value: “It’s a good job, it’s lots of rewards” [G8]

The following primary music specialists qualified in 1984, 1998 and 2010, respectively, showing how across 30 years the notion of job security and stability informs study and career choices, through how families instil a sense of what is expected of them.

“It was just a trade. It was in the back of my mind, but it was a trade after psychology [...] A degree is a degree, but it’s not a trade, need to get a trade, get a primary teaching qualification.” [S2]

“I’d love to be a freelance musician [...] but the whole thought of that scares me [...] I think it’s the way I was brought up [...] you must have a job and that’s it.” [S3]

“The only people you’re surrounded with who have jobs are teachers, so that’s why I went on to study music teaching [...] I wanted a job [...] I wanted security” [S1]

This experience wasn’t limited to those who went on to become teachers.

Community music practitioners faced similar challenges and views when pursuing advanced musical study upon finishing secondary school. Again, teaching was viewed as a suitable stable career option.

“My parents had come round to the idea of going, and they were just like you *will* be a music teacher. Mainly because – I don’t hate my parents for the way

they were – they just wanted me to be secure and safe, all they wanted for me and my sister was a full-time job and a pension, that's all.” [C10]

This type of compromise becomes the access point to allow young people to pursue the arts, and other subjects. Parents, families and teachers provide access to higher education, through preparation, subject-specific support, and moral support. Higher education choices mark a significant moment in life that can shape an individual's trajectory. Parents can affect young people's vocational choices in several ways: “as role models, affecters of children's self-concept, motivators of children's interest and achievement, providers of the developmental environment and job information givers” (Shoffner and Klemer 1973). Al-Yousef (2009) also highlights the role of parents in providing young people with information about higher education, and how parents' own access to education impacts their children. She highlighted the need for some young people to do all of the research themselves, in the absence of parental support or knowledge. This includes research on possible career trajectories for different subjects of study, and the potential security of them, or indeed making a case for pursuing a more precarious career.

9.2.5 Working for the money

Not all career choices are made with freedom – many musicians in this study found themselves working in education or community music in order to make ends meet. Music graduates in particular expressed a need to find work in order to pay bills, which led them into teaching and/or community music work. This sometimes meant going into a situation working with young people, or others identified as being vulnerable, without any preparation, or knowledge of how to mitigate risks in such situations.

“I needed a job, I needed money, and if I could earn my money in a musical way, all the better” [S4]

“to be totally honest, it was all initially because I needed the money” [C7]

This necessity is in part linked to security – but in real terms rather than the projected worry of others. The creative industries are known to be precarious, particularly for self-employed and freelance workers. Music graduates in the 21st century are emerging into a society that does not want to pay for music. The Musicians' Union's Work Not Play Campaign (<http://www.worknotplay.co.uk>) highlights the increasing culture of expecting musicians to perform for little to no pay.

"The day I graduated, I put on an ad on one of these Gumtree things or whatever, because I had a flat to pay for, and I was like 'singing lessons, at my flat'." [C9]

Some community music practitioners began offering instrumental tuition or engaging in community music because of this precariousness. This casual entry into working in music education and community music can be risky in terms of the preparedness of musicians to sufficiently cope with the situations they are faced with. Being a good musician does not necessarily mean one is a good teacher or facilitator and taking on education or community-based work without training can be risky.

"the money dried up and the band got dropped a couple of years down the line, so I ended up going from that to basically I was working in Tescos, and it was at that point I was approached and I was asked if I could help out an acquaintance covering a guitar lesson as a one-off, for a group in a community centre." [C8]

One cover lesson or workshop can quickly become a regular engagement, and so a community musician is born. Advanced music education – in universities, colleges, conservatoires – has a responsibility for training musicians in the 21st century to be prepared for working life. While the practitioners involved in this study went on to become heavily involved in community music, the fact that any musician can start their own private teaching or group music activity with little regulation or preparation raises several concerns about safeguarding and quality of experience for learners and community music participants. This financially-driven move towards education and community music work represents one way in which people find themselves drifting into a particular line of work.

9.2.6 Drifting into jobs

Whilst some career choices are intentional, and some are made through necessity, others are made without active pursuit. Where there is no active pursuit of a job, teachers and practitioners often used the phrase 'drifting' or 'falling' to describe the way they arrived into their line of work. Sometimes this was a result of process of elimination, or a lack of active objection to the path they chose. This way of entering teaching was less driven by passion, but enough of a will to take a chance on it.

"and I didn't have a clear idea of what I wanted to do, and in some ways, I would say I drifted into teaching. I thought, well I don't want to do that, I don't want to do this, I wouldn't mind doing teaching so let's go for that, and I did the degree and here I am." [G7]

This passive journey into teaching has implications on motivation – how motivated are teachers in their work if they didn't ever intend on doing that work? Do they have

a passion for what they do? How does this impact learners? Revisiting musical career trajectories, and musicians' routes into teaching, this fairly relaxed decision came out of not knowing what the other options might be.

“when I decided I didn't want to play, well what else was there? It was that, and I had opportunity, but I look back on it now and I think I had no idea what I was doing, none at all.” [S8]

Particularly in the case of music, teaching is often considered a 'fallback' option – a reliable form of work and income that one can turn to when they don't succeed as a performing musician – as described by Bennett (2009) in her enquiry of performing arts students' career expectations. This positioning of teaching as a backup career indicates value judgements over the skills, training and experience required to be a good teacher, and can lead to musicians attempting to teach without actually being prepared to do the job.

9.2.7 Motivations at work

Community music practitioners were clear in expressing their motivations for doing the work they do. As well as indicating their motivations for pursuing community music study or training – which was largely to do with developing a skill set that would enable them to work in community music, even if they were already doing it – they reflected on why they choose to work in the field. Degree programmes offered a chance to consolidate and formally recognise work they were already doing. Some practitioners had been doing community music without knowing it was a 'thing' so training allowed them to build a community and sense of identity within it.

In the job itself, community music is often referred to as satisfying work. Fulfilling the aim of enhancing people's lives, widening opportunities, and acting as “catalysts for change” [C3] as artists provide community musicians with a sense of purpose.

Amidst cuts to services for vulnerable people in society, community musicians are working to fill gaps. Amongst the practitioners in this research were people working in the arts and homelessness, music for young people with additional support needs, music for underprivileged people in other countries, people working with young offenders, and people using community music as an intervention for those with mental ill health.

Working in community music requires motivation – it is often precarious work, with a workforce made up largely of self-employed and freelance workers. The community musician may also find themselves involved in project management, financial management, events management. Aside from running workshops, community

musicians are often responsible for administration, applying for funding, marketing, booking venues and musicians. Simply put by one practitioner, “if you aren’t motivated yourself, and ridiculously [...] then it probably won’t happen” [C3].

9.2.7.1 Giving back

Exploring the meaning behind choices to enter community work and education, many teachers and practitioners in this study spoke about their own experiences of facing barriers, being excluded or ostracised, or facing other hardships, that made them want to be involved in providing access to the arts and education, and breaking down barriers. The life stories in Chapter 6 show some of the experiences of adversity faced by teachers and practitioners in their own journeys, which was a direct influence on some of them wanting to become teachers and practitioners.

With regards to music, people who had a positive relationship with music talked about wanting to instil that passion in the lives, minds and hearts of the young people they worked with.

“I remember the joy and the satisfaction and the pleasure that I got out of making music with others, you know there's nothing like singing in a choir, there's nothing like singing to lift your spirits, it's a wonderful thing to do, and I think I wanted to pass on some of that to young people” [G7]

This is a key driver for people working in education – to instil a love for learning, and to impart and replicate positive experiences in pupils. This sense of giving back is also seen in community music practitioners’ motivations of creating access in response to their own experiences of facing barriers.

9.2.7.2 Job Satisfaction

Most of the generalist teachers in this study had early aspirations of becoming teachers. Their desire to work in the education system, often inspired by their own teachers, provides ongoing satisfaction. Teachers mentioned some essential criteria for finding teaching a satisfying career, such as liking working with children, and wanting to be in that nurturing role. These inherent demands of teaching can otherwise be taxing.

Faced with precarious work, musicians must find satisfaction through a similar sense of reward, and love for the nature of the work. Even for those who initially started working in community music out of financial necessity as a new music graduate, their passion grew over time as they came to understand more about the work and the impact it can have on someone’s life. Others felt a similar level of satisfaction to what they experienced as performers – not always the same kind of

satisfaction, but a similar level of value and achievement. One practitioner connects this satisfaction back to music as the central focus:

“It starts off with the music, that’s the motivation. My love of music, my love of talking about it, dissecting it, exploring it, analysing it. [...] I always likened leading, facilitating a group, it’s a bit like a performance of sorts [...] it stimulates the same part [...] it’s a different thing but it’s creative, it’s a creative process where you’re problem solving, you’re trying to meet the needs of your group, and I just think as a practitioner it’s great. Profoundly satisfying.” [C8]

While entering community music and music education wasn’t the intended career path, finding a connection to the work through a passion for music allows job satisfaction to develop. Happiness and satisfaction can be important factors for wellbeing, particularly in precarious jobs, where finance is less of an incentive. It is also important for fostering a positive learning environment.

In Section 9.4 I explore how teachers’ and practitioners’ motivations, as discussed in this chapter so far, inform their practice as gatekeepers of others’ musical learning.

9.3 Becoming Gatekeepers: Forming identities

A section of the interviews specifically explored musical identity, through asking what it means to be a musical person, and if teachers and practitioners felt they were musical. Having realised within the first few interviews that the musical identities of generalist teachers were not fixed – specifically that musical identities that were formed during childhood faded through early adulthood – I actively explored this fluidity of identity throughout the life trajectory with community music practitioners and music specialist teachers.

Identity also emerged as a theme amongst community music practitioners with regards to how they identified as practitioners, and indeed if they identified with the label of being a community music practitioner. Both community music practitioners and primary music specialist teachers are part of the music industry workforce, but neither job stipulates qualifications or training in music. While they don’t all identify as musicians, they do all identify as being musical.

9.3.1 Forming Musical Identities: Being a musician

Teachers and practitioners were asked what their definition of being a musician was. Some described being a musician in professional terms – that is, a musician is someone who makes their living from being a performing musician and treats their performance work as a profession.

"I probably wouldn't say I was a musician, because I just feel that I'm not good enough to be called a musician, but that's just me [...] I feel that a musician is someone who's professional and is paid for it." [G9]

Being a musician was largely described in practical terms: a musician is someone who plays an instrument. Across their broad areas of work, there were differences in the perceived level of practical instrumental skills required for someone to be classed as a musician. Those without instrumental skills generally reserved the title of musician to those who were highly proficient. Some professional musicians also felt this way. Others, particularly in community music, took the position that anyone who can make music of some description is a musician.

"everybody who participates in a school sports day is a sports person, so surely everybody who participates in a school concert of some description or does something musical is a musician, there are just better ones, and ones that yeah have to try a bit harder." [S10]

Whilst this approach uses the label of musician in a relatively inclusive way, the notion of innate musicality is implied by the view that some are 'naturally' "just better" and others require active effort. At a broader level, the label of 'musician' was largely used with reference to instrumental skills, including multi-instrumental abilities. Composition – creating music – was also used to define being a musician.

"I'd say, to say that you're a musician, you probably have to perform an instrument, and spend a lot of time playing, and perhaps compose. Either compose or be paid to perform [...] You just have to play a musical instrument on a regular basis. [...] Being musical... I think it's just about... how much you enjoy it and how much you do it really" [G6]

What emerged as perhaps the biggest distinction in being musical and being a musician, is the level of creativity and expressivity in a performance. A musician may display a high level of technical proficiency, but they may completely lack the expressive, creative and emotional traits that a *musical* person would demonstrate.

"I would start out as a very wooden musician, just sort of making the basic sound, and feeling as though I'd achieved something out of making a sound on the double bass, for example, and over time and constant practice, and being involved in and being with really superb musicians, and being inspired by their musicality and understanding more and more about music, in that way, and musicality, then I have progressed and progressed, and continued to progress and understand how to be musical" [C1]

This sets up a clear distinction between the view of a musician as a person who has acquired certain skills, and being a musical person as having a deeper connection with music – "It's like driving a car. So anybody can drive a car, but you get good

drivers and bad drivers” [S6] – that is, anyone can learn the practical, technical skills required to master an instrument, but only some people can bring it to life in a musical way.

9.3.2 Forming Musical Identities: Being musical

Exploring this notion of creative, expressive musicality further, ‘being musical’ was generally described by musicians as the deeper, internalised, emotional connection they have with music. Musicality is the bringing to life of music through musicianship. This is perhaps the part of musical engagement that is often viewed as exclusive, selective, only for those ‘gifted’ with it – it is this part of musical engagement that is the least tangible and measurable.

Being musical was described as an internalised, self-defining element. To remove it would render someone lost, as it is such an intrinsic part of their identity and being.

“if you took music away I have no idea who I would be. And I don’t know when that, I can’t identify when that started, it’s just always been.” [S8]

In this way, being musical is also a measure of how important music is in someone’s life, how deeply connected they feel to music, how music helps them navigate life and understand the world.

Making a distinction between learning to play musical instruments and discovering musicality, this musician reflected on the different experiences she had of learning piano and saxophone. She found a much deeper connection with the saxophone, although she was already an advanced pianist by the time she started playing the saxophone, she lacked an emotional connection with the piano.

“I would say I think there’s a lot of musicians who are not musical. I don’t think I was an extremely musical kid, I didn’t find music natural” [S6]

Evidence of being musical is defined here as feeling a natural ease with learning and understanding music. Some teachers and practitioners saw this connection as something that can be developed, others viewed it as an inherent trait. There was no consensus on whether being musical is universally possible or selective, and views around this varied across the three groups of workers.

9.3.2.1 External validation and musical confidence

One of the primary music specialists referred to those lacking musical identities as ‘non-musically-confident’, which I found to be a very useful way of making distinctions between musical identities in a way that does not exclude someone from

being musical. It also frames musicality in relation to external validation – confidence is often built on validation by others, shaping how people view their musical self. The musical self can also exist in a state of flux, depending on external surroundings.

Schools were a site of external validation for many practitioners and teachers, through peer recognition as well as acknowledgement from teachers.

"In primary school, I was made to feel special because of my musical talents. I was known as the girl that played piano." [S6]

In the same way that external validation can build confidence, it can also shatter it. One of the primary music specialists, who went on to study music at university before training as a teacher, faced an early setback when an interaction with her parents caused a blow to her musical confidence.

"I remember my mum and dad making fun of me singing in the car, and I think to me that's always had that lasting effect kind of thing. They weren't like oh my goodness you're the worst singer in the world, you know, but they just had maybe made a throwaway comment but I took it quite personally." [S3]

Not only do these experiences have a role in shaping the career trajectories of teachers and practitioners, but they can also lead teachers and practitioners to be more aware within their own practices, of how their validation of others can build or break confidence. This aspect of musical identity is also one that can change over time as resilience and confidence build a stronger musical identity that is less influenced by others and more consolidated in the self.

9.3.3 Forming Musical Identities: A spectrum of musicality

Many of the teachers and practitioners in this research described being musical as a relative concept, often measured in comparison to others – e.g. 'I am more musical than the other teachers in my school but not as musical as a professional musician'. This relational 'being more or less musical than X' mentality encompasses the range of ways in which musical and musician identities have been expressed in this study.

"I've probably never felt that musical, because I'm not that great a singer, and I had to work quite hard to be able to play my instrument, and I watched lots of people who sang naturally, and they didn't have to work at it, and people who picked up their instrument and they didn't need to practice as much, so in that way I didn't feel as musical as them, but I guess I'm more musical than someone who can't play an instrument at all, or just doesn't have an inclination to. I was definitely more musically active before, sometimes I go through phases where all I want to do is listen to music, and

then I go through other phases where I'm quite happy to drive in silence, or, I think it just depends on what's going on." [G5]

Being a musician was often described in interviews as an externalised demonstration of skills. Being musical, on the other hand, was talked about as more of an internal, intrinsic part of the self. Across the various accounts of what it meant to be a musician or to be musical, a spectrum emerged of the degrees to which people feel a sense of musical identity. These range from fairly passive engagement and 'light' enjoyment of music, to full immersion in music as a way of understanding life.

"I suppose I'm in my comfort zone when I'm in a musical setting [...] I'm like a moth to a flame where music is the flame and I just can't, in a way, help myself from being drawn to it [...] it gives me purpose as a human being, because I see in music all the ways to live a life that has meaning and understands the many different – spiritually, mentally, emotionally, physically – all the meaning of life, connecting with myself, the environment, the universe. I just think that music seems to give me all the answers [...] it can't be articulated in words but it can be articulated in music." [C1]

The application of musical interests was also raised in consideration of who can be musical – being musical may be universally innate, but not everyone will want or be able to nurture that part of themselves. This concept of "living musical" forms a distinction between untapped musicality and actively embedding music in one's life.

"I think that being musical, being musical is one thing. Living musical is another thing. Because some people are musical but they don't use it, they do other things." [S4]

This relativity approach to thinking about relationships with music provides an inclusive way to explore how musical any given person is as a fluid entity, which can change over time. It also does not exclude anyone from being musical: moderately liking music can exist on the same spectrum as dedicating your life to music, simply in a different place; playing an instrument purely for enjoyment can coexist with writing music but never picking up an instrument. Factors such as natural inclination, early exposure, access of opportunity, and personal interest can shape where someone falls on the spectrum of musicality. Being musical can still be recognised on this spectrum without the need to be musically active.

9.4 Being Gatekeepers: what is music education and who is it for?

As discussed in Section 9.2, a teacher or practitioner's aims and motivations can drive their decision-making, shape their aspirations, and influence their life

trajectories. The aim of teaching shapes what happens in the classroom – what is taught, how it is taught, why it is taught; who gets to learn. In this section, I explore how teachers' and practitioners' own experiences have shaped what they define as the aims and motivations behind the work they do. What are the purposes of music education and community music? How does purpose shape who gets to engage with musical learning and participation?

9.4.1 Gatekeepers of learning: fulfilling the aim of the job

Teachers, as decision-makers in the classroom, are gatekeepers to learning. They are ultimately in charge of what is taught, how it is taught, and this impacts what is learned. Teachers curate the learning that takes place in their classroom. There are two levels of gatekeeping in this research. First, the initial access to musical learning, and subsequently the question of what kind of musical learning can be accessed. In a broader context, this includes what kind of history is taught – what is included, and more importantly, what is omitted – whose stories are told, which viewpoints are included. Chapter 8 (Section 8.2) explored teachers' and practitioners' views on what the aims of their jobs were. Three main purposes of music education emerged.

The first focuses on the transference of knowledge, largely about WEAM. This type of music education is favoured for its measurability with regards to assessment – there are right and wrong answers and ways of doing. However, this approach can promote a hegemonic cycle of what 'musical knowledge' is, which is then perpetuated from generation to generation as the necessary cultural capital to succeed in society, thus excluding and diminishing the value of other ways of musicking.

The second uses music to promote emotional development, enjoyment, and exposure to different musical experiences. This approach prioritises creating positive learning experiences for all and is accessible to both learners and teachers as a generative way of learning about music. Thirdly, music is used to enhance learning in other subject areas, i.e. it is used instrumentally. This justification of music in the curriculum as a tool to improve other subject learning is risky as music only retains its presence as long as no other intervention has the same or a better impact.

“The best teacher can absolutely revolutionise your life, the worst teacher can actually ruin it.” [C5]

Schulman conceptualises *how* teachers meet these aims through three distinct types of knowledge: subject content knowledge pedagogical content knowledge, and curricular knowledge. In this particular context, these knowledges could be defined, respectively, as musical knowledge, knowledge about teaching music, and knowledge about how music fits into the broader curriculum. The following section explores how the matching – or indeed mismatching – of teachers’ self-perceived competency in fulfilling the aims of music education impacts their ability to provide access to musical learning for their pupils, that is, whether they are closing gates or opening them.

9.4.1.1 Closing gates: Expectancy Value Theory and teacher confidence

Teachers who lacked confidence delivering music in their classrooms often described the cause as being related to not possessing certain skills, knowledge or experience in music. This lack of confidence directly impacts how much music happens in the classroom, and ultimately can lead to pupils’ musical learning being hindered.

What happens when a gatekeeper doesn’t think they can provide access? The gate closes. In the context of music education in the primary school, this happens when there is little to no specialist music provision and generalist teachers don’t feel confident enough to deliver music to their classes.

Expectancy Value Theory (EVT) (Eccles and Wigfield, 2002) is often used to explore children’s learning motivations. EVT uses individuals’ perceptions of a) their self-perceived ability in fulfilling a task, and b) the value they place on the success of the task, to assess whether they expect they will be able to fulfil the task and if it is worth their investment of time and energy. This can be applied to teachers and their relationship with teaching music: if a teacher does not feel confident in their ability to teach music, they will avoid doing it. They may feel that it is better to not teach music than to teach music badly.

“people feel that there’s specific skills to be taught, or, not that there’s specific stuff to be taught, but that what people aren’t confident in, so they maybe feel they’re doing the children a disservice by not being good at that.”
[S5]

If a teacher holds a selective view of musical ability – that is, they believe only some people can be musical, and they are not one of them – and they think only a musical person can teach music, they may not see the value in pursuing training and professional development opportunities to learn more about teaching music.

This is where it is important to identify and understand what the aim of teaching music in the primary school is, as this has direct implications on the competencies required by the teacher. The majority of those who felt unable to confidently deliver music associated the aims of primary school music with WEAM outcomes and instrumental skills. Those who were doing some music either had instrumental music skills or focussed on singing or appraisal-based activities.

9.4.2 Music for some or music for all?

As it stands, experiences of music education in Scotland vary widely from school to school, class to class. The degree to which primary school pupils experience music is largely determined by whether their school has a primary music specialist, and/or whether their generalist classroom teacher feels confident enough to deliver music. Each school may also identify specific subjects for strategic focus, which can impact on the weighting given to each part of the curriculum, which may shape the nature of any specialist provision that is organised. Schools are the sites within which most young people in Scotland have access to learning, as well as social and personal development opportunities. It is within schools that Scottish young people experience some level of consistency with their peers across the country – although there will be some obvious discrepancies based on school-size and location. Whilst some level of difference is also to be expected from teacher to teacher – they are after all individual human beings – the responsibilities of the teacher should not vary so much. Variation allows pupils to slip through the opportunity net. Without access to music in the classroom, there is no guarantee they will discover music in the home, therefore teachers – and schools – have some responsibility for providing that introduction.

“For people who don’t have that, then the kid has to find it themselves, somehow and it’s often people who are teaching it in schools that are going to give them the opportunities to find that” [S8]

As discussed earlier in this chapter, exclusion from participating in music activities at school was a common experience amongst many of the teachers and practitioners in this study. For some this meant failing supposed tests of musical aptitude, which prevented them from being able to learn to play an instrument. For others it meant being told to mime in the school choir. Some felt that the very nature of school music, focussed on traditional orchestral instruments, excluded them as they could not pursue their interests. These negative experiences contribute to these individuals’ practices now that they are in the role of gatekeeping others’ musical experiences. Some specifically talk about not wanting to repeat what they

experienced, others are more broadly motivated by their aim to be inclusive in light of knowing what exclusion feels like.

9.4.2.1 Singing as an exclusionary activity

School choirs became a recurring topic amongst teachers, both with regards to their own practices as choir leaders at school – a positive reflection – and their own experiences of school choirs during childhood and adolescence, which tended to include stories of exclusion. Instances of exclusion through school choirs are not as much a thing of the past as we might hope or expect – I have heard anecdotal accounts as recently as in the past decade.

The notion of singing *at pitch* and *in tune* – both largely defined by WEAM standards – also came up in interviews with community music practitioners, reflecting on their practice in community choir-leading. This mostly came across in the way singing was discussed as an acquirable skill – the implication being that an organic vocalisation was not considered ‘good singing’ until certain criteria were met. Whilst the context of these remarks is a community choir, a community music activity, singing in a particular style may not be accessible to all, through physiological barriers.

“I’ve not yet met somebody that I wouldn’t be able to get to sing with reasonable success” [C5]

To further unpack this comment, there is a need to define what is meant by ‘singing’ – is singing a particular type of natural vocalisation, or is it a more refined skill? What is ‘successful’ singing? One of the generalist teachers voiced a similar view, suggesting that while everyone can sing – a seemingly inclusive statement – there was a caveat of conforming to WEAM standards of what it means to sing well, in this case, singing well being defined by the ability to accurately pitch a note.

“Not everyone can sing straight away [...] if you were given guidance you could hit the notes better” [G1]

Going back to the experiences of learners – as evidenced in the teachers’ and practitioners’ own accounts from childhood – this policing of what it means to be able to sing can make choirs a place for exclusion to occur. Choirs can be a breeding place for the view that only some people can sing and is perpetuated both in school environments and community music, despite both spaces being grounded in inclusive pedagogy and practice.

9.4.2.2 Access to instrumental instruction

Generalist classroom teachers spend a significant amount of time with their pupils, getting to know them at an individual level. They have the power to provide or withdraw opportunities for their pupils. Generalist teachers were asked about instrumental instruction in their schools, and whether they had input in deciding who would be able to access this provision. Whilst acknowledging that music education can benefit those who may struggle with other subjects such as literacy and numeracy, one of the teachers acknowledged that their decision-making on which of their pupils would get access to instrumental music tuition was problematic.

“The head teacher selected them, and I think there were 4 children, one of whom I wouldn't have chosen right away, because I knew, I taught that child, she was ditzy, she wasn't reliable with homework, she wasn't a particularly able child, she wasn't an easy child to teach” [G7]

The pupil subsequently stopped instrumental lessons after the music teacher did not feel they were making enough progress, at which point the class teacher [G7] intervened, asking the music teacher to persevere.

“it's easy to teach the children that are well supported and bright, who move forward quite quickly, it's not as easy to teach the [children] of this world who've got little parental support, who're not practicing, who are unreliable at remembering to bring their violin” [G7]

However, the following year, the teachers who decided who would have access to instrumental tuition made a decision that contradicted their earlier beliefs about supporting those who might be overlooked.

“The next year, we were more careful about the selection, and we picked two very able girls who were very well supported at home” [G7]

This example shows just how directly a teacher can impact a child's learning trajectory, and ultimately their life trajectory, by providing or withholding access to specific types of learning. It also shows how cycles of bias and discrimination are upheld through opportunities being given to those with support and being denied to those without support at home.

The responsibility of the teacher to provide access to musical learning opportunities is seen in direct action here. The range of factors shaping teachers' decisions around who gets to play an instrument shows how access to musical learning can become a matter of chance. Other teachers were less involved in the processes of selection but were witness to the impact it could have – or indeed *not* have.

“it’s more about the positive impact that it didn’t have, because it denied some children” [G6]

This perspective highlights the missed opportunities for positive engagement with music, and the unknown lost access to learning. These missed opportunities also arose in the context of other activities, and potential alternate future lives and selves. For example, those with musical families, in a sense, had music imposed on their lives, whereas they might have had successful lives in sports had they had the opportunity to engage in sports activities instead of being sent to music lessons from a young age. One of the generalist teachers had a very immersive musical life through family, but played hockey throughout secondary school and it maintains an active part of her adult life – however she didn’t study music in secondary school as she was able to participate in extracurricular music activities, and had a positive relationship with the music teachers and department through that, which helped her maintain a commitment to both sports and music, that was only tested by a clash of schedules much later.

“I remember having to make the choice, a very serious hockey match or a band contest, so I chose the hockey match, so therefore left the band when I was about 22” [G10]

The fact that this teacher didn’t have to choose between music and sports until she had finished her undergraduate degree shows the impact of access of opportunity to engage with both interests without limitations. This meant that she was able to build her skills in both to the extent that leaving the band at the age of 22 did not hinder her musical life – she was an adult, capable of finding new opportunities to play, and at a level of instrumental skill that her engagement with music was not reliant on access to lessons or bands. When these ultimatums are presented at an earlier stage in musical journeys, young people are forced to make less informed choices, and depending on how their access to music or other activities is provided and financed, the choice may be made for them, potentially cutting short their musical journey and altering their life trajectory.

In both of the scenarios presented here – the learner who was allowed to participate in extracurricular music without studying music in school, and the teacher choosing which pupils would be given the opportunity to have instrumental lessons – access to music education is mediated at the discretion of teachers. This discretion can lead to huge discrepancies in the experiences of learners across Scotland’s schools.

9.5 Being Gatekept: Women's experiences in the workplace

Many of the women interviewed in this research are mothers – this is not surprising given that primary teaching tends to be a predominantly female profession, and so all but two of the teachers were women. Their experiences as parents, and often being primary caregivers for their children, have had a significant impact on their working lives. For many of these women, motherhood took the form of career breaks and significant changes to their working lives and job roles. It also offered an opportunity to informally reconnect with music and explore musical learning for the early years. Thus, being a woman has had a significant impact on the life trajectory of some teachers. Gender has acted as a gatekeeper in defining opportunities, aspirations and possibilities in teachers' lives, and through the way womanhood and parenthood have brought people into teaching, it has also led them to take on the role of gatekeepers, to both their children and their pupils.

9.5.1 Parenthood as a turning point in working life

The reshaping of a woman's life when one becomes a parent is often the cause for a need to change career, in order to accommodate childcare needs. Maternity leave as a specific time period coincided with some of these changes, either to accommodate the women's return to work, or a time at which their role was changed:

“I went back part-time after maternity, and the head wanted me to do RCCT, because it would just fit better with the days, I could cover all the classes in my 3 days.” [S5]

This specialist teacher, classed as a music specialist in this study due to music being their sole remit at the time of the interview, was a generalist primary teacher with their own class prior to going on maternity leave. Her school management team offered the possibility of the teacher covering RCCT time on her return to work, as it would fit well with her plan to go part-time. Through this, she took the opportunity to offer her colleagues classroom music provision through RCCT and voiced an intention to continue in this role if the school management would allow it, having established music provision throughout their school where it was previously lacking. In this case, the change was positive for the teacher in question, however such changes can have a negative impact.

Restructuring of music provision at local authority level has seen some primary music specialists redeployed as secondary teachers – either as instrumental instructors if they do not have teaching qualifications, or in the classroom if they do.

“When I finished to go on maternity leave I didn’t know I wasn’t going back to primary schools [...] then the budget cuts happened [...] this time round they just couldn’t save our team and so they had to redeploy us, so it was a clean cut because I was on maternity leave, but I didn’t know it was happening.”
[S3]

This switching between roles is not uncommon. As there is no set route into being a primary music specialist, many are qualified as secondary school music teachers. In this case, the teacher [S3] had obtained a PGCE Secondary Education qualification, but due to working in the primary sector since qualifying, they were only granted GTCS registration as a primary teacher, and so were required to complete an additional period on probation following their redeployment to the secondary school.

“I had to do like 6 months extra probation, so just to prove that I had that.”
[S3]

It should be noted that, by its very nature, a probationary period can result in withdrawal of GTCS registration if the employer recommends that registration is cancelled (GTCS, Extensions and Cancellations), thus placing a teacher with several years’ professional experience and an unblemished professional record in a precarious position. Another specialist teacher who took part in this research has since been redeployed as a woodwind instructor in secondary schools following cuts to specialist music provision in their ASN primary school, as they didn’t have a teaching qualification, again putting the teacher in a situation where they have not developed their practice, without any specific training. They would have had to go into part- or full-time study if they wanted to remain working in the classroom.

Secondary teaching has not always been so accommodating of parenthood. One specialist made the switch to teaching in primary schools after being forced to take a longer career break in between having children, as part-time working was not made available to her as a secondary teacher.

“so I taught in Secondary schools for 4 years, I got married 2 years after I got into, and then I had family, well I had my first child, and then you couldn’t really go back part time, so I had 2 years out and I had my second child, and then I got an offer, phone call, to say would I be interested in teaching music in primary schools, and I thought oh! [...] I thought that going into primary would work well with having family and being busy” [S7]

Primary teaching as a part-time job provided the flexibility needed to raise young children, with this teacher increasing her hours as the children grew up. On this level, the decision to enter the teaching workforce can be driven by practicality if a parent has taken a career break to raise children.

“my children were young and [youngest son] had just started primary school and I thought I'd go and be a parent helper” [G1]

This phased entry into the classroom, from parent helper to qualified teacher, fulfils the parent's new obligation to find work that can accommodate their children's schedule. This alleviates issues around childcare, as teachers and pupils have the same holiday schedule, and working days more or less align. In these ways, parenthood represents shifts in working lives, whether through a reduction in hours, or a complete career change. The additional responsibility of raising children forces changes a person's priorities, and thus changes their trajectory in the workplace.

9.5.2 Developing teaching skills through motherhood

For some of the teachers, motherhood was a gateway for developing and/or unlocking skills they believe to be important in teaching and facilitating. Motherhood was perceived as the transformative event that changed their personality traits through the need to develop leadership skills as a parent in the internal role of care-giving and being responsible for a child's life. This development also took place in external situations where leadership was needed, for example in mother-baby gatherings. For one of the music specialist teachers it was this environment that brought out her inner music teacher and led to her establishing an early years music practice.

“as a kid I certainly wasn't, I was very much a follower, I was never a leader, ever, and all throughout college, never, never, never, so I don't know what happened, maybe becoming a mum or something, I did become quite a different person, so yeah, or if at toddler groups there's always a sing-song, but it's usually quite painful [imitates people not singing properly] so I would be the one [shouts] “right, how about doing this one!” and I would just be singing louder than anybody else” [S6]

The transition into developing leadership skills came through this mother realising she could utilise her musical background to encourage other parents to sing with their children at parent-child groups. It also represents the development of *music* leadership skills – learning how to lead singing activities. In this way, parenting activities can become a form of informal professional skills development.

9.5.2.1 Professional learning through parenthood

Motherhood provided a way for teachers to be introduced to or reminded of the impact of music on young children, and the purpose of music in childhood. This happened through engaging with baby music classes and early years music education, as well as informal interactions in the home. Watching their children respond to music and begin to develop skills serves as a reminder that music can

bring enjoyment, and that there is no minimum age at which we begin to engage with music.

“Even though he's really, really wee, like he is, you can see that they enjoy it, and some of the kids there that, some of them are a wee bit older, they just love music and singing in rhyme” [G7]

In a household where both parents were actively engaged in making music, one of the specialist teachers [S5] expressed her growing awareness of the impact of musical exposure on babies. Her partner is a drummer, and they have observed their daughter engaging with music at his drum teaching space, and with instruments around the home. Once again, we see the organic relationship with music building through everyday, normalised access to music in the home. Like many parents, she and her partner also took their daughter to baby classes, where she not only had the opportunity to engage with music in a wider way, but they were also part of that experience as music educators observing the delivery of and participating in early years music education. This scenario was also present with other teachers who were parents.

“they also used to do a thing called Mini Music Makers in our town, I don't know if they still do it, but I took my littlest to that, and so I learned lots of techniques there as well.” [G1]

Through engaging with early years music activities, teachers – as parents – are also exposed to training through observing activities and taking part in them with their children. They are then able to bring this learning into their own teaching practice through learning by doing, which is discussed in Chapter 8 as a method used in the training of teachers and community music practitioners.

9.6 Conclusions

In this chapter I have set out the emergent themes related to how teachers and practitioners arrive into the position of gatekeeper in their respective workplaces, through their life trajectories and decisions. These journeys involve being gatekept by others, through the opportunities and barriers they encountered. Many career trajectories are shaped by chance, or by process of elimination – they are not conscious, proactive decisions, which has ramifications for job motivation, satisfaction and attitudes towards doing the job. With regards to creating inclusive, positive musical learning experiences, this can mean musicians teaching without any knowledge of how to teach, community music practitioners with no risk training, teachers without the confidence to deliver music.

For many who pursued music through formal education, they had access to music through families engaged in the arts – often talking about the presence of a piano or even a music room at home when they were growing up. On the other hand, specialists without music degrees described symptoms of imposter syndrome. Teaching is viewed as a stable career option for musicians, and the only visible stable option to them prior to making career and study choices. For some, such a great emphasis on music in their own education meant that they weren't adequately prepared to pursue any other subject beyond school, and so working in music was inevitable.

Teachers act as gatekeepers through their moderation of pupils' opportunities to participate in music education in the primary school. They can single-handedly prevent pupils from being able to learn to play a musical instrument or sing in a school choir, which can significantly impact a learner's musical life trajectory. As Stephanie Pitts (2012) concludes in *Chances and Choices*, whilst teachers can't influence the prior musical experiences of pupils when they enter the classroom, they play a significant role as mentors (p185) and the relationships teachers build with pupils can have both positive and negative impacts on the learners' musical life (p90).

Through exploring teachers' and practitioners' ideas of what they think it means to be musical, and to be a musician – a response to discussions of the role of music knowledge and skills in teaching and facilitating musical learning activities – this chapter draws out the underpinnings of how musical confidence is built and how teachers' confidence relates to feelings of being able to deliver music in the classroom. By distilling understandings of musical identity into two strands – being a musician and being musical – teachers and practitioners have separated learnable musical knowledge and skills from the internalised connection some people feel with music. Putting these strands into a wider context, the idea of a spectrum of musicality emerged, in which musical identities can manifest themselves in many different ways, from the unmusical musician to the musical non-musician.

Attempting to define this with clarity, let's replace 'musical' with 'creative' – after all, music is considered a creative art. Creativity, in contemporary scholarship, is process-based, with social, aesthetic and emotional meaning (Cook, in Hargreaves, Miell and MacDonald, 2012, p451). Drawing on Hewitt's (2002) suggestion that generalist teachers approach creative musical activities in a product-based way, the generalist teachers' views as presented in this chapter (9.3.1) could also be read as product-based descriptions of what/who a musician is. Revisiting the notion of

unmusical musicians and musical musicians, this could be redefined as uncreative (e.g. mechanical) musicians, and creative (e.g. expressive) musicians. The next chapter further explores how thinking about being a musician versus being musical can impact the accessibility of teaching music and music education, through understanding how conceptions of being musical can exclude both teachers and learners.

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Chapter 10 Discussion

10.1 Chapter Introduction

Having collected and analysed data pertaining to the life experiences, educational experiences and musical experiences of teachers and practitioners, and their views and beliefs about learning, teaching and facilitating music, in this chapter I will take a broader look at what those insights can teach us about access to facilitating musical learning experiences, responding to the initial aims of the project, and framing access to teaching and facilitating musical learning through an Expectancy Value Theory model.

First, let's revisit these initial aims, which can now be described as areas this research project contributes knowledge to.

1. The thematic analysis presented in chapters 7-9 addresses generalist primary teachers', primary music specialists', and community music practitioners' perceptions of what knowledge, skills, qualities, and abilities are needed to be someone who facilitates musical learning.
2. The life stories approach to data collection provided insights into how these individuals' perceptions and beliefs around teaching and learning music have been formed. Chapter 6 provides an overview of each teacher and practitioners' life story.
3. Using these insights and understandings about teachers' and practitioners' beliefs, views and experiences, this chapter will explore ways in which training can be improved for primary generalist and music specialist teachers and community music practitioners, to broaden access to music education and even out inconsistencies in primary classroom music provision through the upskilling of the workforce.
4. Additionally, the thematic analysis highlighted a key issue that was not part of the initial project aims – the role of teachers' and practitioners' life trajectories in shaping access to musical learning opportunities, positioning them as gatekeepers of access, and how the environment within which musical learning takes place is shaped not only by curriculum and policy, but people too.

In the analysis I identified a number of structural issues that teachers and practitioners face in their career trajectories, from the choices they make in their own formative education to the way their professional training and work experiences influence their relationship with facilitating musical learning. The life journey and all it

entails is central to how views and beliefs are formed. What strikes me as the most pertinent issue around career trajectories of music educators and facilitators is that so much of their trajectories are led by chance and opportunity, so I will explore this in further detail, looking at the wider context of chance versus choice in musical lives and the impact this can have on access to musical learning through who gets to teach/facilitate, and how their approach is informed.

I will then address the musical learning environment itself, and how teachers and practitioners bring their own backgrounds, views and beliefs into those spaces to create safe (or unsafe) sites for musical learning. Training is a particular issue here, as the opportunity for future teachers and practitioners to develop their practice *before* entering the workplace. Through contextualising these professional learning experiences and exploring what reforms to current practice might entail, I will address the issue of who should be delivering initial musical learning experiences in primary schools, and who, in theory, could provide this access to musical learning.

Finally, I will explore access to music education through the lens of decolonising practices and thinking. Throughout this project, I as a researcher have gone through a process of decolonising my research practice, and with this the lens through which I view my research has become more attuned to identifying colonial mentality and legacy in the work. The dominance of WEAM across this project is visibly linked to how music education is 'othered' in primary schools, thus representing another way in which access to musical learning is mediated.

10.1.1 Expectancy Value Theory

Throughout the chapter, I will explore how an Expectancy Value Theory model for motivation demonstrates the interaction of self-perception of ability (i.e. confidence in one's skills) with the task of teaching and the notion of teaching successfully, and how teacher confidence can be addressed through this framing of motivation to learn. Expectancy Value Theory is a way of explaining how motivation to undertake a task is informed by two factors: one's self-perception of their ability to fulfil the task, and a value judgment of the perceived benefits of completing the task (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002). Drawing on the work of Bandura (1997), who makes a distinction between the expectancy beliefs of performing the behaviours required to complete a task (outcome expectations) and beliefs of whether one can perform such behaviours *well enough* to reach a goal (efficacy expectations). The main reason behind setting out this distinction is that it Bandura explains that someone can have an outcome expectation, but lacks the self-efficacy required to build an efficacy

expectation. Bandura argues that it is this self-efficacy that is central to motivation to progress.

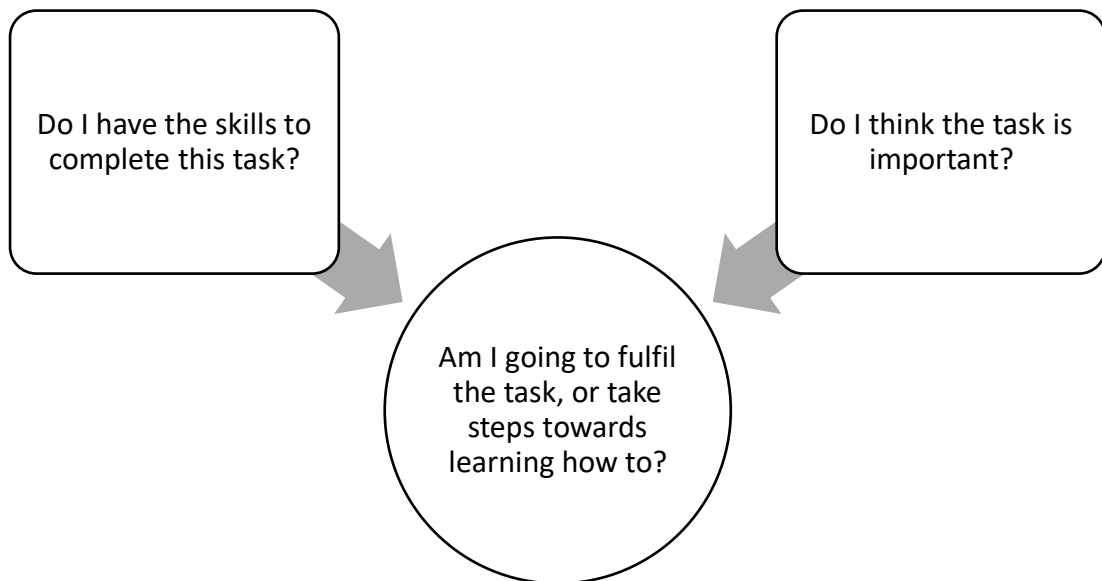


Figure 4. Expectancy Value Theory

To frame teaching music through EVT, we must take into account teachers' self-confidence in their ability to teach music, and whether they believe there is a benefit to teaching music, in order to understand their likelihood to develop their music teaching practice. The analysis in Chapters 7-9 has demonstrated that teachers have low self-confidence in music, and that although they see the importance of teaching (and learning) music, it still remains low on the list of priorities, through being 'othered'. In this chapter I will address this confidence issue, and how it is impacted by the overall 'othering' of music as a subject, exploring how these issues create pivotal personal barriers to teaching music. Obviously there are several structural barriers in force, through the top-down demands placed on teachers in Scottish Primary Schools that also act to stop teachers from engaging with teaching music, as well as broader issues around how the remit of music as a subject is constructed, however framing the issue through EVT focuses on the individual teacher's motivation to develop their practice, and could enable teachers to widen their own access to developing their practice. EVT also offers a useful model for highlighting which aspects of a situation can be altered to improve confidence and value judgements, ultimately increasing motivation.

10.2 The life journey: a series of personal and structural interventions

Across Chapters 6-9, we learned a lot about the events that have shaped teachers' and practitioners' lives – the twists and turns, chances and choices, that led them to their current positions in work and in life. These pivotal moments fall into two loose categories – the personal and the structural, that is, the individual decisions people make, and the broader systemic structures that shape how opportunities and choices exist in the first place. The impact of the life journey can be seen in how teachers and practitioners negotiate and develop their approaches to their work, how they view their work, and how they view their ability to fulfil the remit of their work, which informs how teachers and practitioners engage with professional learning and development.

Looking across the life trajectories of teachers in the primary sector, and community music practitioners, there are a wide range of factors that shape a life journey, from structural, societal issues, to more individualistic ones in home and family life.

These interventions present themselves as moments when future teachers and practitioners are given a chance or a choice – they are given (and take) an opportunity, or they make a decision where there is more than one opportunity to choose from. In both cases, family and school are central to providing access to musical learning, and each person in this study experienced their own unique combination of opportunities and barriers, based largely on their environment. This mediated access plays a significant role in mediating who gets to pursue a career in music or education, and ultimately how people end up in their jobs. While the same can be said of most professions, there is a certain immediately visible importance to the primary school context as the site of early learning for most young people.

There is a question here that must be addressed before I continue, and that is, what is equality of opportunity in education? Why is it important for all learners to have an equal or equitable access to opportunities in their educational lives? Lazenby (2016) addresses the multiple conceptions of equality of opportunity in education, through articulating possible values of equality of opportunity through and for education, and the possible scope of equality of opportunity in education.

In this section I explore how structural issues and inequalities in the organisation of the education system impact on teachers' and practitioners' lives, how their own lives have been moderated by external factors, and the resulting impact on others' access to music as the teachers and practitioners take on the role of gatekeeper. Taking the first-hand experiences of teachers and practitioners, I situate the structural issues they face in a wider context of how the issues might impact other

teachers and practitioners. I address the gendered nature of primary teaching as a profession, and the impact this has had on both the male and female teachers in this research. The personal and structural are intertwined – the environments in which teachers and practitioners live and work shape the nature of their lived experiences.

10.2.1 Pursuing music: Chance or choice?

A significant aspect of music education is the people delivering it, and how they deliver it. The accounts of teachers and practitioners in this study indicate that music educators' journeys into their jobs are not linear, and often not intended. Their musical journeys are mediated by their families, location, schools, as well as personal choices. These factors of chance – family, location, school – have a very visible effect on musical lives. Some of the musicians in this study had incredibly supportive families and very musical home-lives, and their pursuit of a musical career was not only expected but encouraged. Others had very little support at home and relied on other forms of support to pursue tertiary music education, going against family expectations. The way in which these support systems enable or disable progress in future teachers' musical lives can impact particularly on how generalist teachers deal with music in the primary classroom – ultimately, teacher confidence in music comes down to the teacher's sense of musical self and musical confidence, which is heavily influenced by their earlier experiences with music.

Across this study, teachers and practitioners recalled the nature of opportunities to participate in music through their home and school lives, specifically how they gained access to learning musical instruments outside of school, and how in-school opportunities were presented. The role of 'musical aptitude' tests in schools is a particularly contentious issue, as evidenced by the fact that some of those who went on to become professional musicians had in fact been excluded from in-school musical learning opportunities as a result of failing such tests. Were it not for having already been involved in external musical learning opportunities, this might have had a more detrimental impact on their musical lives. Other instances of barriers being presented in the primary school included teachers actively excluding pupils from musical activities.

“I got thrown out of class because I was making a noise when I shouldn't be, and my teacher actually said to me, and I remember the words, “Get out of my class, [name redacted], you'll never be a musician!” and obviously those words have stuck with me my whole life, and I suppose it could have gone either way, it could have put me off for life. It makes me think as a teacher, be very careful what you say, even when you're having a bad day, that child might remember you saying something that you don't even remember saying yourself” [S10]

Incidents like this have the power to change someone's life for better or worse, as the teacher above notes that it could easily have turned them away from music. It takes resilience on the part of the learner to defy their teachers – a scenario also evidenced by musicians who were told they would not be able to gain entry to tertiary music education but were determined to make it, such as “Rosie” (see 6.4.9). As described in this study, teachers and practitioners who have experienced such incidents become very wary of their own positions of power as gatekeepers to others' musical lives. These teachers and practitioners often model their teaching practice on what they consider to be good practice as exemplified by their own teachers, or they actively choose to not replicate what they view as bad practice. In particular, the types of practices the teachers and practitioners in this study sought to counter usually involved exclusion or fear. Their own experiences had involved being excluded from participating in musical activities by the decision of a 'bad' teacher or being scared of a teacher who they felt did not show kindness.

The life stories of teachers and practitioners in this study make it clear that becoming a gatekeeper of musical learning often happens by chance rather than choice. Musical lives are shaped by family- and education-based opportunities. Whilst families will always create unique life trajectories, at the school level there is a concerning level of diversity of experience, evidenced not only by teachers' and practitioners' own experiences as learners, but also in their accounts of access to musical learning in their places of work now.

10.2.2 Gender, Race and Work in Music Education

A broader issue that became apparent in the data analysis is the impact of systemic, structural and societal factors on life trajectories, musical lives and career paths. Gender and race were the most visible – the pool of teachers and practitioners in the study was overwhelmingly white, partly because that is the norm within music education and community music in Scotland, and as such it was not until after data collection that I realised my complicity in not realising this skew. Gender imbalances – particularly with regards to the number of women teachers – was also largely taken as a norm, as primary teaching is predominantly a female profession. This is rooted in historical norms of what job roles were deemed appropriate for women. Whilst the gender imbalance within the teaching profession is not the concern of this study, it is important to understand how gender has impacted on the life trajectories of the teachers in this project. The impact of parenthood, and specifically motherhood, on changes to working life was exemplified in Chapter 9. Taking an intersectional look at the demographics of generalist primary teacher, many of the

older teachers came from working class family backgrounds and geographical areas – this manifested itself in perceiving teaching as an appropriate vocation due to its financial stability and societal positioning as a respectable job.

Evetts (1990) highlights the many ways in which women influence the culture of primary schools as a place of work, including the staffroom as a gendered space and community, and the way in which the labour market of teaching is designed to work with women's lives in a way that other industries do not. Alongside this, teaching continues to be viewed as a job that is well suited to women and mothers, through a sense that it is accommodating of family commitments (White, 2009).

Kyriacou and Coulthard (2000) note the role of incentives in their study of undergraduate students' views on teaching as a potential future pursuit, arguing that it is "the degree of match between what a person wants from a career and the extent to which they think a particular career offers what they want that has a crucial influence on their career decision-making" (p118). This places weight on perception – although teaching may be perceived as a good job for accommodating parenthood, the reality may be far from it. This is of particular concern when historical views and norms continue to replicate themselves in society, creating a false sense of what to expect.

Situating gender within life decisions, Western society has historically dictated a tacit life trajectory for women that is centred on marriage and children. This puts particular pressure on women to have found a partner by a certain age so that they are able to conceive children whilst it is still biologically possible. These norms have played a clear role in the lives of some of the teachers in this study. Teaching has historically been viewed as a suitable career for women through the supposed importance of maternalism in the lives of young children. It also allows women to fulfil those tropes that society dictates make a 'good woman'. (Ailwood, 2007)

10.2.3 Finding parity in life opportunities: reducing chance, increasing choice

The personal and structural influences on life trajectory have a significant impact on who becomes a gatekeeper of musical learning. In the current climate of cuts to music education in Scotland, particularly in instrumental music services where there is an additional financial barrier to pupils and their families, the future landscape of who will be teaching music is of particular concern. With musical learning opportunities increasingly reserved for those who present as having 'musical aptitude' or have the financial and motivational support from family to pursue music

education, the notion of music as an art form that is for everyone becomes more and more distanced from perceptions of what is achievable in reality.

10.3 Creating safe and positive musical learning environments: preparedness for the workplace

Once teachers and practitioners arrive in the workplace, via their wide and varied life trajectories, they encounter a complex and dynamic environment with tough new demands. Across the thematic analysis, aspects of risk arose from teachers' and participants' accounts of learning how to do their jobs, and the ways in which they arrived in their positions. They also described the aims of and approaches to their jobs in similar terms. The unintentional journey into teaching or community music work paired with inadequate training can create unsafe environments for both learners and educators. Simultaneously, teachers and practitioners described their initial experiences of learning to do their jobs in similar terms, as explored in Chapter 8. While their routes into work were widely varied, the learning process came back to one main approach – learning by doing, most often while working (as opposed to while training).

The experiences of generalist and specialist teachers in particular, with regards to their own education and training, shows a real issue in the perceived effectiveness of ITE. This perception of training as inadequate was not their only shared experience – both sets of teachers and the practitioners described the aims of their jobs as well as their approaches to fulfilling them in similar ways, showing a significant amount of overlap in how community music-based and primary classroom-based musical learning activities are delivered. Practical learning also emerged as a key component of professional development across the study, particularly in the early stages of developing teaching and facilitation practices.

10.3.1 Initial Teacher Education: successes, flaws and possible improvements

Many of the teachers involved in this project had negative memories of music in ITE. The teachers in this study unanimously felt that they learned more from being in the classroom than they did in teacher education in general. They felt that they could not truly know how to teach without being in the classroom and enacting their practice, and that the opportunity to learn from other teachers in the workplace was key to allowing them to develop their own practice. However, on-the-job routes into teaching such as TeachFirst have come under criticism because they risk sending barely-trained individuals into classrooms and are seen as inadequate in comparison to other routes that involve a year of training before entering the

classroom independently (Parker & Gale, 2016). Classroom-based placements are also central to ITE programmes, so what is the role and place of the ITE lecture, and does it need to be revised?

A major issue with ITE at present is that music is given such little time in the ITE lecture schedule, and is sometimes optional. Teachers voiced this in their interviews as a reason why they often couldn't remember what this part of their training involved. ITE students are often asked to choose between different Expressive Arts subjects. Colleagues involved in delivering teacher education have spoken anecdotally about how the status of music as an add-on is already in the minds of teacher education students when they choose to opt out of music classes. It is not only music that is given little time – those delivering teacher education in areas other than literacy and numeracy are faced with the task of teaching as much useful information on their subjects as they can in a matter of hours, while students are confronted with trying to grasp the essentials of every subject in the curriculum.

Drawing on the suggestions made by teachers of what could improve early workplace experiences, including the views of those involved in teacher education for music, here are some areas for development:

1. **More music in ITE:** the current provision of 3-6 hours in most institutions is not enough for teachers to gain a sense of confidence, and whilst this is the same amount of training given in other subjects, there is a particular barrier around teaching music that is not experienced with most other subjects (See 7.4.1). As we have learned from inclusive education, there is a difference between equality and equity. Therefore, to properly allow adequate (and equitable) provision, music and other subjects where there are such barriers should be allocated more time (and resources).
2. **Better awareness of, and funding for, music CPD opportunities:** new teachers reported a lack of awareness of their options for music CPD once they were out in the school, and that where there were opportunities, it was sometimes difficult to take them up because of associated costs.

10.3.2 Advanced musical education: can it sufficiently train community musicians and music teachers?

It is common for both community musicians and primary music specialist teachers to have undergone advanced musical training, most often through higher education in the university or conservatoire. Looking across the experiences of the musicians in this study who have undergone this level of education, and to understand the direct

links between this specialist, advanced training, and their work in community music and/or music education, in this section I will explore how effective the musicians in this study have found their own training, situating their experiences within a wider understanding of what advanced musical training could constitute – are those who feel their training has been insufficient unlucky, or is there a more systemic issue with the type of training these institutions deliver and how well it serves its learners?

The advanced musical learning experiences of the practitioners and specialist teachers in this project mostly focussed on high level instrumental skills, with a view to preparing students for life as a performing musician. Some had the opportunity to opt into or specialise in education- and community-based modules, although these weren't always deemed as effective as the resulting qualification. This meant that for many of the community music practitioners, in particular, whilst they had received some community music training during their studies, upon gaining work within community music after graduation they suddenly found themselves out of their depth facilitating workshops unaided – their training had allowed them to experience community music in a supported environment with an experienced practitioner at the helm, or, at the very least, other peers to work with, and it was not until these crutches were absent in the 'real' workplace that their importance was realised.

10.3.3 What can teachers and community musicians learn from each other?

Across this project, teachers and community musicians have demonstrated many commonalities in their life journeys, learning experiences, and workplaces. Using the experiences of teachers and practitioners, I will now explore how each group of workers may be able to learn from each other's experiences and points of view.

The most significant insight into the act of teaching as described by musicians, which I explored in Chapter 8, was the notion of teaching as a performance, and not just that, but a performance that can be acted out. That is, the teacher/facilitator does not actually need to be confident, rather they need to be able to *perform* confidence.

There are also significant differences between facilitation as a ground-up approach to creative musicking, and some approaches to teaching that act as a top-down way of teaching re-creative musicking. Some teachers describe their approach as being closer to facilitation. The key difference that appears between teachers who describe teaching as facilitation, and community musicians, is that the teachers still felt a barrier with music. This could be put down to ideas of what music is, but also of general issues of musical confidence. In some ways, ideas of what music is has a

direct impact on musical confidence – those lacking confidence usually define their lack of skills by a measure of what they think musical skills are, and most often in terms of WEAM.

10.3.4 Who should be delivering primary music?

The most significant change in the relationship between primary generalist and music specialist teachers was with the introduction of non-contact time under McCrone reforms, as this actively stopped generalist teachers from being able to attend, observe and participate in lessons delivered by specialist teachers. By allocating the time designated to the music lesson as the generalist teachers' preparation and marking time, their participation in music is halted, and their obligation to engage with music comes under question in a way it was not previously.

Both specialist and generalist teachers presented disparate ideas around who should be teaching music in primary schools – there was no consensus in either group over whether it should be the generalist, specialist, or both working together. This lack of agreement on who should teach music contributes to significant variation in primary school music provision and learner experiences. As a result of the lack of consistency in primary school music provision in Scotland, secondary teachers are faced with the predicament of figuring out how to teach a class of first year secondary pupils who have vastly different levels of prior musical learning and knowledge. The most straightforward approach to this ends up being to start from the lowest denominator.

“over 30 years we've had this barrier between p7 and s1, and everybody starts at the same place in s1” [S7]

This means that secondary school pupils potentially start their music education from the beginning, or from the basics, at the beginning of secondary school, limiting how advanced their school music education will get. For some pupils this means their secondary education overlaps with any primary music education they had, whilst others may be learning for the first time. This then has a knock-on effect on who has access to music at tertiary level education. These curriculum reforms, and the impact they have across the primary and secondary sectors, provide a context for the subsequent issues discussed in this chapter in that these subsequent issues contribute to and inform decisions around curriculum reform.

One possible solution to finding a balance between generalist teachers delivering music and specialist provision, is to remove music as a subject that can be used in

non-contact time. This would mean generalist teachers are able to observe the specialist and follow up lessons on their own. Responding to generalist teachers' confidence issues around delivering music to upper primary students, splitting provision so that lower primary receive generalist-delivered broader music education as a precursor to specialist provision in upper primary may be a fix.

“it should be secondary music teachers [...] going down into the primaries and teaching, and there's that cross-feed. And I think that's the approach that now needs to happen. [...] it needs to be on that scale of every class, every school, because if you miss one school, game's a bogey, because that class are going to come up not having a clue and everybody else is going to be running rings around them, so I think it needs to be happening on that scale.” [S1]

This former teacher highlights an issue that affects various aspects of music education in Scotland, including instrumental music provision – lack of consistency in provision on a school-to-school level. This impacts on who continues in their music education beyond primary school and is ultimately shaping the demographic of who is going back into the system as music educators.

10.4 The impact of WEAM-centric thinking

In this section I argue that not only does WEAM continue to be seen as the ideal music education in Scottish primary schools, but that the centring of WEAM allows a colonial mindset to prevail in music education through this, and impacts on teacher confidence and the position of music as an 'othered', i.e. specialist, subject.

An overarching aspect of this research that developed as the project progressed concerns the colonial underpinning of wider educational culture and practice, and in particular the dominance of the Western gaze. My awareness of colonialism and its legacy has grown exponentially through activities I have engaged with that are external to this project, and so the way in which I began to work with the data naturally drew up on this influence. I addressed my developing thoughts on colonialism from my position as a researcher, and the impact this has on my research practice, in Chapter 4, setting out my aims for decolonising my practice through the methodological choices I made in this project, and being conscious of my choice of language.

With regards to the subject matter of this research project, there are underlying issues around how music is conceptualised that holds roots in a colonial mindset and impacts the accessibility of music education to both educators and learners. Whilst analysing the data and thinking about the theme of “Music as ‘other’” I began

to view it through this newfound lens of the colonial context. Situating 'otherness' through the colonial lens allowed me to see more ways in which WEAM, as the colonising force, has dominated music education in Scotland, defining many teachers' views on the aims of music education, and forming the basis of how many teachers and practitioners formed their sense of musical self and musical confidence.

10.4.1 Colonialism, the 'other', and the history of WEAM

To understand how colonialism influences music education today, we have to first look at how music education as it is today was established during the British colonial period, and in particular, during Queen Victoria's reign. Colonialism itself was a project driven by the concept of the 'other' – it was about eradicating and/or controlling the 'other' and making it conform to the ways of the coloniser, posing the coloniser as the superior power.

Colonialism is often described as a historical era, a time that is firmly in the past. However, it continues to exist in many forms, not least in its impact on the way we think. A major tool of the colonial project was the creation of power hierarchies between the coloniser and colonised, that situated the coloniser as the superior force. In the particular case of white European colonisers, this meant the superiority of whiteness over people of colour, leading to racialised oppression of indigenous people in colonised lands, fuelled by a Darwinian air of superiority (Taylor, 2007, p74). This dichotomy of power still impacts formerly colonised communities, through colourism and the upholding of 'white Western' values. This extends to cultural values – colonialism had a significant impact on what was considered 'good' or 'proper' culture, using respectability and morality to fuel the anti-Nautch movement in colonised India (Chatterjee, 1992), and to ban indigenous arts in North America through criminalising indigenous language and cultural practices (Dalal, 2011).

WEAM education in the UK, particularly for women, became a symbol of class status (Bull, 2016a), partly through the pursuit of music teaching being seen as a worthy and respectable career for a woman in Victorian times, and also through the way in which instrumental tuition was seen to discipline the body away from immorality. These values are replicated globally through institutionalised WEAM education, as well as through the impact of colonialism on indigenous arts.

European colonial projects constructed the notion of The Orient to create a false dichotomy between itself and those regions it saw as different. Back in the 'Western' world, the Orientalist gaze – a colonial lens through which other cultures could be

exoticised – was established as a means to ‘other’ the ‘East’. Like the constructs of ‘East’ and ‘West’, Orientalism provided another vehicle with which Europe could manage a set of geographical areas that it defined – Europe created the boundaries that defined The Orient (Said, 2003). A legacy of Orientalism in music and the arts can be observed in the stereotypes and caricature tropes featured in so called Orientalist compositions in the 18th to 20th centuries, and the exoticisation of such aesthetics.

To understand who is missing in the historical music curriculum, one has to look at world history. Whilst Mozart was writing symphonies, Black people were trying to survive colonisation and slavery, and what written documentation did exist amidst often oral traditions was destroyed by the colonisers (Holder, 2018). Perceptions of indigenous people as illiterate led to a vast archive of writings about music in North India being overlooked for over a century, until recently (Orsini & Schofield, 2015). The combination of perceptions of indigenous people as inferior combined with the oppression inflicted upon them by the West, not only wrote these voices out of our history books, but actively prohibited them from being able to pursue their art in the way that the Western European ‘Greats’ could.

In these multiple ways, we can see how colonialism creates hierarchies of power which act to ‘other’ that which is considered inferior. This ‘othering’ shapes the histories that are preserved and told, and determines which histories become silenced and made invisible. The major colonial projects of the 18th to 20th centuries, and the atrocities committed against indigenous peoples during this time, provide additional evidence for the absence of equivalents to the Western ‘Greats’. There is a further layer to this with regards to the notion of ‘Greats’ and how WEAM culture differs from many other concepts of music and art around the world, which I explore in the next section, however colonial history still holds responsibility for the erasure and oppression of non-Western art and artists.

10.4.2 Colonial legacy in music education today

The impact of historical colonial events is still felt today. It is visible in issues that formerly colonised nations still face as they try to rebuild, it is visible in how the ‘developed’ Western world still views these countries as ‘developing’, and it is visible in how the West treats the art and culture of formerly colonised peoples. Western museums are filled with cultural artefacts that were stolen; Western artists exploit and exoticise ‘othered’ bodies and sounds; Indigenous artists remain invisible in the curriculum. Music is still marketed in a way that exoticises non-Western sounds, including sheet music and scores which are central to instrumental music education.

For example, ABRSM syllabus pieces use the word “exotic” to describe pieces that draw on or depict non-European cultures (see shop.abrsm.org).

Rickard and Chin (in MacDonald, Hargreaves and Miell, 2017) highlight the Western-centric notion of ‘being a musician’ that is not observed in many cultures elsewhere in the world, where being involved in music, and thus ‘being musical,’ is a universal norm in daily life. From my own involvement in inclusive and community music practice in the UK, I was aware of the use of musical identity in this universal way. For example, in one community arts organisation I worked with, part of their ethos defined anyone actively coming into the workshop session as a musician.

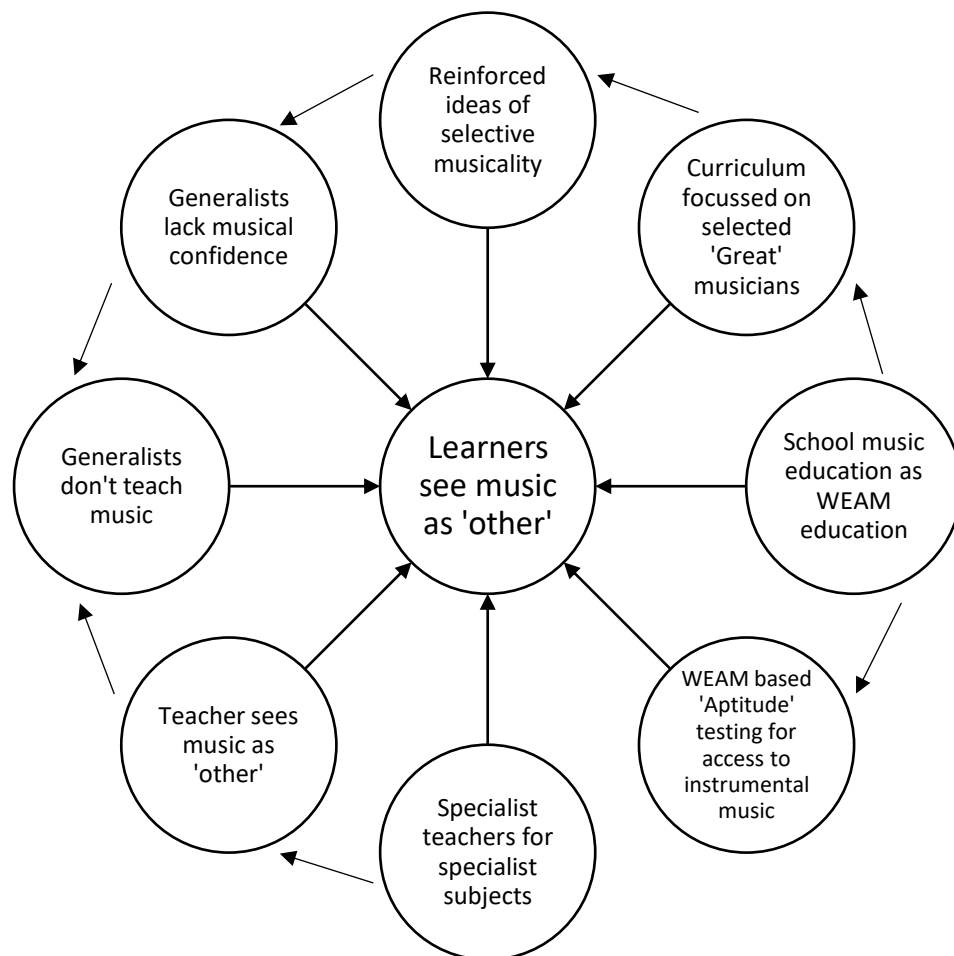


Figure 5. A demonstration of colonial legacy in music education

Figure 5 above demonstrates how the ‘othering’ of music has a cyclical impact on music education provision both through teachers, and on a structural level through the decline of uptake of music education at different levels. Music as the ‘other’ encourages and perpetuates the need for ‘specialist’ provision – now this is not to say that music specialists have no role in primary music education, rather that there

is a place for specialists, but that some music education should be accessible to all teachers and learners. Music is 'othered' through the lack of generalist provision and the use of specialist teachers – music teaching through specialist delivery implicitly indicates that not all teachers can teach music. This message is then subconsciously passed onto learners and reinforced through the use of selection processes to determine who gets to learn how to play an instrument.

10.4.3 Decolonising music education: repositioning music within the curriculum

Let's start with why it is important to decolonise teaching and learning. The othering of music through narrow, WEAM-guided definitions of what music is and who can be a musician, music education continues to perpetuate colonialist hierarchies of white, Western supremacy. This is not to say WEAM has no place, rather that it must be situated within its context. In an increasingly diverse society, with increasingly diverse classrooms, it is becoming more and more important to acknowledge, understand and address the systems of oppression that underpin daily life and experience.

What WEAM education teaches is a recreative form of musicking – that is, it is centred on a canon of works by mostly white, Western European men, whereby instrumental music skills focus on learning to recreate a repertoire of these men's compositions. While CfE is open in its written form, the way in which teachers conceptualise music and interpret the curriculum allows for the reproduction of WEAM as the primary frame of reference.

10.5 Opening the gates to teaching music: Expectancy Value Theory

Looking across all three areas of discussion in this chapter – the life trajectory, work environment, and colonial views of music education – we see how generalist teachers can find their capacity to deliver music in the primary classroom diminishing, effectively closing the gates of access to musical learning experiences for both teachers and learners. Conceptualising this barrier to delivering music through Expectancy Value Theory situates teachers' confidence as the key determining factor in building teachers' capacity for teaching music and provides insight into how the gates to musical learning might be opened.

Confidence is built from teachers' sense of whether they possess the knowledge and skills required to deliver a subject, which is itself informed by the curriculum. If teachers think they have the knowledge they need, they will be able to confidently

deliver a lesson – the important word here being *think*, i.e. that their self-perception is of being capable, whether or not they actually are. This leads us back to the notion of performing teaching – portraying capability and confidence. The knowledge they need is guided by the aim of the job and the curriculum. In Chapter 7, specialist and generalist teachers remarked on the vagueness of CfE, particularly the Experiences and Outcomes for music. Figure 6 demonstrates what happens when teachers lack confidence in their capacity to develop music, and struggle to place the position of music within the curriculum, resulting in a block in their perceived capacity to develop their music teaching practice.

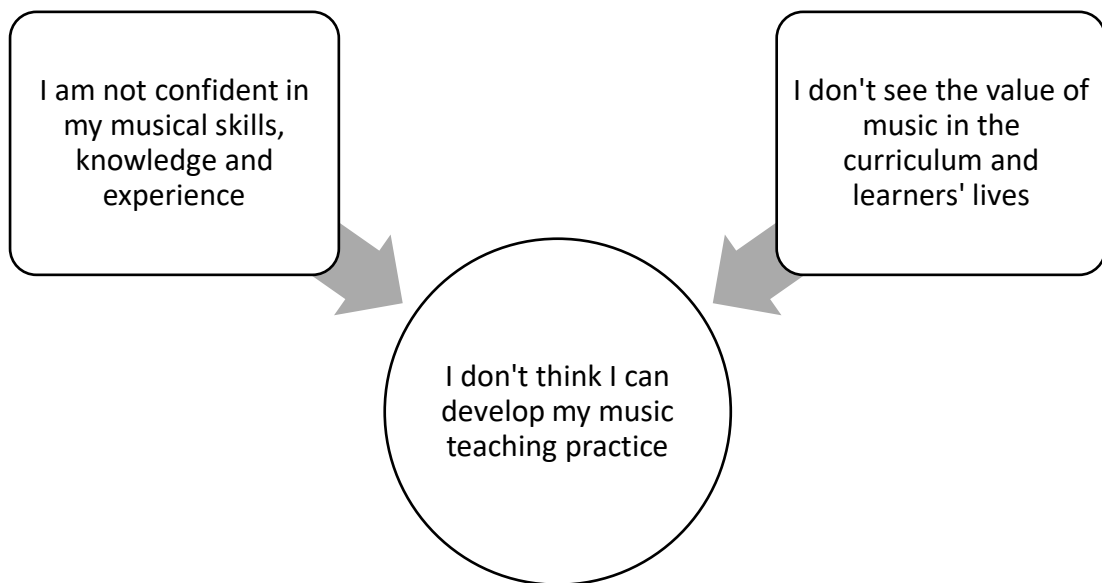


Figure 6. Low self-efficacy in EVT

In order to increase the success of fulfilling a task in the EVT model, either the task itself, or the individual's self-perception can be altered. The task is driven by a set of aims or outcomes – in the case of music education, these are determined by the curriculum and the teacher as curator of the curriculum. The teacher has the authority to set the aims and outcomes of the task. The skills, qualities and knowledges required to successfully fulfil a task can thus shift. Taking the issue of WEAM-centric music education, and the recreative, knowledge-based and skills-based approach that it uses, it is easy to see how barriers can appear for teachers.

This is where I return to views on CfE, discussed in Chapter 7. Generalist primary teachers felt that the curriculum was not clear enough in its aims. The same four outcomes applied across the board from Primary 1 to Primary 7 could be interpreted

in too many ways, and without adequate knowledge on the teachers' part they could not operationalise them. Furthermore, WEAM-guided notions of what music is, and what a musician is, positions music as a 'special' subject, only for those who know certain knowledges and possess certain skills, excluding generalist teachers who do not feel they meet these 'specialist' criteria. It is this 'othering' of music that is central to musical barriers – the very notion of music being a specialist subject makes it exclusive, only accessible to those who understand it's specialism. So what happens when we broaden our definition and understanding of what music is, and who can engage with it? Figure 7 shows how a positive relationship with musical self-concept and an understanding of music's place in the curriculum can enable further development of music teaching practices.

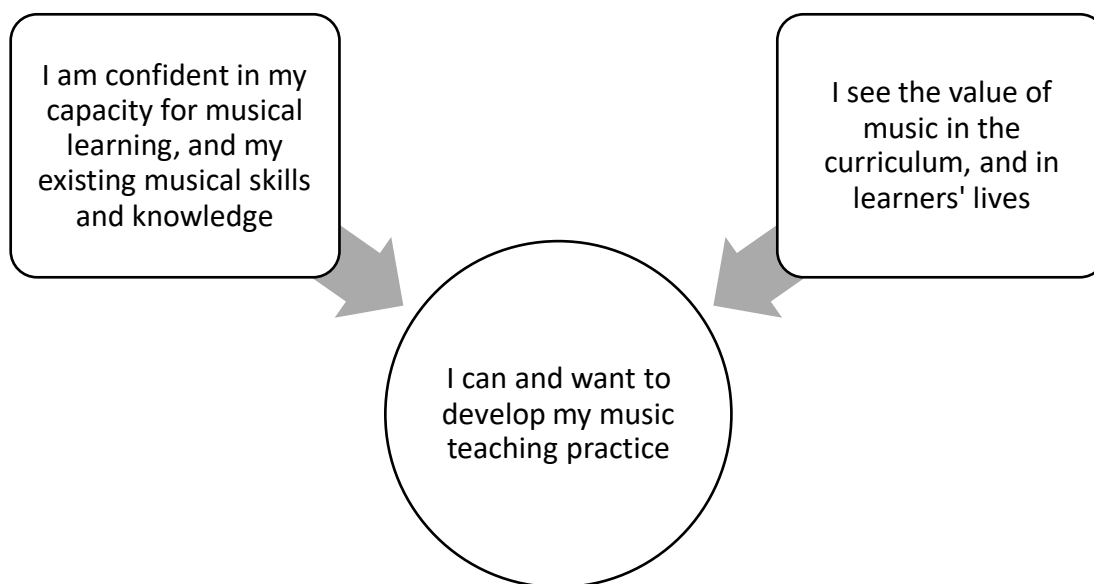


Figure 7. High self-efficacy in EVT

Drawing on community music practitioners' and primary music specialists' (i.e. professional musicians') views on music, we begin to see wider and more nuanced definitions – e.g. music as organised sound, broader awareness and understanding of different ways of musicking, and various ideas of what a musician is, from someone who contributes to musicking in the most basic setting, to someone who makes their living from music. In contrast, generalist teachers who lacked musical confidence often held more narrow views on what music is, and who can be a musician, often centred on WEAM as music.

Thomson and Palermo (2018) found that, alongside self-belief in their teaching ability, perceptions of how adequate teacher education programmes are is key to

how student teachers conceptualise their expectations for teaching successfully. Comparing the positive experiences of pre-service teachers in their study (contributing to high levels of self-confidence about teaching) with the negative experiences of teachers in *this* study, we can see how this variable can impact on teachers' expectations, and in the case of this project, how ITE contributes to low self-confidence in music teaching amongst generalist teachers.

Viewing generalist teacher confidence in music through EVT we can now see that there are several factors that influence teachers' self-belief in their ability to teach music and develop their music teaching skills. From their earliest musical experiences, through to Initial Teacher Education, in the classroom and in the home life, formative musical experiences shape teachers' sense of musical self, and through a series of personal interactions with music, and tacit societal influences, their value for musical learning and musical identities are developed. These life-long and life-wide experiences can build teachers' beliefs of what they think they can do, what they think they can learn, and, crucially, what they think they *can't* do (Burland, 2005).

10.6 Implications for Music Education in Scotland

Across this chapter, I have addressed primary concerns that emerged from the interviews with teachers and practitioners, concerning preparation for the workplace and mindsets around musical ability and access to musical learning. Both of these issues are foregrounded by the immediate impact of who is gatekeeping musical learning opportunities, and the baggage they bring into their learning environment. In this section I will explore the implications of this study's findings with regards to these issues. I will focus on the training of musicians and teachers as the primary form of formal preparation for entering the workplace, before addressing access to musical learning opportunities through proposing a conceptual shift.

10.6.1 Higher Education for Teachers and Musicians

Addressing readiness for entering the workplace, higher education is a significant aspect of the training of both musicians and teachers. Responding to teachers' experiences of ITE, there is a need to evaluate the effectiveness of music components in ITE programmes, as well as addressing the huge disparity in experiences around the country.

Most generalist teachers in this study received just a few hours of training in music, yet it is the subject they struggled most to teach. This is where equality versus equity comes in. If a subject requires a different approach or more time and

resource in order to develop sufficient teacher education that enables teachers to deliver it with confidence, then equality between subjects is not enough – an *equitable* approach would see each subject given appropriate support to enable teachers to approach delivery of each subject with an *equal* level of confidence.

Addressing the potential of CfE, as discussed in Chapter 7 the main problem with the curriculum itself is that teachers struggle to operationalise its musical components, partly through their own understanding of music as a specific set of knowledges and skills in contrast with the very open aims of the curriculum. Addressing the impact of WEAM-centric music education, alongside the issue of quantity of music education training, there is a clear issue experienced by teachers around the (lack of) clarity of what music is. The music education that teachers described as being inaccessible to them was one focussed on specific ideas of what music is, through notation, theory, and a particular strand of world history, which accompany traditions of instrumental music.

In the case of musicians, the primary issue is the gap between possessing advanced musical skills and knowledge and the ability to facilitate musical learning. Community music training may (to an extent, and not in all cases) provide a well-supported environment for music students to learn about community music and develop the beginnings of their own practice. However, it does not always prepare them for the workplace where they may be expected to work without the support of a more experienced practitioner, and where the community music setting is vastly different from those they experienced in their training.

Exploring the overlap of teaching music and facilitating community music activities, the notion of *performing* teaching and facilitating emerged. The main barrier faced by teachers is confidence and particularly not being able to portray confidence and competency to their pupils. Could performance training unlock access to music teaching for generalist teachers by enabling them to learn how to *perform* confidence and competency?

In both of these strands of higher education – music and teacher education – there is a need for wider research into the effectiveness of training for musicians wishing to work in community music or music education, and the effectiveness of teacher education in preparing teachers to tackle the music curriculum. It is clear that workplace-based learning is important to teachers and practitioners, but if higher education remains a prerequisite for the work then it should surely be effective.

10.6.2 Widening Access to Musical Learning

Access to musical learning opportunities has been set out in this thesis through three main avenues. Firstly, teachers act as gatekeepers of access for learners, with their own beliefs mediating musical learning directly in their delivery. Secondly, teachers' own education, including professional and vocational training, shapes their practice. Thirdly, the overall WEAM-centric mindset of music that persists in music education and wider society influences both teachers' and learners' conceptions of what music is, and this broader level of thought manifests itself at all levels, and makes WEAM a frame of reference for discussing other types of music. Figure 8 visualises these three avenues, showing WEAM as an overarching influence that has a multi-pronged impact.

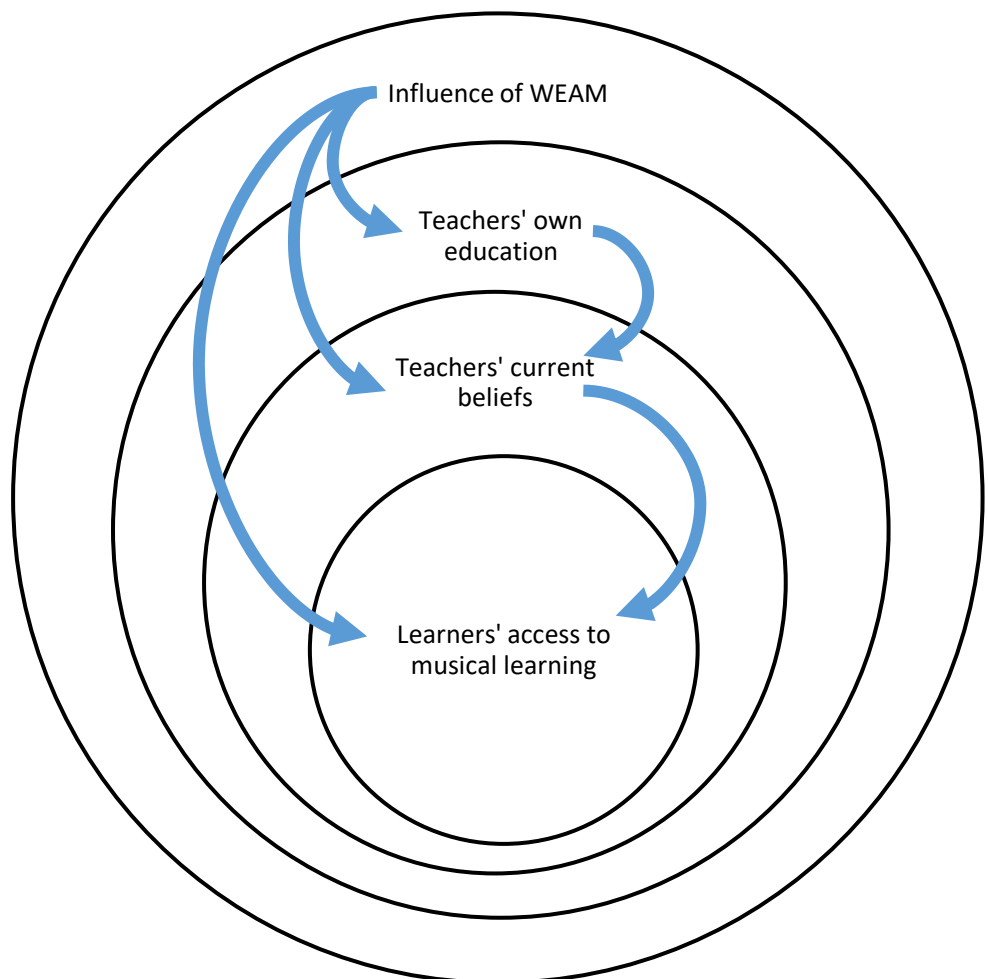


Figure 8. The influence of WEAM on learners' access to musical learning

Community music practices that were articulated by practitioners in this study included those which seek to challenge WEAM-centricity, and in particular its emphasis on re-creative practices, by focussing on creative musicking. Simultaneously, practitioners' descriptions of what it is they think they are doing when they facilitate musical learning experiences were very similar to the aims of music education in primary schools as described by both (some) generalist and music specialist teachers.

Addressing the impact of WEAM-centric music education on both learners' experiences and teachers' self-belief of their capacity for delivering music, an initial possible way forward is to decolonise music education and situate WEAM within a more accurate context, in the hope of changing mindsets of musical ability to become more open. Decolonising requires a conceptual shift. It requires the acknowledgement of a history and an understanding of the many ways in which colonialism persists in the mind. Since the conceptualisation of music as WEAM exists at such a macro level, decentring WEAM can immediately change how music education is approached and experienced by teachers and learners alike. Decolonisation is an ongoing process, but at its heart, like many movements that seek better access to musical learning, is an aim of striving for equality.

Chapter 11 Closing Reflections

Having shared the findings and implications of this project in the previous few chapters, I will now reflect on the limitations of the study, the process of carrying out the project, and prospective next steps for research in this area. This thesis has been a culmination of work exploring issues of access in music education, whilst simultaneously providing me with a space to begin to understand colonialism in action, and explore opportunities to decolonise my practices as a researcher and academic.

11.1 Summary of findings

The study on which this thesis is based has shone a light on the following areas: teachers' and practitioners' perceptions of the skills, knowledges and experiences they think they need in order to facilitate musical learning; the various structural barriers that exist for both teachers and learners in music education; the unique sets of chances and choices which enable people to pursue musical lives.

In summarising the findings of this study, it is clear that Western European Art Music (WEAM) is a central feature of how music is conceptualised, and thus plays an important role in how music is interacted with in the classroom. As shown in Figure 5 (Chapter 10, p221) it is the domino effect of WEAM ideas that has an impact on primary school music, in ways that may not seem immediately obvious. In Chapter 9, the significance of gatekeeping highlighted the role of people and their beliefs in mediating access to music education. In understanding how these beliefs are informed, largely through the influence of WEAM, we can observe a multi-level influence of this way of musicking that acts to reproduce ideas of selective musicality. This is enacted through the delivery of CfE, since the curriculum is so broad in how it can be interpreted. Generalist teachers in particular are more likely to view music in a product-based way, adhering to WEAM conventions of what music is, and who can be a musician. This notion of selective musicality inhibits teachers' own musical confidence, which was a significant issue faced by teachers in this study, whilst simultaneously being perpetuated through curricular focus on WEAM literacy and a history of music that disproportionately emphasises a canon of 'great' white men. In this way the curriculum itself becomes a barrier for teachers, reinforcing 'otherness' through generalist teachers' dependency on music specialists. It is possible to envisage how the decentring of WEAM and acknowledgement of global ideas of universal musicality can manifest through the notion of 'music for all' in the classroom, thus breaking down barriers caused by WEAM.

Equality of opportunity – as both personal and structural – is integral to the musical life trajectory. Individuals (family, teachers, friends) can enable and influence, while larger societal expectations and norms can drive choices and create barriers.

11.2 Limitations

There were a number of limitations in this study, not least the relatively short amount of time available to pursue access to data gatekeepers, gain access, and the physical and time-related demands of transcribing the audio data into text ahead of analysis.

There is a supplementary set of interviews with primary teacher education students and NQT teachers, as well as music students and new community music practitioners, which were excluded from this thesis on the grounds of requiring transcription time that was not available. These will subsequently be transcribed and written up in a follow-up study.

Within the interviews I did transcribe and use in this thesis, there are only a few perspectives from male teachers, and the vast majority of teachers and practitioners are white (i.e. there is little ethnic diversity, specifically with regards to the representation of people from the Global South). At the time of recruiting teachers and practitioners in this study, this diversity was not seen as essential to the initial research questions, but greater gender balance and more ethnic diversity could present different views and experiences. As with any qualitative project that collects data from a small number of people, it cannot be expected to be representative of all teachers' and practitioners' experiences. However, the individual lived experiences of each person should be viewed with due respect and significance – one person's barrier is just as important as one faced by 100 people, and this is the mindset I have put at the centre of this project.

11.3 Decolonising Research Practices

Across this thesis, and in the act of data collection, I have sought to decolonise my research practice. I have done this mainly through making active choices in my language – finding alternatives for words that demonstrate colonial mentality – and trying to eliminate hierarchy between myself and the teachers and practitioners who contributed their views and experiences to the project in interviews.

My reason for making these choices came from a place of feeling a real unease with the coloniality of academia and academic practice. Through this project, I have

been able to find a context for these feelings and find ways to make academia a more comfortable place for researchers like me.

In negotiating such complex matters, I wish to highlight the role of scrutiny in pursuing the study of what is considered by some to be controversial. In the process of incorporate discussions of colonialism and decolonising into my research practices and this project, I have undergone perhaps more scrutiny than if I were to ignore such issues. Considering the wider importance of holding the academy to account with regards to equality and inclusion, the barriers to tackling colonial mentality can be observed in the attempts of those scholars who are seeking to challenge the status quo.

11.4 Possible next steps

Moving forward in this area of research, there is much scope for further exploration of how music educators learn – and think they learn – how to facilitate musical learning. My collection of interviews with generalist teacher education students and community music students and trainees will be analysed and written up in the near future, to build on the insights gained from experienced and qualified teachers and practitioners in this project. There is a clear need to explore Scottish teacher education in more depth with regards to music provision, to better understand and respond to the impact of such varied experiences across the different offerings and institutions. Also, we have yet to see the longer-term impact of curriculum reforms that have happened after the teachers and practitioners in this study completed their school education, and whether this has any effect on experiences of studying music in school and beyond.

There is also much work to be done in decolonising music education – whilst this thesis has managed to highlight the continued dominance of WEAM education through a post-colonial lens, there wasn't the opportunity to go back and work with teachers on understanding how colonialism influences teaching and learning. This extends to teacher education – not only does music provision in ITE need to be addressed with regards to the amount of time and resource it receives, but it should also take into account broader equalities issues if these are to be embedded in Scottish schools.

Considering the experiences of women in the study, and their relationships with music education and musical confidence, there is scope for further exploration of the relationship between gender and musical confidence with regards to primary generalist music teaching. With primary generalist teaching being a predominantly

female field an area for potential future research in music education, particularly music education delivered by generalist teachers, is the impact of gender on confidence – that is, is musical confidence gendered, and is the broader issue of primary teachers' lack of musical confidence made more prominent by the fact that primary teaching is a female-dominated field? Green (2002b) describes gendered displays of musical confidence in young people – could this culture of gendered confidence in music continue to have an impact on adults? What of the role models and people who support musical learning journeys? If we look back at Craig's story (Chapter 6), he had a number of positive role models who were all men in music. Visible differences in the encouragement of and confidence experienced by men and women in this study raise new questions around the gendered nature of support, and how this might impact gender equality in the music and education workforces.

11.5 Final thoughts

In this thesis, and through this doctoral project, I have had the opportunity to explore and consider the coloniality of research practice and music education. It is hoped that my transparent exposition of this journey highlights the complexities of decolonising research practice and demonstrates the critical need for researchers to be given space to interrogate colonial legacies. Too often, researchers – particularly those who are typically marginalised within academia and society – are discouraged from discussing these issues, or their intentions are misread as excessive and unjustified criticism.

In taking a decolonising lens to my analysis and thinking, I hope to have shed light on how decolonising teaching and learning can open up possibilities for music education and academia. This thesis somewhat unintentionally brought my attention to the deep-rooted manifestations of colonial legacy within music education, and by understanding how these manifestations can reproduce inequality of access to musical learning, I see new ways forward in building equality in music education.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Interview Questions

Group 1 – Qualified Generalist Primary Teacher

Basic info

Where did you train?

What did you study? BEd/PGDE/Other

How many years have you been teaching?

How long have you been in your current school?

How much music did you do as part of training to become a primary teacher?

Musical experiences and engagement

What were your own musical experiences like as a child? How would you describe them?

School

Whereabouts did you go to school, and when?

What musical activities did you do in school? In/out of classroom

Did you enjoy music at school? Why?

Home

Was there a lot of music at home? Being listened to/played.

How musically active would you say your family were?

Friends

Was music a part of your social life growing up?

Were your friends involved in music in some way? things?

Current engagement with music

Did you do similar things, different

What kind of music do you like?

How do you like to enjoy this music? Through listening/playing?

Do you listen to music for enjoyment? Play any instruments? Go to see live music?

Musical identities

Do you think you are musical?

Why do you feel that way?

What do you think "being musical" is?

Who do you think can be musical?

Have you felt more musical during one time in your life than another? Why did you feel that way?

Current teaching practice

What sort of music happens in your school? Who delivers it?

What sort of music do you do in the class?

How do you feel about doing music in your classroom?

How much do your learners engage with music in and out of the classroom?

How would you describe how musical your pupils are? All/some?

Do you think you face any barriers when it comes to doing music with your class?

Have you done music with different primary age groups?

How have you found music education at these different levels?

If anything, what do you think would help you with music in your classroom?

Group 2 – Experienced Community Music Practitioners

Basic info

Tell me a little bit about yourself...

How long have you been working in community music settings?

What led you into becoming a practitioner?

Have you had other roles within community music, aside from being a practitioner?

Tell me about where you work and who you work with – freelance, with organisations, other?

Do you have other job roles aside from working in community music?

What are they and for how long have you been doing them?

How would you describe the purpose of your work?

What motivates you as a community music practitioner? Why?

Musical identities

Would you describe yourself as a musician? How would you describe yourself?

Do you think you are musical?

Why do you feel that way?

What do you think "being musical" is?

Who do you think can be musical?

Have you felt more musical during one time in your life than another?

Why did you feel that way?

Musical experiences and engagement in earlier life

Was music a part of your life growing up?

What were your childhood musical experiences like? Can you describe them?

Education

Whereabouts did you go to school, and when?

What musical activities did you do in school? In/out of classroom

Did you enjoy music at school? Why?

Did you study music after school? What was that like?

Home

Growing up, how did music fit into your home life?

Was there a lot of music at home? Being listened to/played.

How musically active would you say your family were?

Friends

Was music a part of your social life growing up?

Were your friends involved in music in some way?

How does music fit into your life, socially, now?

Current engagement with music

Did you do similar things, different things to when you were younger?

What kind of music do you like?

How do you like to enjoy this music?

Through listening/playing?

Do you listen to music for enjoyment? Play any instruments? Go to see live music?

Is there a distinction for you between your personal, social and professional musical habits/preferences/activities?

Current practice

Can you describe the type of community music work you do?

What does it entail – musically? in terms of participants? long/short term projects? funded/voluntary?

How did you find your way into it?

Can you identify any key learning experiences that you have been through in your journey as a practitioner?

How do you feel about doing the work that you do? In terms of enjoyment? In terms of confidence?

How do you feel your experiences and/or training help you as a practitioner?

Do you do any professional development training? How have you found that?

Have you worked with different types of groups? In terms of age, gender, ethnicity, other diversity factors?

What has been your experience as a practitioner of working with different groups?

How do different groups influence your practice and feelings about working with different groups?

Are there certain areas you are more confident/comfortable working in? Why do you feel that?

Being a facilitator/practitioner

What skills do you think you need to have to do your job?

How do you think individuals acquire these skills?

Who do you think can be a practitioner?

Do you think being a practitioner is different to what teachers do? In what ways?

Do you think there are similarities with what teachers do? What are they and how are they similar?

What are the biggest challenges of being a practitioner?

Group 3 – Primary Music Specialists

Basic info

Tell me a little bit about yourself...

How long have you been working as a primary music specialist?

What led you into becoming a primary music specialist?

Do you do other work, aside from being a primary music specialist?

What are they and for how long have you been doing them?

What is your current work situation?

How would you describe the purpose of your work?

What motivates you as a primary music specialist? Why?

Musical identities

Would you describe yourself as a musician? How would you describe yourself?

Do you think you are musical?

Why do you feel that way?

What do you think "being musical" is?

Who do you think can be musical?

Have you felt more musical during one time in your life than another?

Why did you feel that way?

Musical experiences and engagement in earlier life

Was music a part of your life growing up?

What were your childhood musical experiences like? Can you describe them?

Education

Whereabouts did you go to school, and when?

What musical activities did you do in school? In/out of classroom

Did you enjoy music at school? Why?

Did you study music after leaving school? What was that like?

Have you undertaken specific study to be an educator?

Home

Growing up, how did music fit into your home life?
Was there a lot of music at home? Being listened to/played.
How musically active would you say your family were?

Friends

Was music a part of your social life growing up?
Were your friends involved in music in some way?
How does music fit into your life, socially, now?

Current engagement with music

Did you do similar things, different things to when you were younger?
What kind of music do you like?
How do you like to enjoy this music?
Through listening/playing?
Do you listen to music for enjoyment? Play any instruments? Go to see live music?
Is there a distinction for you between your personal, social and professional musical habits/preferences/activities?

Current practice

Can you describe the type of work you do in primary schools?
What does it entail – musically? in terms of participants? long/short term projects?
how is it funded?
How did you find your way into it?
Can you identify any key learning experiences that you have been through in your journey as an educator?
How do you feel about doing the work that you do? In terms of enjoyment? In terms of confidence?
How do you feel your experiences and/or training help you as an educator?
Do you do any professional development training? How have you found that?
Have you worked with different types of groups? In terms of age, gender, ethnicity, other diversity factors?
What has been your experience as a practitioner of working with different groups?
How do different groups influence your practice and feelings about working with different groups?
Are there certain areas you are more confident/comfortable working in? Why do you feel that?

Being a facilitator/practitioner

What skills do you think you need to have to do your job?
How do you think individuals acquire these skills?
Who do you think can be a practitioner?
Do you think being a practitioner is different to what teachers do? In what ways?
Do you think there are similarities with what teachers do? What are they and how are they similar?
What are the biggest challenges of being a practitioner?

Appendix B – Ethics documents

Participant Information Sheet

Name of department: Reid School of Music, University of Edinburgh

Title of the study: All music, music for all: Exploring a creative approach to musical learning that is accessible to all.

Introduction

My name is Diljeet Bhachu, and I am a PhD Researcher at the University of Edinburgh in the Reid School of Music. I am also a freelance musician and inclusive music practitioner. My main area of research is inclusive music education.

Researcher Contact Details:

Phone: [redacted]

Email: [redacted]

What is my research about?

I am exploring primary music with non-music-specialist primary teachers. In this part of the project, I am interested in finding out about your experiences, training, and current teaching practice. The wider research project will explore the use of community music principles in primary school classroom music.

Why have you been contacted to take part in this research?

- You are a general Primary Classroom teacher.
- You are not a music specialist.

Do you have to take part?

Participation is completely voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw at any point in the study.

Why might you want to take part?

I want to explore new ideas for music in the primary classroom, with a long-term aim to leave participants with new ideas to make music with their classes.

What will you do in the project?

Upon agreeing to participate, an interview will be arranged at a suitable location and time of convenience to both researcher and participant. The interview will last up to approximately 60 minutes, and should be completed by Friday 27th November 2015.

What happens to the information in the project?

The interviews will be recorded on an appropriate voice-recording device. Following transcription and analysis, any personal information will be omitted to preserve

anonymity of statements. Recordings will be retained only for academic purposes of this investigation, and only my supervisors and I will have access.

Following analysis of the interviews, research findings will be used in publications and other research dissemination associated with this research project. Anonymity will be maintained.

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?

There are no risks to you participating in the investigation.

If you have further questions, please contact me, or one of my supervisors:

Prof Raymond MacDonald

Raymond.MacDonald@ed.ac.uk

Dr Nikki Moran

n.moran@ed.ac.uk

If you wish to take part, please complete and return this consent form by 5pm on Friday 30th October 2015

Consent Form

Name of department: Reid School of Music, University of Edinburgh

Title of the study: All music, music for all: Exploring a creative approach to musical learning that is accessible to all.

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project and the researcher has answered any queries to my satisfaction.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, without having to give a reason and without any consequences.
- I understand that I can withdraw my data from the study at any time.
- I understand that any information recorded in the investigation will remain confidential and no information that identifies me will be made publicly available.
- I consent to being a participant in the project
- I consent to being audio recorded as part of the project Yes/ No

(PRINT NAME)	Hereby agree to take part in the above project
Signature of Participant:	Date