Costs, Cuts, and Cultural Barriers: Exploring Policy Perspectives and Peripatetic Teachers' Perceptions of, and Impacts on, Access to Instrumental Music Service Education in Wales

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Abstract

This thesis explores issues of access for pupils to extra-curricular music services in Wales. Local Authority music service funding reforms since 2010 have led to the fragmentation of provision and an increase in parental fees for tuition, resulting in access issues for children from differing socio-economic backgrounds. This thesis argues that the literature places too much emphasis on economic barriers to access, and that the social and cultural attitudes of music service teaching practitioners also play a vital role in music service accessibility. These teaching practitioners occupy a crucial role as the direct interaction point with pupils and parents/carers, yet their role in music service access has previously been underexplored. The thesis examines how access to music education is framed and justified in policy discourse, which is compared to teaching practitioners' justifications of music service provision and perceptions of access issues. Utilising a documentary analysis of key Welsh Government and third-party documents, and qualitative interviews with teaching practitioners, this study shows that while the affordability of provision remains a major factor, funding reforms have also impacted music service pedagogy and the working conditions of the teaching profession, compounding access issues for pupils. The documentary discourse does not adequately consider the impact of social and cultural attitudes amongst practitioners, who act as invisible gatekeepers to access. Interview data revealed a vocationalist perspective on music education amongst some practitioners, resulting in culture clashes with some pupils, and leading to cultural and social attitudes and perceptions which can negatively affect access. Conversely, other practitioners demonstrate a liberal humanist perspective, utilising a collaborative, pupil-led pedagogy, which breaks down cultural barriers of access. In revealing the impact of practitioner values, this study highlights a new aspect to consider in the accessibility of music service access in Wales, and offers policy recommendations to address these issues.

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1. Introduction

Frequently styled ‘the land of song’, Wales has a proud tradition of musical culture (Carr 2010 p.267). Throughout its history, folk music, choirs, brass bands, orchestral ensembles, a wide variety of popular music, and many more musical genres have formed a core part of the national identity of Wales (Jones 2021). For most children, the learning of musical instruments takes place through Local Authority (LA) music services (Bird et al. 2020). However, the foundations of this culture of musical excellence are under threat. LAs have implemented substantial funding reductions for music services across Wales since 2010 (Sayed et al. 2018). Such reforms have severe implications for music in Wales, with media debates in recent years arguing that music education may be restricted to ‘become the preserve of the rich’ (BBC 2013), and that ‘Wales would no longer be a musical nation’ if action is not taken (BBC 2018). In this chapter, I will introduce the format and provision delivered by music services in Section 1.1., outline the funding reforms and the motivations for this thesis in Section 1.2., and present the research questions in Section 1.3.

1.1. Extracurricular Music Services: An Introduction

While music education has been in place within in UK school system since the 1870 Education Reform Act, the formalised teaching of musical instruments was not widely standardised until the introduction of music services following the 1944 Education Act (Cleave and Dust 1989). Traditionally, such music services are organisations that operate under the remit and funding of a given LA or amalgamated group of LAs, which offer extra-curricular musical instrument lessons and related activities to pupils in schools. Teachers of musical instruments are engaged by the music services to deliver this provision. These teaching practitioners are typically peripatetic in nature, travelling between multiple schools a week within the area under the remit of the LA music services, according to demand (Welsh Office 1971; Cleave and Dust 1989; Sayed et al. 2018). There are also several private companies and cooperatives that offer music education services in some areas of Wales, following similar structures to that of LA music services (Bird et al. 2020).

A key factor to note is that the instrumental tuition services and related activities offered by music services are extra-curricular and not a part of formalised education as with music in the curriculum. Therefore, funding for music services in Wales does not come directly from the

Welsh Government but from within the budget of the respective LAs (Napieralla et al. 2015; Sayed et al. 2018). Consequently, music service activities and structures are not standardised at a national level and vary considerably according to the funding that is available to the respective LA, and the priority placed on music by LAs and individual schools. This in turn affects the type and amount of musical educational activities that different music services are able to offer, directly impacting on the uptake of new pupils learning musical instruments, and their retention in the long term. While this system works well when funding is available (Smith 2013a), there is a lack of statutory protection for music service budgets and activities, and thus music service education is left vulnerable to changes in the economy impacting on the priorities of LA budgets and spending, and also changes in political and ideological attitudes towards music education (Smith 2013a; Carr 2018).

In 2022, it was announced in the National Plan for Music Education (NPME) that a National Music Service of Wales would be established (Miles 2022). However, this utilises existing music service provision under centralised guidance, in a similar format to the music hub system in England, wherein smaller music education providers act as satellite providers under the direction of a larger organisation for a given area, typically a LA or similar music service organisation. Therefore, little actually changes in terms of delivery, or indeed funding for individual providers, maintain the status quo rather than marking a major upheaval in the existing overall system.

Despite regional differences, Welsh LA music services typically follow a broadly similar structure of activities resembling a pyramid shape of progression for pupils who engage with the learning of musical instruments (Cleave and Dust 1989; Bird et al. 2020). Initial engagement with prospective pupils typically takes place during Key Stage 1 (KS1) and/or Key Stage 2 (KS2). At this level, large numbers of pupils are engaged with in order to stimulate maximum interest. For example, music service teaching practitioners commonly deliver instrument demonstrations to school assemblies and the like. Alternatively, pupils may be introduced to an instrument through whole-class tuition. This is a comparatively recent trend within music service activity, becoming more common in the early 2000s (Dunne 2020). It typically offers an introductory course on basic instruments for a whole class (most commonly at KS2) for a term or half term, before rotating to another class within the school and repeating the process. From these engagement processes, those pupils who decide they wish to pursue learning an instrument may be supplied with an instrument (if available) by the music service and receive weekly lessons either individually or in small

groups from a visiting peripatetic music service teaching practitioner, a practice which has been common since the 1960s (Sharp 1991; Dunne 2020).

As a pupil begins to become proficient with the basics of their chosen instrument, they may be entered into graded music exams, which test and reward progress over time, and they will be encouraged to engage with ensemble playing. At its most basic level, this may be an ensemble constituting learners from within a given school, led by the respective peripatetic teaching practitioner. As pupils continue to improve, they may begin attending a weekend music centre, a weekly event during term time which brings pupils together from schools in a given area to perform larger musical ensembles, which may include string orchestras, wind orchestras, brass bands, choirs, and various other genres of ensemble, as well as supporting activities such as music theory classes. Music services that cover a large area may have multiple music centres within the county or counties in which they provide for. From there, the most advanced pupils will be invited to perform in county-level ensembles, which usually meet for courses during school holidays, and form the pinnacle of performance standard within any given music service. Thus, music services, at least in theory, offer a comprehensive musical training for pupils wishing to learn musical instruments, providing expert individual tuition and extensive performance opportunities (Cleave and Dust 1989; Bird et al. 2020).

1.2. Funding Reforms, Personal Experience, and Motivation for the Study

It is from this background in a LA music service in South East Wales that I first engaged with, and trained in, learning a musical instrument between the ages of five and eighteen. During this time, I and many of my peers participated in a variety of individual tuition and ensemble experiences as outlined in Section 1.1, the vast majority of which were provided as a free service, enabled through LA funding. As a result of these experiences, in 2012 I was inspired to study music at university and later to start a career working as a peripatetic music service instrumental teaching practitioner for a similar Welsh music service.

However, by the time I returned to work in music service sector as a practitioner in 2017, the sector had markedly changed since I left it as a pupil in 2012. As we shall examine in Chapter 4, since 2011, successive LA funding reforms following the economic fallout of the 2008 financial crisis significantly reduced funding for LA music services across Wales (Sayed et

al. 2018; Bird et al. 2020). With music services being extracurricular, there was no statutory protection for this funding, and thus were particularly vulnerable to funding cuts during such reforms (Napieralla et al. 2015). In 2011 for example, at least £500,000 of funding reductions were enacted in music services across Wales (BBC 2011), with similar reforms continuing to take place over the following decade, (Sayed et al. 2018; Bird et al. 2020). To compensate for this reduced funding and maintain their financial viability, music services began to introduce or increase parental fees for instrumental tuition and associated activities (Carr 2018).

When I began teaching in 2017, I immediately noticed the impacts of these reforms compared to when I was a pupil. Significant reductions in pupil uptake and retention were particularly noticeable when engaging, or attempting to engage, with pupils from areas known for socioeconomic deprivation. For example, when conducting demonstrations in schools to attempt to encourage pupils to start learning musical instruments, there was a stark difference in uptake and retention between pupils in schools from deprived areas compared to pupils from more affluent areas. In my experience, parental fees for lessons typically proved little obstacle for pupils in schools within more affluent areas, and thus pupil uptake and retention over time was high. In schools in deprived areas pupils demonstrated similar levels of enthusiasm for wishing to start learning musical instruments, yet a frequent response from parents was that the cost of lessons was too great. Subsequently, pupil uptake and retention were considerably lower in such areas. Approximately only 20% of my teaching took place in deprived areas, despite roughly 70% of schools with the remit of the music service being located in such areas.

Based on my experiences, I hypothesised that there is a substantial issue of inequality of access within the system of music education in Wales. If pupils from socioeconomically deprived backgrounds are unable to access such services due to costs stemming from LA funding reforms, then they will be unable to access the widely acknowledged educational, developmental, physical, and social benefits of learning musical instruments (e.g. Hallam 2010) compared to their more affluent peers. Naturally, I recognised that my personal experiences cannot be generalisable for Wales as a whole, so I began to explore the limited literature dedicated to access to music services in Wales at the time (Smith 2013a; Napieralla et al. 2015; Sayed et al. 2018; Carr 2018). These largely consisted of reports highlighting the very problem that I had observed, indicating that access issues due to economic barriers were becoming more widespread across Wales, presenting a broad, macro-level view of the phenomenon.

However, I also began having extensive conversations about this issue with numerous colleagues who were also peripatetic teaching practitioners across a variety of different music services at the time. From these discussions, several key points emerged that further inspired this thesis. Firstly, it appeared, at least anecdotally, that similar concerns around economic barriers to access were evident amongst other peripatetic teachers, indicating that such issues were more widespread across Wales and not just limited to my area of work.

Secondly, these conversations highlighted that the perspective of the music service teaching practitioner is almost completely neglected in the literature surrounding contemporary Welsh music services. Music service peripatetic teaching practitioners represent a key point in which macro-level policies meets pupils and parents. As such, these practitioners have a wealth of knowledge surrounding the music services system and the direct impact of the funding reforms. For instance, the regular interaction with pupils and parents gives practitioners a detailed view of the reasons why pupils start or cease learning musical instruments, and the anxieties surrounding increased fees. Practitioners also highlighted changes in how they taught pupils as a result of funding reductions, with more group teaching involved. They also expressed that their working conditions had been negatively impacted, with some forced to become self-employed as LAs had ceased contracted employment. These factors may all be having an indirect impact on the accessibility of music education. It became clear to me that the perspective of the music service teaching practitioner represents an experiential gap in the knowledge surrounding music services in Wales that has not been addressed in the literature. As such, I concluded that it was vital to further explore the practitioner experience to fill this gap, and to gain a more holistic picture of the accessibility of music education.

Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, I realised that music service teaching practitioners occupy a considerable position of power when interacting with pupils and parents/carers. The nature of music service teaching means that practitioners have a substantial amount of freedom to teach in the way that they wish, utilising their preferred type of music in their pedagogy. The more I discussed this with colleagues, the more I reflected that the practitioners' attitudes towards different types of music may impact upon the accessibility of music education for pupils depending on if their musical preferences aligned with the practitioner. Amongst some colleagues, I noted some concerning attitudes around viewing certain musical types as unimportant, and class-based biases towards which pupils may engage with certain types of music, and who they prefer to focus on teaching as a result.

Indeed, initial research indicated a form of cultural deprivation attitudes being present amongst some practitioners (Dunne 2020). Historical literature has identified similar instances of a 'culture clash' between teachers and pupils over social and cultural perspectives in classroom-based curriculum music education (e.g. Keddie 1973; Vulliamy and Shepherd 1984). However, I noticed that this is not considered as part of the contemporary literature surrounding music services in Wales. Based on my conversations with colleagues, certain social and cultural attitudes towards certain types of music and pupils appeared to be a real and present barrier to music education. Therefore, I considered it vital to explore as part of this thesis alongside the more tangible economic barriers.

From my discussions with colleagues there appeared to be a disjuncture between the rhetoric and aspirations of the policy literature and the lived experience of practitioners when considering access. I contemplated that it would first be important to examine in more detail how the policy literature frames the issue of access, and then compare this to the perspective of the practitioner. How practitioners perceive economic barriers manifesting in practice may reveal a fresh insight on these issues, and provide a means of assessing how the social and cultural attitudes of practitioners may affect access to music education. If it is the case that there is a multi-faceted systemic inequality that adversely affects pupils, then an understanding of the economic, social, and cultural attitudes and decisions that have shaped the issue will be crucial to form a holistic view of the accessibility of music education and guide future policy decisions.

1.3. Research Questions

To better understand the experiences and perceptions of peripatetic music service teaching practitioners it is important to first examine how the policy discourse frames access to music education through Welsh Government and relevant third-party organisations. This has not previously been undertaken. It will allow us to understand the motivations and justifications of policy decisions and will enable us to contextualise the practitioner perspectives on the accessibility of music education. Therefore, the first research question is:

1. *How do policymakers and third-party organisations frame and justify access to music education?*

We then turn to examine music service practitioner perspectives and experiences of music education, which, as discussed in Section 1.2., is a viewpoint which has not previously been examined in the Welsh context. The second research question is:

2. *How do peripatetic music service teaching practitioners perceive access to, and provision of, music education?*

As outlined in Section 1.2., it is important to examine how social and cultural attitudes towards music education have shaped music service education in Wales. How practitioners justify and explain their cultural approach to music education may impact upon accessibility. As such, the third and final research question is:

3. *How do peripatetic music service teaching practitioners justify provision and explain outcomes of inequality within Welsh music services?*

Of course, any policy towards music is framed by understandings of culture and its social benefits. Therefore, in Chapter 2, I will examine theoretical understandings of culture, and how these concepts frame music education. Chapter 3 will place these cultural concepts within the historical context of the development of music education over time, and Chapter 4 presents a focused examination of the recent literature surrounding access issues to music services in Wales since devolution in 1997. Chapter 5 outlines and justifies the mixed documentary analysis and qualitative and methods used in the study. Chapters 6, 7, and 8 present the findings of the thesis. In Chapter 6, I conduct a documentary analysis of Welsh Government and third-party reports, exploring the discourse of access to music education in Wales. Chapters 7 and 8 examine the findings of interviews with music service practitioners, assessing economic, social, and cultural barriers to accessing music education. Chapter 9 presents a discussion of the findings placed in the context of the literature, and Chapter 10 concludes the study and provides policy recommendations.

2. Cultural Debates and Music Education

To understand how music education policy has been shaped into its present 21st century form, two interconnecting elements must be examined. At its most simple level, the historical narrative of the development of music education within Wales must be explored, to understand the process in which contemporary issues of accessibility have emerged. However, as noted in Chapter 1, it is possible that access to music education may be influenced by more than simply socioeconomic factors, but potentially also through differing social and cultural attitudes towards the function of music education and music in society. Therefore, we must first examine wider cultural debates towards music in society and explore the extent to which culturally determined factors have influenced music education policy and accessibility. This wider theoretical analysis will help frame how policymakers and practitioners perceive the function of music education in society and help to analyse the impacts of these views and subsequent actions on access to music service education in Wales.

Cultural policy, which includes music education, in the UK has, traditionally, been based on an assumption of the personal and social benefits of access to culture (McGuigan 2004). This lineage of this tradition stretches back to the 19th century writings of Matthew Arnold. However, Arnold's position was critiqued by 20th century theorists such as Raymond Williams and Pierre Bourdieu who questioned the function of culture in society and how cultural perspectives can impact upon class inequalities. Each of these theorists presents a key element of the discussion around accessibility to music education, with their views on class and culture framing cultural policy developments affecting music service access in Chapter 6, and the social and cultural perceptions of music service teaching practitioners in Chapters 7 and 8. First though, this chapter will address each of the above theorists in turn. I outline their broader theories on culture and society (Arnold in Section 2.1., Williams in Section 2.2., and Bourdieu in Section 2.3.), examine the application of each theory to attitudes towards attitudes to musical culture in wider society for each, and briefly introduce discussions surrounding the impact these theories have had on music education contextualise their application to the shaping of music education policy and practice. These introductions to the relevant cultural debates will provide the framework for further discussion and analysis in Chapter 3, which places these debates in the context of how music education was conceived and developed over time in UK education policy.

2.1. Culture as a Reformatory Tool

State education was first introduced in the UK in the 19th century (see Sections 3.3. and 3.4.). This was, in part, due to societal concerns regarding the urban working class, and especially young people, in the wake of the impacts of the industrialisation of society (Jones and Roderick 2003). Matthew Arnold was one of the key theorists to grapple with this issue of societal reform in the 19th century (Arnold 1869), and his perspective on society plays a substantial formative role in creating the cultural norms in education of the 20th century. In *Culture and Anarchy* (1869), Arnold presents a conservative reaction to the societal upheaval of 19th century in the wake of the industrial revolution. He argues that the emergence of the middle classes and their new habits of mind was undermining traditional authority in society, and that culture should be wielded to counteract this issue (Muller 1997). Arnold posited a class distinction in culture, referring to three tiers of society as 'barbarians, philistines, [and] populace', meaning the upper, middle, and lower classes of society (Arnold 1869 p.105). He is highly critical of the direction of society, criticising the newly wealthy industrial middle classes (the 'stout main body of Philistinism' (ibid p.71)) in particular for 'overvaluing machinery' (ibid p.67) in a literal and figurative sense, arguing that 'our reliance on freedom, on muscular Christianity, on population, on coal, on wealth' is 'unfruitful' and can only be 'wholesomely counteracted by culture' (ibid p.71). The implication here is that the middle classes rely too much on literal industrial growth and its associated wealth, as well as social machinery such as religious institutions, greatly broadened and fractured in the 19th century with the growth of nonconformism, much to Arnold's chagrin.

Instead, Arnold argues in favour of a return to traditional forms of culture as a reformatory tool. He defines culture as a shared 'love and pursuit of perfection' (Arnold 1869 p.109). This is not only a 'passion for pure knowledge', but a 'moral and social passion for doing good' (ibid p.8). These ideas are strongly drawn from a nostalgic longing for a return of the societal, moral, and religious ideals of classical Greek artistic and poetic culture. As Arnold puts it, 'Greece did not err in the idea of having beauty, harmony, and complete human perfection… it is impossible to have this idea too present and paramount' (ibid p.67). Here Arnold presents a vision for a unified culture, rather than a stratified one based on social class, based strongly on a classical ideology of culture.

Arnold argues that the middle classes' faith in the rapidly changing 'machinery' of 19th century society, be it practical developments such as industry, and its related societal change,

or more abstract structures such as religious ideas and the concept of freedom, is degrading this pursuit of 'perfection' (ibid p.16). Arnold contends that 'men are all members of one great whole… human nature will not allow one member to be indifferent to the rest' (ibid p.13). Yet, a shift towards individualism as a product of the social changes of the 19th century has caused a divergence of culture between societal classes. This risks both the '*inward* condition of the mind and spirit', the '*general* expansion of the human family', and the '*harmonious* expansion of human nature' (ibid p.15, original italicisation). Essentially, Arnold is concerned that an "everyone for themselves" situation is developing within society, wherein the value of culture is diluted through diverging cultural interests between social classes. There is the potential for unrest or 'anarchy' if this continued. Arnold views this problem of individualism as pervasive among all levels of society, yet it is in the working classes that his concern is most strongly felt, being prone to 'bawling, hustling, and smashing' (ibid p.108). Thus, wary of the potential violence and anarchy of the working classes, and critical of the philistine values of the middle classes, Arnold proposed education reform as a way to avoid such anarchy. He argued that 'education… is required by a people before poverty has made havoc among them' (Arnold 1832, p.481). Indeed, this was no abstract call to arms, but an 'intense and sustained' effort from Arnold to reform education as an Inspector of Schools, and an independent advocate for educational matters in the UK (Williams 1958 p.163).

For Arnold, the use of culture was vital for such educational reform, viewing the incorporation of the arts and humanities into school learning as a key solution to societal disparity (Pratt 2007). As we will explore in Chapter 3, schooling in 19th century Britain was a disparate affair prior to the 1870 Education Act, mainly focusing on developing reading and writing skills, and arithmetic proficiency (Jones and Roderick 2003). These methods reflected the contemporary utilitarian views of the working classes in terms of their practical use to society, and thus that teaching working class children anything more than these practical and vocational skills was of little use (Pratt 2007). Instead, Arnold pushed back against such views, arguing for the inclusion of creative activity in schools, reasoning that the arts and humanities would 'expand the soul, liberalise the mind, dignify the character' (Arnold 1864 p.293). Utilising the arts in education would help create a 'cultured, liberalised, ennobled, transformed middle class', which he believed would 'indirectly confer a great boon upon the lower class also' as it would create a goal toward which the working classes 'may with joy direct its aspirations' (ibid p.324). Thus, the pleasure conferred by the arts acted as a

counterbalance for the stresses of the more mechanical learning of reading, mathematics, and other traditional school activities of the time (Pratt 2007).

Here, we see Arnold presenting a liberal humanist view of arts education in schools. The discourse around expanding the 'soul', 'mind', and 'character' speaks to a recognition of the wider benefits of arts education beyond utilitarian vocational learning, including the 'joy' of such learning. Such benefits are now extensively validated in the use of music education in schools, with a wide range of cognitive, social, and educational advantages offered through the learning of music (e.g. Hallam 2010), as we shall explore in Section 4.4. We also see Arnold presenting cultural education as a way of equalising opportunity between classes, in giving working classes something to aspire towards. To do this, Arnold argues for the creation of a public school system that he insisted should be funded by national and local government, as only upper classes would have access to arts education if such government support was lacking (Pratt 2007). For Arnold, creating a rounded, humane citizenry through cultural education as a reformatory tool is crucial to stem the perceived societal descent into anarchy and unrest. Arnold's reformatory goals would go on to influence the formation of a state-funded compulsory school system in Britain with the introduction of the 1870 Education Act (see Section 4.2.).

One of the potential issues with Arnold's use of culture in education is his focus on 'high' culture[1] as the focus on this educational reform, or as he puts it, 'the best which has been thought and said in the world' (Arnold 1869 p.viii). For Arnold, a major influence are the classical Greek ideals of culture, which he argues can introduce 'fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits, which we now follow staunchly but mechanically, vainly imagining that there is a virtue in following them staunchly' (ibid p.viii). The main issue here is that there is an assumption that the culture that forms 'our stock notions and habits' is not as inherently valuable as classical culture. Arnold is by no means a traditional high culture critic however, who traditionally justify high culture as reaching aiming to reach an elite higher reality of which only a limited number of people are supposedly capable of appreciating (Shephard 1979), and distinguished through a set of technical criteria (Meyer 1959). Instead, he wishes to disseminate what he perceives to be high culture as a cultural object through which all classes of society can benefit. However, it is this *perception* of a

[1] This reflects a common positioning of western classical music as 'high' or elite culture. Thus, in this thesis, references to 'high' culture in the context of music shall be denoting this western classical tradition, unless otherwise stated.

type of culture being more useful or beneficial than another, and then *using* such culture as a reformatory tool, that presents an issue. If only a certain type of culture is utilised in cultural education, then it may suppress other types of culture, which are not objectively any less valuable, such as the 'notions and habits' of the working classes of which Arnold is so wary.

We start to see these problems of the Arnoldian focus on high cultural tradition in music education emerge in the 20th century as education becomes more formalised. Following the 1944 Education Act the school curriculum drew strongly on an Arnoldian form of high cultural tradition, with the focus being placed on the western classical musical tradition. In contrast, working-class and popular musical disciplines were neglected (e.g. Vulliamy and Shepherd 1984). Such attitudes were also reflected in instrumental music service teaching (e.g. Welsh Office 1971), as well as that of the classroom-based music curriculum (e.g. Vulliamy 1977). Yet, in wider society, musical taste and preference was developing rapidly with the cultural revolution of the postwar era (Cloonan 2016), which did not necessarily match with what was offered in music education. Therefore, we have a situation in which high cultural forms preferred by dominant social classes are being maintained in music education through policy, despite wider cultural change in society. We will now investigate how these changing cultural forms in society can affect access through policy by examining the works of Raymond Williams in Section 2.2. Furthermore, the influence of the high cultural forms being used in music education can affect cultural access through social class distinctions and different cultural forms. We will subsequently explore these issues in Section 2.3. by examining the works of Pierre Bourdieu.

2.2. A Long Revolution?

We now turn to explore the work of Raymond Williams, who extends the theory of the relationships between culture and society, explicitly linking this to analysis of social class through a wider theory of societal change over time: the 'long revolution' ([1961] 2011).

Leading on from our previous discussion, Williams critiques the work of Arnold in *Culture and Society* ([1958] 2017). Williams recognises how the rapid industrialisation of the 19th century shaped Arnold's view of culture in society. Yet Williams argues that Arnold's perspective is inherently influenced by his own social class, positing that Arnold reverts to 'stock notions and habits' regarding his definition of class (ibid, p.158). Instead, Williams criticises Arnold's view of the potential for anarchy, contending that the 'working class was

not, on any showing, seeking to destroy society', and that instead Arnold's view is a reactionary, potentially authoritarian response to societal change based on his perceptions of a different social class to his own (ibid, p.170). Furthermore, Arnold's view of culture as a relentless pursuit of perfection 'is so much on the importance of knowing, and so little on the importance of doing, that culture at times seems… a thing to secure first, to which all else will then be added' (ibid, p.171). Thus, Williams posits that there is a danger of allowing culture 'to become a fetish' (ibid, p.172). Here we see the inherent issues with Arnold's perspective on culture, in that it is based on a certain type of culture to be used as a reformatory tool and fails to recognise the social processes through which certain cultural forms become valued.

We can observe that Williams recognises that a concept of cultural elitism exists within society. The upper classes of society control what is considered to be valued as 'high' culture: 'It is true that a dominant class can to a large extent control the transmission and distribution of the whole common inheritance' (ibid p.420). Williams contends that the societal 'dislocations of the Industrial Revolution' and subsequent Arnoldian educational reform through a 'high' cultural lens in the 19th century caused 'traditional popular culture' to be 'fragmented and weakened' (ibid p.419). Therefore, the culture of societal elites is given higher value, while the traditional working-class culture of the 'masses' is devalued over time. Such trends surrounding 'high' and popular culture provide a useful signpost as we proceed to examine 20th century views on culture, and later formation and development of music education.

Writing in the latter half of the 20th century, Williams presents a notably different view on culture and class in society. He posits that 'The body of intellectual and imaginative work which each generation receives as its traditional culture is always, and necessarily, something more than the product of a single class' and that 'it is evidently possible both for members of other classes to contribute to the common stock, and for such contributions to be unaffected by or in opposition to the ideas and values of the dominant class' ([1958] 2017 p.420). Here, it is being argued that *all* classes of society have valid cultural contributions which are developed over successive generations. In Williams' view, a 'long revolution' is underway, wherein a common culture is being developed, embodied in the democratisation of communications across society (Williams 1961). Cultural attitudes within society become gradually more democratised as norms of 'high' and 'low' culture are degraded over the course of these generations. He argues that time instead breaks down these barriers to form a

more culturally democratic society. Williams posits that the growth of mass communications has played a pivotal part in facilitating this 'long revolution', and breaking down these rigid cultural structures based on class within society (Williams 1966).

For Williams, culture and the social structure are not the same, but intimately connected in a two-way interaction (Milner 1994). He contends that 'culture is ordinary' (Williams [1958] 1989 p.3), bound up with every aspect of our lives, and not only the practices with which we engage (Smith 2021). While Williams recognises that a given type of culture in society may be seemingly dominant, and thus have influence, he takes pains to note that this should not be taken as the *only* form of culture, arguing that '*no dominant culture ever in reality includes or exhausts all human practice, human energy, and human intention'* (Williams 1977, p125, original emphasis). Here, he is recognising that culture takes many forms within society, including 'residual' and 'emergent' culture within society, as well as 'alternative' and 'oppositional' cultures. By 'residual', Williams refers not simply to culture practiced solely in the past, but 'those elements external to the dominant culture which nonetheless continue to be lived and practiced as an active part of the present' (Milner 1994, p.54). For instance, this can apply to organised religion, or the concept of rural community, or in the case of music, the popular folk traditions. However, it is 'emergent' cultural elements that most interest Williams, which refers to genuinely new practices, values, relationships, etc. that emerge within society, that may be either 'alternative' or 'oppositional' to the dominant culture present in society (ibid p.54). Such emerging cultural elements can represent what is valued by society and may represent cultural change through social processes. Such cultural elements thus offer insight into how cultural attitudes in society are developing, and the extent to which a democratisation of culture posited as a long revolution is taking place. However, Williams takes pains to note that the identification of truly new 'emergent' culture is very difficult, particularly when trying to 'determine whether these are new forms of the dominant or are genuinely emergent' (Williams 1981, p.205). Therefore, identifying the extent to which a long revolution is taking place is potentially problematic. For Williams, cultural activity is 'complex, plural, and even contradictory' (Smith 2021 p.229) and so it is not clear how dominant and emergent cultures intertwine and interact in societal structures, such as arts policy.

We can draw on Williams' theory of emergent cultural elements as part of a long cultural revolution to explain developments in attitudes towards culture in music education, and how accessibility between social classes may be affected. In terms of music education specifically,

Williams' writings from the 1960s offer a snapshot within the timeline of this revolution. Williams suggests that the teaching of the arts remains inherently undervalued in general education, with activities such as poetry, dance, and music being 'regarded as a form of *play*', meaning that 'at a certain age it can be safely dropped, and put away with all the other childish things' (1966 p.130, original emphasis). He goes on to argue that arts education has been marginalised in this way due to a societal focus on teaching subjects aimed at supporting 'economics', while the arts are 'seen as marginal and specialised' and 'relegated to the sphere of leisure', resulting in a 'separation between art and society' (ibid p.130). As we shall later observe in Chapter 3, this appraisal is reflected in 1960s music education policy. At this point in time, the approach to music education was exceedingly specialised, focusing on western classical 'high' musical culture (e.g. Welsh Office 1971). As such, we can view this form of musical culture as the dominant musical culture of the time *within the sphere of education*, and as Williams (1966) notes, is thus allocated more time within formal education. This approach highlights a bias against traditional 'residual' culture, and the 'emergent' musical culture of the time, and it is these barriers that inhibit the growth, development, and accessibility of *all* culture within society, irrespective of social class. Such barriers of access to music education are upheld by what one might term "cultural gatekeepers", policymakers, and indeed practitioners that decide what musical culture is to be taught, and to whom.

The influences behind how these decisions are reached is an important part of understanding issues of access which we can observe over time (Cope and Smith 1997), which will be explored later in Chapter 8. However, Williams' (1966) account only represents a snapshot of the time, and after all, Williams notes that the 'long revolution' is, by its very definition, an ongoing process. The later decades of the 20th century, and indeed into the 21st century, have seen an explosion in a colossal range of 'emergent' popular musical cultures, almost to the point of which a dominant genre would be problematic to identify (Clarke 2018). Consequently, musical cultural taste may be becoming less distinct over time, particularly due to the proliferation of music through mass media in society (Peterson 1992; Sandywell and Beer 2005; Bull 2007; Reynolds 2011). Indeed, this expansion of musical tastes has found its way into the school curriculum in the 21st century, with the curriculum becoming increasingly diverse over time (Philpott 2022).

The emergence of a wide array of new musical tastes opens up the space for new cultural forms to be valued and taught. However, this may be restricted by societal structures such as

political ethos manifested through policy. Williams was cautious of arts policy utilising culture as a functional purpose rather than culture for its own sake. For instance, he states that ‘an arts policy of a certain kind turns out when examined to be not a policy for the arts but a policy for embellishing, representing, making more effective a particular social order or certain preferred features in it’ (Williams 1984 p.305). Thus, arts policy may directly impact upon the development of culture in society. There is evidence of such issues in recent Welsh Government arts policy, in which the discourse champions the arts, yet in action represents a more neoliberal perspective of the arts as a market-driven consideration, with economic contribution as the major factor, limiting the scope for the development of new cultural forms in society (Smith 2021). Indeed, cultural policy valuing economic considerations in this way can suppress grass-roots residual working-class cultural forms which do not bring significant economic benefits, and instead focus on more economically beneficial institutional arts, ‘diminishing the potential for a full and optimal representation of Wales and the Welsh’ (Jones 2021 p.253).

Therefore, political ideology may play directly into the types of cultural forms and practices are promoted through policy. These policy decisions can influence cultural exclusions in the valuing and teaching of cultural forms (Williams 1961). This can create a situation in which access to the arts (in our case, music) in education can be limited due to this tension between the practical structural arts policy issues and the epistemological debate of cultural value in society. Therefore, we have two main issues to consider as we proceed: (1) the extent to which music education can be accessed, and (2) the content of music education, which in itself may impact upon access if it is affected by political ideology. Indeed, the content may impact upon the residual dominant western classical musical culture. As we discussed at the start of this section, Williams views class structures as an important part of cultural forms, and thus it is now important to further examine the impact of class and culture on music education. To do so, we will turn to another cultural theorist, Pierre Bourdieu.

2.3. Cultural Distinction and Social Class

Bourdieu’s view of culture can be viewed through the lens of his theories around class structure in society. Bourdieu (1984) argues that the act of consumers’ aesthetic choices selecting certain goods or services are not simply a matter of unique personal taste, but a reflection of social class, shaped by upbringing, occupation, and education. According to

Bourdieu (1984), these choices reinforce, perpetuate, and reproduce present differences between high and low social classes. Thus, society is inherently unequal, and while this does not necessarily translate to limiting social mobility between classes, the dominant class may limit mobility by presenting challenges to maintain and advance their position within society (Jenkins 1992). Thus, the perpetuation of social division is operationalised through the subtle and insidious operationalisation of different forms of capital. Bourdieu argues that there are three major forms of capital that reinforce and reproduce class structures. Firstly, 'economic capital' affords advantage (or disadvantage) through financial and material wealth or lack thereof. Secondly, 'social capital' represents a "softer", less tangible form of advantage, acquired through possessing a social network which creates the potential for gaining advantage for one's social position. Thirdly, 'cultural capital' encompasses non-material advantages, yet may reflect one's economic and social capital. This can include the behavioural dispositions one acquires (e.g. from parents) over the course of one's life, more formal academic learning, and cultural objects, such as books, or musical instruments, in the home (Bourdieu 1984).

These forms of capital are operationalised through the concept of 'habitus'. Bourdieu defines this as a 'system of transposable, dispositions', or a series of unconscious 'mental habits' acquired based on an individual's social circumstances (Bourdieu 1992 p.53). These habits are manifested in subtle details in everyday actions and thought processes, be it a person's accent, demeanour, choice of clothing, or indeed what they say and how they say it. This unconscious habit of imitating one's immediate social environment often results in people forming social relationships with similar cultural, behavioural, and educational backgrounds (Prior 2013). Thus, one's cultural and economic capital can directly form a link to one's social network (social capital) through habitus, which is then further perpetuated over the course of generations as parents pass their capital to their children, reinforcing class distinctions over time.

Cultural capital is of particular interest when considering the research questions of this thesis. The difference between classes is perpetuated and reinforced through cultural pursuits, and particularly that of 'high' culture, which is typically esoteric in nature, rooted in a highly valued tradition of aesthetic achievement in historic civilisation, such as high art, poetry, literature, and in our case, forms of music (Burnard et al. 2015). 'High' culture in particular represents a resource through which 'cultural capital' can be acquired, which is a requisite part of membership to the higher echelons of society. Members of socially dominant groups

are able to use their greater economic and social capital to access 'high' cultural pursuits, and are more easily able to pass such knowledge on through generations, thus maintaining an advantageous position in society (Bourdieu 1984). It is this maintaining of an advantageous societal position that is the key point here. Those in lower classes of society are less likely to be able to acquire the economic and social resources to access such pursuits. Subsequently, these classes, and successive generations, do not have the required levels of 'cultural capital' to successfully engage with 'high' culture, and are thus excluded, or choose to self-exclude themselves as they feel unable to engage with this culture (Prior 2013). As such, class inequalities in terms of culture are continually reinforced through the inter-generational utilisation by the dominant class of cultural, as well as social and economic capital.

Now, let us unpack these Bourdieu's theory through the lens of musical culture. Bourdieu views music as a particularly distinctive way of identifying and distinguishing these cultural inequalities, arguing that 'nothing more clearly affirms one's "class", nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music' (Bourdieu 1984 p.18). The rationale behind this claim is that unlike other external consumer choices, such as goods and services, music requires personal appreciation through listening (Prior 2013). A distinction thus reveals itself between 'high' culture and what may be described as 'low' culture. In referring to higher culture in music, Bourdieu refers to the western classical musical tradition, utilising 'Beethoven and Mozart' as an example (Bourdieu 1984 p.77). It is argued that this tradition is legitimised through the lens of significant historical western achievement, and as such, is given a high aesthetic value as a culture artefact within the society of 'high' culture. Consequently, 'high' musical culture is desirable to engage with as it accrues 'cultural capital' within society. However, Bourdieu argues that appreciation for 'high' culture music is not a matter of unique personal taste for the aesthetic, but a product of advantageous social circumstances (Bennett 2007). Therefore, it is those from the socially dominant groups in society who are able to access these cultural benefits through economic and social structures, bolstering their position within higher social groups. With this access comes implications regarding how cultural forms are valued, with increased value related to the forms of access desired by the dominant classes (ibid). Thus, forms of culture become more or less valued and appreciated in society according to the consumption by these dominant social groups, while other forms are less valued.

A cycle is thus perpetuated wherein an education of the appreciation of 'high' musical culture is passed down through generations, but not necessarily permeating through existing class structures (Jenkins 1992). This is where the concept of *habitus* comes into play, creating a

situation in which unequal societal structures are translated into unconscious everyday dispositions, normatively articulated as a personal aesthetic. In practical terms, this involves children from privileged backgrounds being socialised in 'high' musical culture from an early age. Examples of this may include attending classical music concerts, the act of which is enabled via parental economic capital, such as absorbing the costs of attending. However, cultural capital is also at play, with parents (or tutors paid for through economic capital) pass on how to understand the music that is being performed, and how to behave in the environment at a concert. This may also extend to the learning of what Bourdieu terms a noble musical instrument, i.e. one that is associated with western classical musical culture, such as the piano, violin, cello, harp, etc. (Bourdieu 1984), thus aligning with a desirable form of cultural capital. These children are thus prepared for membership of an elite world where habitus and cultural capital are expressed through aesthetic appreciation, which 'is justified in existing by its perfection, its harmony and beauty, a world which has produced Beethoven and Mozart and continues to produce people capable of playing and appreciating them' (Bourdieu 1984 p.77). The economic, social, and importantly, culture capital required to pursue this legitimate musical culture makes this accessible to those from higher social classes, while potentially precluding those from the lower. As Prior puts it, 'One only has to witness the force and regularity with which privately-educated children are encouraged by their parents to play a classical instrument to see the dispositions of a refined musical *habitus* in gestation' (2013 p.183, original emphasis). This high value placed on 'high' music culture by minority elites within society creates a distinction in musical appreciation by class. For Bourdieu, the lower classes of society typically engage with the 'low' culture of lighter musical entertainment. With his research taking place in the 1960s, Bourdieu for example notes the music of Gershwin and the waltzes of Strauss as popular among the lower classes of society, "music whose simple, repetitive structures invite a passive absent participation" (Bourdieu, 1984: 386). Thus, we can see how the popular music of the time is viewed as simplistic and less skilful, thus accruing less cultural capital, or indeed being a completely different kind of cultural capital, in the eyes of the dominant class. As such, certain types of culture form are given more value by the dominant social groups, ostensibly based on the level of complexity involved.

Yet, there are some contradictions to consider. Later in life Bourdieu reflected that he himself represented a divided habitus, a 'habitus clivé', with his lower-class social origins being in contradiction to his later scholarly merit and achievements (Bennett 2007). As such, we can

perhaps view habitus as permeable, with a looser social hierarchy potentially emerging as time progresses, in a similar fashion to the 'long revolution' of Williams (1966). Indeed, from a modern perspective Bourdieu's theory does present a somewhat simplistic duality of musical culture within society, which does not account for the complexities surrounding the widespread dissemination of musical culture through mass media in the late 20th century and early 21st century society (Sandywell and Beer 2005; Bull 2007; Reynolds 2011). Peterson (1992 p.243) questions the rigidity of Bourdieu's theory of habitus in the modern world, positing a shift away from a duality of 'high' and 'low' culture towards that of the cultural 'omnivore', aligned with the more relativist perspective later proposed by Bourdieu's habitus clivé. That said, while in theory this may been seen as shifting away from the restrictions of habitus in accessing musical cultural forms, it may be that the cultural omnivore can become the subject of distinction itself. For example, complex cultural capital may be required not only to engage and appreciate with western classical music, but also with forms of popular and world music. As such, more complex distinctions may be established with their own forms of habitus, and thus access restrictions to certain social classes.

So how does Bourdieusian theory manifest in education? The link between class and education is well established in the UK (e.g. Reay 2009), with the cultural and social capital required to successfully navigate education aligning with that of the middle classes. Thus, the middle classes maintain and improve their social advantages in and through education (e.g. Ball 2002), whereas working classes can be disenfranchised through a school environment that favours middle class cultural and social capital as the working classes do not possess the necessary capital; a result of intergenerational habitus (e.g. Reay and Ball 1997).

In terms of music education more specifically, there has not been research specifically related to Welsh music service education in this context, but there is a wider field of literature that explores the effects of class structure in music education more generally. For instance, after the 1944 Education Act, music education in schools drew strongly on an Arnoldian form of high cultural tradition, with working-class and popular musical traditions being neglected in favour of a musical tradition based around a perceived 'higher' western classical orchestral musical culture (Vulliamy 1977). This was in contrast to schools' perceived view of popular music, which is viewed as simplistic, unserious, and purely for commercial gain, rather than for a higher purpose (Vulliamy and Lee 1976). In the 1980s this directly translated into the musical curriculum in schools:

> School music curricula in Britain are drawn extensively from the musical culture of the middle classes in the form of "classical" and "serious" music… The implication, sometimes explicitly stated by music teachers, is that such music is aesthetically and culturally more valuable and challenging than "pop" and "rock" music, and that the cultural and musical "deprivation" of certain classes of students makes them difficult to educate musically. (Vulliamy and Shephard 1984 p.248)

This quote focuses on western classical 'high' culture that deliberately appeals to a minority of predominantly middle-class pupils who can successfully engage with these musical forms, having acquired the cultural and social capital through intergenerational habitus. However, for pupils whose habitus has led to appreciation of other musical forms (in this case 'pop' and 'rock' music), this educational setting causes a disjunction in engagement with formal music education. Crucially, the music teachers viewed these pupils as difficult to teach and culturally deprived because of this difference in musical cultural capital. This perception of cultural deprivation amongst pupils who do not conform to the teacher's cultural preference is problematic, as it can lead to pupils from working class backgrounds who do not align with the curriculum topics being disenfranchised in music education. Thus, a "culture clash" is established between pupil and teacher that can lead to access being limited based on preference of cultural forms (Keddie 1973; Cope and Smith 1992).

By the 21st century, formal music education in the classroom had developed a notionally egalitarian philosophy, which underpinned formal music exams such as GCSEs (Wright 2002). However, Wright (2002 p.240) found that pupils taking these GCSE exams perceived them to be 'elitist' with the course being too 'too classically based and did not include sufficient study of popular music'. Therefore, pupils from a 'rock, pop, or jazz' background felt themselves to be at a disadvantage due to this western classical focus, and thus lost their 'motivation' to achieve. Others felt that extracurricular instrumental music lessons were necessary to attain a good grade in the GCSE exam. Here we can observe that there remains a clash between different forms of cultural capital in formal music education, and that additional economic capital may be required to achieve success through extracurricular lessons. This compounds differences in habitus between children from different classes. As Vulliamy and Shepherd (1984) note above, the teacher's cultural preference plays an important role in enabling or denying access. Wright (2008 p.389) posits that this continues to be the case, with the teacher having the 'ultimate power over curriculum and pedagogy'. Yet it is argued that teachers with a 'western art music-informed habitus' can enable the success of pupils from with different musical capital by being informed by 'pupil voice' and

employing a pupil-led pedagogy. This requires the teacher to have the 'empathy' to do so however (ibid p.389). The mainstream classroom curriculum has since become more musically diverse (Burnard and Fautley 2014). However, John et al. (2024 p.0) noted that trainee teachers from popular music backgrounds face challenges in integrating into existing pedagogical structures, and 'can find themselves marginalized by the prevailing values of school music departments.' This suggests that a disconnect between more traditional forms of western classical musical culture and popular forms of culture remains, potentially impacting upon the teacher, and subsequently the type of music accessible to pupils. Therefore, the cultural preferences and the attitude of teachers is vital in providing equitable music education. However, these sources represent formal classroom teaching, and not extracurricular music service education. The individual and relatively unregulated nature of extracurricular instrumental learning through music services has the potential for similar culture clashes to emerge between music service teaching practitioners and pupils (Dunne 2020), potentially limiting access. This comparatively loose system of teaching allows the peripatetic music service teaching practitioner substantial leeway in pedagogy, and may result in an unobserved form of the clashes identified in formal classroom-based music (see Chapter 8).

The western classical tradition clearly remains a key part of music education. A reason for this may be that the western classical tradition retains significant value in society, and as a method of social mobility (Trulsson 2015). For instance, Trulsson (2015) explored music education as a 'commodity of exchange' in schools in Sweden, in which parents from immigrant minority backgrounds impose music education on their children as part of a given 'task of restoring the family's position and social class' with learning 'Western music' being described as a way to acquire the 'cultural capital that would acceptable in Sweden' (2015, pp.38-39). Here we see the importance placed on the western classical tradition within music education as wider cultural capital which may enhance social status. It is interesting that there is a recognition of the class structures at play amongst the participants, indicating that the dissemination of cultural activities through mass media may result in class structures being more readily penetrated (Bull 2007). However, the western classical musical tradition retains a strong cultural value amongst dominant social groups (Burnard et al. 2015). This partly contradicts Peterson's (1992) argument of the modern cultural omnivore, indicating that musical culture may still play a significant role in contemporary class structure. We will later

see these perceptions of the western classical tradition as the ‘correct’ genre to learn in the findings in Section 8.3.

The habitus of a musician of the western classical tradition is, according to Sagiv and Hall (2015, p.114), ‘not easily acquired’, requiring the student to ‘accumulate a vast amount of knowledge and skills that are built layer upon layer across long periods of time’. Such skills include bodily discipline, the translation of notes into music, the understanding of musical structures and phrases, and the ability to apply interpretation and self-expression into musical delivery. Furthermore, students are positioned in a way that reproduces the symbolic capital of becoming a classical musician, as a teacher’s status as a musician in their own right is ‘constantly under examination as relative to the status of their music student’s playing skills’ (ibid, p.114). Therefore, in order to be perceived as being an effective teacher, teachers must reproduce the expected level of cultural capital in their students ‘because the symbolic capital of the classical musician in wider social fields cannot exist without strict reference to the art of performance’ (ibid, p.114). From this, we can see that the western classical tradition is viewed by wider society as a highly skilled and desirable genre due to the difficulties of learning, and that teachers are locked in a cycle of reproduction of the expected genres and standards placed on this form of music from wider society. Thus, there may be a pressure on teachers to maintain this standard in order to preserve the perceived prestige as cultural capital in society. This is further reinforced by research that indicates that music teachers are ‘more influenced by their personal experiences’ and are ‘less inclined to develop’ new teaching strategies (Button 2010, p.35). Thus, they are more likely to continue utilising intergenerationally ingrained teaching habits and attitudes, which may result in a strong focus from teachers on the western classical tradition, particularly under increasing pressure from the emergence of popular music genres in the curriculum in schools in the UK (Philpott 2022). In Welsh music services, this is manifested in some instances as through a strong vocationalist defence of western classical music, which will be explored in the findings of this thesis in Section 8.1.

Conversely, in a study of informal musical learning in schools in Canada, Wright (2015) found that with a student-led teaching pedagogy, students’ habitus was able to adapt through increased pedagogical and musical capital. Being able to ‘direct their own learning’ as opposed to previous teacher-led interactions, the students gradually acquired agency, permitting them to ‘occupy more advantageous positions within the field of music education’ (ibid, pp.95-96). Through this, students were able to acquire more musical capital, now

positioning themselves as ‘musicians’ where they previously perceived themselves as ‘not musical, nor ever likely to be so’ (ibid, p.96). Here we see an example of how the barriers of musical cultural capital imposed by intergenerational habitus can be broken down through student-led pedagogy. It is also interesting the student agency enabled an altered habitus which was able to ‘stand tests of durability and transposability as students maintained them over time and were able to operationalise them in other contexts’ (ibid p.94). Thus, we can view this as supporting the view that habitus can be changed, with the boundaries of social class becoming less clear (Reynolds 2011), but this time through the use of student-led pedagogy. This is a concept that we will see in practice in the findings of this thesis in Section 8.2.

As we shall reveal in the following Chapter 3, there are examples over time within formal music education in the UK in which pupils are allocated particular types of musical genre based on their social class, subsequently limiting access to a rounded musical education (e.g. Welsh Office 1971; Bentely 1989; Jones and Roderick 2003). Bourdieusian attitudes towards class distinction may also implicitly influence views of practitioners, with pupils from working class backgrounds sometimes being viewed as averse to engaging with ‘high’ musical culture, and consequently being limited in their access to music education (e.g. Vulliamy and Shephard 1984; Cope and Smith 1992; Dunne 2020). Furthermore, while it is argued that the distinction between class-based cultural attitudes in terms of musical appreciation is being broken down in wider society, it is unclear to the extent to which this has extended to extracurricular music education afforded by music services. This in turn raises questions over how culture is viewed by policymakers and practitioners in the present day, and how this influences accessibility to music education.

2.4. Chapter Conclusion

Now that I have introduced and explored the theories of Arnold, Williams, and Bourdieu, in this section I will summarise the key elements from each theoretical perspective, explore how these theories inter-relate, and explain how they will help to frame the research and discussion in this thesis.

Firstly, I examined Arnold’s (1869) influence on education as a reformatory tool in response to drastic 19th century social changes. He draws on a liberal humanist perspective of the arts in education being beneficial to both society and the individual, a view that is still held by

policymakers and music service teaching practitioners, as we see in Chapters 6 and 8 respectively. Through this liberal humanist perspective of the arts, Arnold established a strong focus on the classical tradition within education, based on a desire to utilise what he perceived as the best cultural artefacts. Consequently, this view may negatively impact the perception of other working-class traditions in education. It led to the western classical musical tradition forming the focus of music education in schools, particularly after the 1944 Education Act, which favoured the middle classes in terms of knowledge and engagement. As we shall see in Chapter 3, this focus is reflected in the formalisation of instrumental music education in schools as part of the formation of LA music services post-1944, which resulted in some culture clashes between students and teachers (Vulliamy and Shepherd 1984). Therefore, I argue that Arnold's impact in utilising this focus on excellence and the western classical approach may still influence peripatetic teaching practitioners' practice and perceptions today, potentially causing cultural divides and similar culture clashes between practitioners and pupils in contemporary music services. As such, exploring this perception amongst peripatetic teaching practitioners informed the thematic analysis of participant data (see Chapter 5), and will become an important part of how the data is framed and discussed in the context of how such attitudes from practitioners may affect access (see Chapters 8 and 9).

Secondly however, when I turned to examine the work of Williams in Section 2.2., there is a conflicting effect at play. Williams recognised the enduring impact of the Arnoldian form of residual culture in society and its impact of maintaining class barriers. Yet, Williams also recognised emergent culture in society, and posited that a 'long revolution' is underway, wherein a common culture is being developed embodied in the democratisation of communications across society (Williams 1966). Williams argues that the increase in mass communications over time breaks down class based cultural barriers to form a more culturally democratic society. Therefore, is it the case that music education is moving organically away from the focus of the western classical tradition influenced by Arnold's thinking? As we shall examine in Chapter 3, there is evidence that the types of music utilised by practitioners in music education has become more varied over time, potentially helping to democratise music education, and thus improving access for pupils. However, Williams also recognised that market-driven political ideologies in policymaking can also affect the development of and access to the arts in society, potentially limiting the long revolution and disadvantaging those from working class backgrounds. We will explore the justifications of music education in policymaking in Chapter 6, and the impacts of economic barriers to

access in Chapter 7. The interplay between Arnold's western classical focus and Williams' proposed gradual democratisation of culture in society, highlights that music education is important when considering the impact of access to music education. If the 'long revolution' effect is introducing broader cultural practices of teaching in music services, this could help to remove cultural barriers of access. Therefore, I examine the types of music that peripatetic teaching practitioners utilise and their attitudes towards cultural forms in teaching as part of my data analysis (see Chapter 5) and data presentation (see Chapter 8), and use this to help frame broader access issues in my contextual discussion (see Chapter 9).

Thirdly, in Section 2.3., I examined Bourdieu's theories surrounding the impact of cultural distinction, habitus, and forms of capital on social class and culture in society, and music education more specifically. These concepts help frame the broader concepts of Arnold and Williams in a more detailed discussion of musical culture in the context of social class. For Bourdieu, cultural attitudes are heavily influenced by social class, with differing types of economic, social, and cultural capital all impacting upon cultural engagement and reinforcing one's class position through intergenerational habitus (Bourdieu 1984). Bourdieu identifies the western classical musical tradition as holding strong cultural capital amongst the dominant classes in society. Accessing this tradition requires (or is made a lot easier by) an acquired habitus of relevant social and cultural capital. This can exclude or cause clashes with pupils who do not have the necessary habitus (e.g. passed down through parental knowledge and engagement) to engage with this kind of learning. This perspective strongly relates to the influence of Arnold's western classical tradition focus on music education, and offers a way of defining the potential impacts more clearly within the practitioner data. Therefore, I consider this theoretical perspective when analysing the data and identifying themes, to see whether the Bourdieusian effect of distinction is still being perpetuated through music education, both through cultural capital (the types of music being taught), and through social perceptions of who should or is able to engage with these musical types (link to perceptions of practitioners on social issues potentially limiting access). For instance, I explore practitioner perspectives of different types of culture and how they perceive pupils' engagement with musical forms, as well as perceptions of pupil social and cultural backgrounds though the lens of cultural capital and habitus in my data analysis (see Chapter 5), and my discussion around access issues based on social and cultural attitudes (see Chapters 8 and 9). Bourdieu's concept of economic capital also plays an important role in

framing access issues found in Welsh music services (see Chapter 7), with increased economic capital being required to access music service education in Wales (see Chapter 4).

However, in his later writing Bourdieu reflected that his own situation represented a habitus clivé, which may indicate that societal hierarchy is becoming looser, explicable by Williams' long revolution theory. This thawing of social distinction is supported by some more recent developments of Bourdieu's theories, that argue that the strict class divides posited by Bourdieu have become weakened, with the western classical musical tradition no longer carrying as much social and cultural capital as it once did amongst the dominant social classes (e.g. Burnard et al. 2015). Instead, different musical types accrue their own social and cultural capital across social classes, such as with Peterson's (1992) concept of the modern cultural omnivore. Music in schools has since become more diverse and inclusive across the 1990s and 2000s (Burnard and Fautley 2014), and habitus can be broken down to balance class barriers in music education through inclusive teaching practice (Wright 2008) more akin to Arnold's liberal humanist view of the arts, but with a more egalitarian approach to musical forms. Therefore, it may be the case that distinction based on musical cultural hierarchy is becoming less distinct in wider society and in music education, thus making musical learning more accessible from a cultural perspective, and reflecting Williams' view of a gradual democratisation of culture in society.

Yet, the picture is not be as clear as it may initially seem. When I considered Bourdieu's theories of distinction in the specific context of music education in Section 2.3. above, this convenient picture of a gradually democratising of music education becomes less clear-cut. For example, we saw that western classical music may still retain significant cultural capital in society (Trulsson 2015), or at least in dominant social groups (Burnard et al. 2015). Such musical focus therefore may still play a role in education in which culture clashes can occur with teachers of musical instruments and pupils who do not have the required cultural capital or habitus. The habitus of a classical musician demands considerable time and effort to acquire (Sagiv and Hall 2015), and therefore pupils who are not from the social backgrounds to acquire said habitus are naturally disadvantaged. Linking into this point, the attitudes of music teachers can play a significant role in how music education is framed and accessed. As I explored in Section 2.3., teachers of western classical music may feel pressured to maintain a perceived standard, be less inclined to adapt to new teaching strategies, and tie their identity as western classical musicians to the success of their pupils (Button 2010; Sagiv and Hall 2015). If these effects lock teachers of musical instruments in a cycle of reproducing western

classical cultural artefacts, this has the potential to perpetuate access issues through cultural clashes between pupil and practitioner.

To summarise, at the macro level, there are two potential effects at play. Firstly, a focus on the western classical musical tradition as influenced by an Arnoldian perception of higher value became the focus of music service education from the mid-20th century. This focus on a cultural form favoured by the dominant classes requires the necessary cultural capital with which to engage successfully, as well as economic capital, both acquired through intergenerational habitus (Bourdieu 1984). Therefore, pupils without this habitus may not be able to access this type of musical learning, either through lack of economic capital, or through lack of cultural capital, i.e. the required background knowledge, causing culture clashes with teachers of musical instruments, and maintain a cultural distinction. Secondly, there is an argument that these negative effects are being gradually through a democratisation of culture in society over time, as proposed by Williams' long revolution. Indeed, it appears that in wider society, and in classroom curriculum music education, these strict cultural divides based on certain types of cultural capital have gradually become more diverse and democratised. However, the role of the musical instrument teacher may perpetuate cultural distinctions due to their specific perspectives and perceptions of culture.

Thus, we get to the crux of my argument around these cultural debates and music education: in the specific field of *instrumental* music education, there may exist a microcosm in which distinctions based on a western classical cultural capital are perpetuated. As explored in Section 1.2., music service peripatetic teaching practitioners can have considerable autonomy in teaching methods and direct individual interaction with pupils, and therefore practitioner attitudes and perspectives on music education may play a significant role in access in a way that does not reflect the trends of cultural democratisation in classroom curriculum education and wider society. The perceived value of the content of their teaching, combined with the perceived cultural capital and preferences of pupils, can result in a situation in which access may be limited for pupils who do not conform to this view. Therefore, this argument will form an important part of my data collection and analysis (see Chapter 5), and an integral part of the wider discussions around access to music service education (see Chapters 8 and 9). First however, I will contextualise the cultural theories examined in this chapter into an historical account of the development of music education in the UK and Wales in Chapter 4 below.

3. The Historical Development of Musical Instrument Education

The extracurricular nature of the learning of musical instruments in schools through external music services presents a very different picture to typical curriculum education in schools. To understand the context of the contemporary music service education system in Wales, we will explore the origins and development of music education over time. In this chapter, I provide a historiographical account of music education from broad origins in the ancient world, to the contemporary systems implemented in 21st century Wales. This account provides the framework for the examination of the impact of cultural debates on the shaping of, and subsequent access to, music education. I begin with a discussion of the philosophies of music education in the ancient world, and explore educational developments and the influence of the church through the medieval and renaissance eras. I then trace the gradual expansion of music education in the early modern period through to the substantial societal changes of the 19th century, leading to the Education Acts of 1870 and 1902. The outcomes of these acts and the growing influence of Local Education Authorities (LEAs) are discussed, before highlighting the 1944 Education Act and the subsequent development of instrumental music services in the latter half of the 20th century.

3.1. Ancient Origins

Music has been a fundamental part of human society for thousands of years. Archaeological evidence in Europe has found that early modern humans were making music with bone and ivory flutes in the Aurignacian period, some 35,000 years ago (Conard 2009). Compared to the likely use of basic instruments such as drums and rattles, the use of pitched instruments indicates an understanding of relatively advanced musical pitch, melody, and rhythm. Such finds indicate that music has always played a significant role in early human society through rituals and societal development (Adler 2009). It is speculated that music would have helped develop and sustain cohesion in societal networks 'by creating shared norms of musical aesthetics and storytelling, and through the strong emotions that music can elicit' (ibid p.696). This role of music in society is not unfamiliar to their 21st century human descendants. For instance, music plays an almost universal role in modern societal rituals such as weddings and funerals, and remains an important part of developing social groups (Popadopoulou 2015).

While early evidence of the roles and attitudes towards music and society are left to conjecture, as human civilisation developed, considerably more evidence is available and discussions of the role and value of music in organised society emerged. The ancient and classical periods of Greek history, spanning a period of approximately 700 BCE to 323 BCE, provide a wealth of primary written sources which have strongly influenced the development and thinking of modern Western civilisation (Rogers 1992). Alongside developing philosophical debates in the fields of politics, linguistics, psychology, logic, economics, the sciences, ethics, and many more, Greek philosophers recorded and pondered the role of the arts in contemporary Greek society, offering one of the earliest substantial debates on the role of music education in society (West 1992).

During this period, the role of music as an educational tool was considered an integral part of education. In *Laws* for example, Plato argues in favour of a fully rounded education, with music, dance, and poetry being of equal importance to the development of the soul to other academic teachings (such as literature and the mathematical sciences) and physical gymnastic pursuits (Pangle 1980). He especially recognises the benefits of music in the early years of development (e.g. mothers singing to their children that aids cognitive and social development), and through the use of song as a child grows older to begin educating children into societal norms. In Plato's posited 'ideal' world, such education would continue in the teenage years with three compulsory years of learning the lyre and singing, thus helping to create a rounded personality as they enter adult society (Stamou 2002). The level of importance Plato places on musical engagement in the early developmental years is one that is widely accepted as good practice in modern understandings of a child's cognitive development, highlighting the validity of this argument (e.g. Gordon 1990; Fox 1991; Hallam 2010).

Similarly to Plato, Aristotle in *Politics* views music as an important part of the wider curriculum of education that a child should receive. He argues that the music forms a crucial part of moral instruction, developing virtue in an individual and enabling them to understand and temper their emotions (Jowett and Davis 1920). Furthermore, he argues that the learning of music gives people a hobby with which to engage outside of their professional lives. He does however differ from Plato in that musical instruction should not be undertaken until the teenage years, as younger children are not capable of grasping the technical complexities of instrumental music and singing (Stamou 2002).

Plato and Aristotle's visions of a rounded education encompassing an inclusive curriculum of pursuits, including music, may appear to present an egalitarian approach to culture in society. They are, however, writing from the perspective of the elite upper classes within a distinctly stratified society. Their views on an ideal music education would only have applied to the upper tiers of society in the Greek city states. They go on to reveal a divide in musical accessibility and taste between different parts of society based on social class, wherein not all musical culture is not equally valued. During this period, music and the playing of musical instruments was considered by societal elites less a singular art form, but one heavily integrated with dance, drama, and poetry (Stamou 2002). Plato places a strong value on music which enables such integration, such as song and the aforementioned lyre, and decries purely instrumental music such as wind instruments as having no discernible benefit to the soul (Pangle 1980). Similarly, Aristotle views purely instrumental music such as wind instruments as unnecessary, and prevent singing or speaking while playing, and are therefore unsuitable for instruction (Jowett and Davis 1920). Furthermore, Plato posits that high quality music can only be truly appreciated by the best educated in society in a refined manner. It is this upper stratum of society, in Plato's view, which has the fortitude to judge the quality of music, and not be influenced by lesser taste of the wider, less educated masses, of which Plato condemns the boisterous shouting and clapping when to show their appreciation (Anderson 1966).

Here we see the inspiration of the 'best that has been thought and said' that drives Arnoldian cultural perspective (Arnold 1869 p.viii). As we examined in Chapter 2, Arnold explicitly draws on this ancient and classical Greek culture as inspiration for ideal form of culture. What is particularly interesting here is that there is a divide in musical culture even then, with some forms being viewed as more suitable than others for educational purposes, echoing Arnold's later use for such culture. Thus, we can potentially view Arnold's inspiration as problematic, as its ideal cultural views are based on elitist attitudes towards different kinds of music. As we will see later in this chapter, such problems are manifested as formalised education is established.

The upper classes are able to use their greater economic capital to facilitate the acquiring of this cultural capital through education in music and enable the passing on this capital to future generations through further education, as is evidenced by Plato and Aristotle's portrayal of the 'ideal' musical education for children (Jowett and Davis 1920; Pangle 1980). The lower classes, lacking both the economic resources and the benefit of an inherited 'high'

cultural education, are left to more accessible forms of music that Plato notes are more boisterous and require less formal education, thus lacking cultural legitimacy. As a result of this distinction, an inherently unequal society is reinforced through access, or lack thereof, to musical culture.

Why then, does this historical example of attitudes towards musical culture matter to the perception and provision of modern-day music education? The society and philosophy of ancient and classical Greece proves pivotal in the development of the modern western world. The influence of ancient and classical Greek culture is felt throughout our society, and particularly in the 19th century where it is wielded as a reformatory tool for educational reform (Arnold 1869), shaping how music would be delivered in the more formalised 20th and 21st centuries. While the types of musical culture have developed over time, the ancient and classical Greek precedent of 'high' and 'low' musical culture based on class has remained, maintaining a status quo of cultural division within society. We shall now examine how this has been reflected throughout the history of the British Isles.

3.2. Medieval to Early Modern Britain

In the British Isles, musical tradition stemmed from Celtic, Mediterranean, and Saxon influences. In Wales, the earliest developments of the Eisteddfod institution integrated music to literature and other learning types in a similar way to that of Plato, resulting in a respect for music that was enhanced through the spread of early Christian music through links in the Roman Empire (Bentley 1989). The influence of Christianity had a profound effect on music. The first formal study of music theory was undertaken by monastic scholars, with the earliest forms of musical notation being traced to the seventh century A.D. Musical literacy became relatively common in monastic communities by the ninth century A.D. (Rankin 2018).

The earliest forms of formal music education began in the first century A.D., with song schools being formed in many cathedrals around Britain, such as the York Minster School in 627 A.D. Song schools focused on the teaching of religious choral music, though secular music was also taught, and in grammar and other academic pursuits. This was the earliest iteration of the grammar school (Bentley 1989). Music was also studied as a science in the earliest universities, with Cambridge for example being granted the power to award degrees in music in 1426 (ibid). Both church and university levels of education however were largely available only to elite societal classes, with the church maintaining a monopoly on formal

literary and arts education in the coming centuries. For the vast majority of the population, learning took place in the family unit or informal community settings, with the learning of music being passed down through oral tradition (Jones and Roderick 2003). By the 14th century, the gap between ecclesiastical music making and popular music had grown considerably. Popular instrumental music was viewed poorly among the educated of society compared to purely religious choral music (Paynter 1982). Here, a Bourdieusian status quo can be observed, with a clear distinction between 'high' religious musical culture and 'low' secular popular musical culture through habitus. This has the long-term effect of devaluing the musical culture of the 'masses', with the ruling classes projecting value onto religious musical culture.

Monastic institutions 'continued to act as the custodians of high culture' (Jones and Roderick 2003 p.4) until the 16th century, with Henry VIII's reformation of the church and dissolution of the monasteries between 1536 and 1541. The dissolution had far-reaching effects for music education. While many monastic song schools were integrated into the newly formed Church of England as cathedral song schools, under the new patterns of ritual these schools were entirely devoted to choral training, splitting from their traditional integration with grammar schools (Bentley 1989). This marked the first formal split between music education and wider academic instruction, which proved to have significant detrimental effects for the value placed on music education in the future. This would result in formal music education being an undervalued, fragmented affair until the 1944 Education Act. Indeed, Bentley (1989 p.19) contends that 'the separation of the song schools from the grammar schools meant that there was to be a neglect of music in many of the latter until well into the twentieth century'.

The Early Modern Period saw a substantial increase in popular musical culture. The reformation had weakened the grip of the church on musical culture, and the following Elizabethan age proved particularly beneficial for the growth of music in society, allowing secular music to grow in popularity and develop in its own right. Furthermore, the rapid expansion of popular theatre during this period saw an integration of secular music as part of theatrical production and other art forms (Bentley 1989). In contrast to this growth of popular music, a new form of class-based musical distinction was beginning to develop within society. The upper classes cultivated a new form of 'high' musical culture: the western classical musical tradition. Technological developments through the 16th and 17th centuries resulted in developments in instrument manufacture, which allowed for a wider variety and a larger scale of music making. For the first time, large-scale orchestral and operatic musical

ensembles could be expanded, leading to the Baroque era of music (Bukofzer 1948). A system of musical patronage developed across Europe, wherein wealthy patrons, typically members of the aristocracy, would fund orchestras and composers.

A system of patronage that provided access to the western classical tradition would initially only be available for the upper classes of society, resulting in this form of music attaining high levels of perceived 'cultural capital'. Over time, and certainly by the 18th century, the desire to participate in such activities had spread to the middle classes. The concept of public concerts had become widespread and an accepted part of society. Increased printing of sheet music fed an increasing demand for music from private individuals, and spread different musical styles and ideas through the populace, with music becoming an increasingly popular middle class leisure pastime (Bentley 1989). Music education however remained a somewhat informal matter, with much instruction taking place privately for those able to afford it, thus perpetuating a musical divide based on class within society.

As the 18th century was reached, education for the lower classes of society remained a disparate affair, with little involvement from the state. Instead, what education was available remained firmly in the hands of the church. There was however a strong growth in nonconformist sects that were particularly active in voluntary community education. In Wales, for example, nonconformist elements of the church were becoming increasingly popular, with Methodist community Sunday schools being particularly proactive. For instance, between 1731 and 1761 approximately 3,325 schools took place, teaching some 250,000 people how to read. Similarly, Quaker schools teaching reading, writing, and mathematics became popular in the early 1800s (Jones and Roderick 2003). While the Anglican Church viewed itself as the traditional holder of educational power in Britain, the growth in nonconformist groups challenged this view, with education becoming increasingly fragmented in approach, and far from universal for all children. The state itself provided partial funding to the Anglican Church in support of its educational activity, including its musical educational aspects, yet took no direct action itself in education provision for the wider population.

3.3. 1800 – 1870

In the first three decades of the 19th century, however, there was a growing movement arguing in favour of a secular education provided by the state. Such arguments were resisted

by the establishment and the church, that believed that a thorough secular education for the working classes would challenge the status quo of the social order (Jones and Roderick 2003). Yet, the social order was already in a state of change. In the 19th century, Wales underwent a rapid change from an agricultural focused economy to an industrial economy. The relentless pace of change during the century led to a considerable migration of the Welsh labour force away from agricultural employment in rural areas of the country, and drew them to the expanding urban centres by the higher wages promised by the iron and coal industries. Workers also immigrated from elsewhere in great numbers, such as from Ireland and from Devon and Cornwall. Consequently, the population of Wales doubled between 1800 and 1840, and nearly doubled again by 1900 (Jones and Roderick 2003). This dramatic and relatively sudden change to the fabric of society led to an array of social problems. The shift of the population towards urban centres led to an increase in overcrowded, sub-standard accommodation, and a lack of urban infrastructure, employment rights, political representation, healthcare, and education (Davies 2005). Such conditions led to an increase in social unrest. In Wales for example, a 'simmering atmosphere of discontent' was present, 'which occasionally exploded into violent outbreaks such as the Merthyr riots of 1831, the Chartist riots of 1839, and the activities of the Scotch Cattle' (Jones and Roderick 2003 p.57). Here we can observe some of the root causes of Arnold's (1869) views on the changes of society risking 'anarchy', later compounding his later views on cultural reform.

In terms of education specifically, by the 1860s there was increasing pressure on the government to provide a unified formal provision for schools across Britain. As discussed above, voluntary religious church or denominational schools formed the main part of educational provision across the country, yet they were unable to keep pace with the expanding population (Jones and Roderick 2003). For example, in the Newcastle Report (Pelham 1861), it was estimated that only one child in four was receiving a good standard of education, with existing voluntary schools typically being overcrowded with subjects being taught by rote with little individual tuition. This resulted in poor literacy and numeracy levels being observed nationally. The report also observed that many children were simply not accessing formal education at all, often being compelled through economic necessity to enter the workplace from an early age. In Wales, there was little formal music education for the working classes, other than a focus on religious singing in church or denominational schools (Bentley 1989).

It is in this context of societal change, urban social unrest, and calls for reform of a patchwork of educational provision that Matthew Arnold presents his argument for cultural reform in *Culture and Anarchy* in 1869. Even before the implementation of formalised state education, examples of Arnoldian reform in musical activity can be widely found in 19th century. Music was arguably often being used in such a reformatory way within working class communities by employers, religious movements, friendly societies etc. (e.g. Deeks 2022). In by the mid-1800s musical ensembles such as choirs and brass bands supported and sponsored by industrial employers and churches were becoming commonplace. Yet so called 'higher' culture was often projected into such pursuits, arguably a method of reducing social unrest through aiding community cohesion and improving industrial relations between workers and employers (Newsome 1998). For instance, an examination of brass band repertoire in the mid to late 1800s shows that transcriptions of classic orchestral works, typically viewed as the 'higher' culture of the upper classes, were by far the most commonly performed (Newsome 1998). We will now examine how such views would impact on and evolve within state-formalised music education following its inception in 1870.

3.4. 1870 – 1902

It was under these circumstances of increasing reformatory pressure that the 1870 Education Act came about. It introduced formal primary education to the UK for children aged five to thirteen. To achieve this, the Act placed primary education under the control of 2,568 newly created county school boards which were given the power to impose taxes to establish new schools to provide education for this age group (Boos 2015). Board schools were required to examine students on reading, writing, and mathematics, which formed the majority of the curriculum time, though additional supplementary options such as the sciences, history, geography, languages, and needlework were offered later (ibid). These newly established school boards were locally funded through taxes, and would eventually evolve into LAs in the 20th century. The boards represented a significant development in the structure of formal education because they formed meso-level intermediary bodies that acted as a buffer between education and government. Importantly, this divestment of power and financial control to the local level would later play a significant role in the direction of music education, which we shall explore in Section 3.7.

While the 1870 Education Act formalised compulsory elementary schooling for the first time, music as a classroom-based subject was not recognised in the bill when signed into law. However, following pressure from the public and from MPs, music became compulsory in all schools funded by the schools board, with one sixth of annual funding per school being dependent on the teaching of singing (Bentley 1989). In the years between 1870 and 1902, music teaching in schools focused almost exclusively on group singing, and optionally the teaching of basic musical notation, both delivered by classroom teachers rather than music specialists (Roese 2003). Here, a strong Arnoldian reformatory theme is evident, echoing Plato's use of song to develop morality. The linguistic aspect of song formed a key part in perpetuating societal norms and values in the 19th century, enabling religious morals and nationalistic ideas to be expressed directly through music.

Music in schools had a practical function in in society the context of post-1870 late 19th century education (Bentley 1989), rather that pursing music purely for its educational and developmental benefits (Hallam 2010). For instance, despite losing direct power over education to the state following the 1870 Education Act, the church maintained a strong moral influence over education, and indeed society as a whole. It is, however, important to note that both the nonconformist movements that ran voluntary schools strongly resisted the influence of the development of the 1870 Education Act, which favoured the influence of the church. A consequence of this resistance was that many nonconformist voluntary schools remained as independent entities, separate from the newly established school boards (Jones and Roderick 2003). Consequently, roughly a third of pupils remained under the tutelage of religious voluntary schools, which were notably underfunded and consequently poor in delivery (ibid).

In schools under the influence of the church, school singing was used to instil moral and societal values based on religious teaching (Adams 2013; Horton and Zon 2016). This was particularly the case in Wales, with its strongly nonconformist culture playing a significant part in encouraging singing in voluntary schools in particular (Jones and Roderick 2003). Secular music in schools also had a practical function in inculcating a sense of nationalistic pride, with Britain's then global empire being a key aspect of the national ethos (Adams 2013; Horton and Zon 2016). This would again be achieved through the use of national songs, which were a strongly encouraged aspect of music in schools, as acknowledged by contemporary sources such as Somervell (1904). The deliberate use of music in such a way is highlighted by the fact that instrumental music was 'not considered at all relevant' for state

funded schools, instruments being far less effective at portraying such ideals than the spoken word (Bentley 1989 p.24).

While the 1870 Education Act resulted in the widespread accessibility of education and improved the consistency of delivery at a national level, the quality of delivery remained a cause for concern for inspectors. Often underqualified, or indeed completely unqualified, teachers taught large classes of mixed ages and abilities (Jones and Roderick 2003). Poor attendance was also a significant issue. An 1880 amendment made such education theoretically compulsory to address this problem, though multiple loopholes meant that it was not until 1918 that primary education became truly compulsory for all, with the school leaving age being raised to fourteen (Boos 2015).

In Wales, the Aberdare Committee in 1880 found that the post-1870 system of secondary education was 'grossly inadequate' in terms of provision, quality, and in retaining pupils who otherwise entered the workplace (Jones and Roderick 2003 p.87). The Committee recommended a system of publicly funded intermediate schools, which eventually became law with the passing of the 1889 Welsh Intermediate Education Act. The Act introduced a publicly funded system of intermediate education which would not come into fruition in England until 1902 (see Section 3.5 below). The subjects of English, mathematics, Latin, and a foreign language were made compulsory, as was the practice of learning and performing vocal music (Jones and Roderick 2003). While the focus on singing provided a limited scope in terms of musical learning, singing was, and remains, a strong part of Welsh musical identity. It provided the foundations for future development of music within the education system in Wales.

3.5. 1902 – 1939

By the turn of the 20th century, the disparity in the schooling system within England and Wales (as discussed above) led to the introduction of the 1902 Education Act. The Act aimed to increase the efficiency of the education system by abolishing both voluntary schools and the 2,568 school boards created by the 1870 Education Act in favour of establishing 328 local education authorities (LEAs). These LEAs were given the responsibility of providing both elementary and secondary education across England and Wales (Gordon et al. 1991). The introduction of LEAs meant that schools could be funding centrally via fixed rates of tax across the country, instead of the variable tax levels imposed by school boards LEAs were

still allowed the freedom to adapt their approach to their respective local needs (Gordon et al. 1991; Robinson 2002). The Act also introduced a formalised intermediate education in England, similar to the one that had been place in Wales since the 1889 Welsh Intermediate Education Act (Jones and Roderick 2003). Despite extensive and sustained dissent from nonconformist-led councils in Wales over the defunding of voluntary schools, the education systems of England and Wales gradually aligned under the influence of the 1902 Act. The introduction of LEAs as the primary means of control over educational delivery would have significant ramifications for the teaching of musical instruments later in the 20th century (see Section 3.7.).

Despite the structural reforms of the 1902 Education Act, music in education retained a notably minor role in the education system for the first four decades of the 20th century. As had been the case throughout the 19th century, singing remained the main focus of mandatory music education in schools. Despite it being combined with basic musical theory learned by rote, there was little room for individual expression (Bentley 1989). The 1889 Welsh Intermediate Education Act had made vocal music a compulsory part of secondary education in Wales, and this was incorporated into the national reforms introduced by the 1902 Education Act (Jones and Roderick 2003). Similarly to elementary education however, music was largely confined to singing, and often combined with marching and drill, with much the same focus on imbuing moral, religious, and nationalistic values as the 19th century (Bentley 1989; Horton and Zon 2016).

There was, considerable variability in the quality of music education delivery across England and Wales depending on the attitude of teachers and schools towards the utility of music education. For example, a national inspection of music education in secondary schools in 1911 found that music varied according to gender in schools (Fletcher 1911). In girls' schools it was found that music was considered an important part of education, receiving an average of 40 minutes singing tuition a week. There remained an element of reformatory control however, with music reinforcing ‘high’ cultural values through religious and moral themes. In contrast, music was considerably less valued in boys’ schools, with head teachers typically opting to use the time for other subjects, particularly in the upper years. In both cases, a lack of trained music teachers was observed, resulting in a lack of overall improvement in music for pupils (ibid). This pattern of inconsistency and undervaluing of music as a subject was to remain largely unchanged for the majority of the first half of the 20th century (Bentley 1989).

The impact of the First World War of 1914-1918 had significant ramifications for British society as a whole. Post-war social commentators considered domestic life unsettled as a result of the war, while constructing an increase in leisure time post-war as perpetuating immoral behaviour (Jacobs and Goodman 2006). This was not dissimilar to attitudes which perceived social issues following the industrial revolution and urbanisation of the 19th century. Consequently, there was a resurgence of Arnoldian views in education, particularly in girls' schools, which encouraged the projection of the 'higher' arts of music as a way of restoring harmonious society (Jacobs and Goodman 2006).

However, during the 1920s and 1930s there were growing demands for a revised education structure. There remained a class divide in education, with the working classes not being offered the same opportunities as that of the middle and upper classes. Such inequalities, combined with an expansion in liberal societal attitudes, and economic and social changes as a result of the economic crash following 1929, led to these demands for education reform (Adams 2013). The Spens Report highlighted that music was significantly underrepresented in the school curriculum, with just 2% of schools entering pupils for music examinations (Spens et al. 1938 p.99). The consultation revealed a notable shift towards an Arnoldian form of liberal-humanist thinking among many head teachers and stakeholders, who recognised both the educational and personal benefits of incorporating music into a rounded curriculum. Despite this beginning of a shift in attitudes towards the value of pupils learning music, it would remain a notably minor subject with highly disparate delivery across England and Wales until the Second World War.

3.6. The Welsh Context

The social and legislative changes during and after the Second World War (1939-1945) had a significant impact on the development of music education, sparking the formation of widespread extra-curricular music service education. At this point, it is important to review the development of music education I have explored in the previous sections with a more detailed examination of the Welsh context of musical history and the development of music education.

Music in medieval Wales stemmed from an oral tradition, with no secular musical manuscripts having survived from Wales before the end of the 16th century (Kinney 2011). Music, however, played an important role in Welsh life and was defined by social

hierarchies. For instance, surviving law documents from between the 10th and 13th centuries reveal bards and poets occupied a distinct professional status among the elite of society, with defined ranks within court hierarchy (Fulton 2023). Certain instruments were associated with this high social status, most famously the harp, the 'supreme instrument of the Welsh' at this time (Kinney 2011 p.3), as well as the pipes and crwth (a five or six-stringed instrument). All were highly ranked and frequently performed in the bardic tradition, and as part of a noble education (Griffiths et al. 2023). The music performed was 'sophisticated, complex, bound by strict rules and passed on orally from teacher to pupil' (Kinney 2011 p.1), with this training being 'lengthy' and 'highly regulated', with learning in language and genealogy also being expected (ibid p.6).

The medieval period is also the origin of the eisteddfod (the earliest recorded being in Cardigan in 1176), a Welsh tradition of cultural gathering, typically involving competition in music, literature, and spoken poetry (Griffiths 2023). Held annually today, medieval eisteddfodau were more sporadic and often localised events. These were held to 'award degrees to poets who had passed the bardic examinations' (Kinney 2011 p.7), and to 'protect the status' of musicians and poets in society (Griffiths 2023 p.101). Therefore, elite Welsh medieval musical culture was highly complex in practice, and differed considerably from the simpler musical practices of the wider working classes (Fulton 2023). This reinforced a distinct musical hierarchy during this period, with significant social and cultural capital required to access the musical culture of the elite, a habitus reinforced through successive generations of cultural gatekeeping through complex practice and requirements of social class.

These distinct cultural divides in Welsh society began to gradually break down in the centuries following the advent of the Tudors, a Welsh dynasty, coming to the English throne in 1485. This saw a greater social and cultural blending of English and Welsh musical practices. However, following the restrictions on the Welsh language in the Acts of Union of 1536-43, the Welsh gentry began to become increasingly anglicised (Kinney 2011). While affecting musicians less than poets, 'musicians too saw changes in repertoire, style and patronage as the seventeenth century unfolded and more tunes came in from England' (ibid p.17). These social changes resulted in the gradual demise of the formalised bardic order during this period. Consequently, the less formalised nature of music in society resulted in the lighter music of the 'farmers, craftsmen, and men of the church' becoming more prominent, but still with the increased English influence over the 17th and 18th centuries (ibid p.30). The

learning of such music remained largely within the communities, largely still through oral tradition, or through more formalised church-based learning.

Church music also saw change during this period. Prior to the reformation, music in the early medieval church and monasteries in Wales had begun with Latin plainchant, evolving into polyphonic liturgical singing as the period progressed, with the later addition of organ music, which became increasingly popular from the 14th century as instrument technology advanced (Harper 2023). Churches also provided educational contributions in terms of training choristers, but there remained a divide between the music of the elite, common people, and that of the church (Kinney 2011). However, following Henry VIII's reformation of the church between 1534 and 1552, the Latin chants and the use of the organ reduced significantly with the growth of Protestantism, which saw the gradual introduction of congregational singing of hymns in church, particularly from the 17th century (Harper 2023).

As discussed in Section 3.3., the industrial revolution of the 19th century also brought significant societal change. With these societal shifts came notable changes for Welsh musical culture and music education. There was a resurrection and evolution of the medieval practice of eisteddfod. The practice had begun again at a limited local level by the start of the 19th century, sparked by an interest in the revival of Welsh traditional music and poetry (Griffiths 2023). This would soon evolve into vibrant local musical competitions, driven by factors such as a desire to do good in a time of social upheaval (such as the temperance movement), 'the spread of community music making' (ibid p.105-106), and as 'a symbol of Welshness in the face of increasing anglicisation' (Kinney 2011 p.157). By the second half of the 19th century, the eisteddfod movement had become a national movement, with the first official national eisteddfod being held in 1861, evolving and increasing in popularity in the coming decades into major events. By 1911 for instance, 'as many as sixty-nine choirs' took part in the various competitions, as well as providing a platform for new compositions by Welsh composers. (Griffiths 2023 p.110). Thus, a truly national showcase of Welsh musical culture had formed, stimulated through competition and the growth in community music making, and enabled through the expansion of accessible railway travel (Allsobrook 1992).

Despite being a movement intended to focus on Welsh music and language, these early national eisteddfodau (from the 1880s), were 'heavily influenced by Victorian ideas of self-advancement and an imperialistic belief in the supremacy of the English language' (ibid p.112). This manifested in clashes of musical traditions with English adjudicators, and

attempts to introduce Welsh audiences to western classical orchestral works were mixed (Allsobrook 1992). Thus, we can observe the influence of an Arnoldian use of an idealised culture to address a perceived need for reform. The focus of the eisteddfod on Welsh cultural pursuits endured however (a Welsh language rule was later introduced in 1950), helping to create a form of Welsh cultural nationalism based on Welsh popular music (Herbert 2023). For instance, the technological advancements saw an increase in the availability of instruments, with the fiddle being well established by this point. There was a substantial growth in the playing of wind instruments, particularly in the formation of brass bands, by the end of the 19th century (Griffiths et al. 2023). There was also a rapid growth in religious nonconformism led to an increase again in the singing of hymns, with a subsequent 'exponential growth in choral singing' (Griffiths 2023 p.105), often linked to such religious movements, industrial settings, or other reformatory movements, such as the temperance movement (Clarke 2023).

However, this Welsh musical culture did not necessarily translate into official education policy. The 19th century expansion of Welsh cultural identity through eisteddfodau and community music making was not represented in formalised educational settings, despite a notable expansion in provision as the century progressed. At the start of the 19th century, there was very little provision of music teaching for children. Over the coming decades, there was a considerable growth in primary age provision, particularly in that offered by growing religious movements (both the established church and nonconformism) in the face of considerable social upheaval (Beauchamp and Breeze 2022). An 1833 government grant influenced several treatises that addressed the learning of music in schools. Though largely focused around singing and the performing of music, these developments marking the start of a gradual shift away from music as an enhancement of religious practice, and a move towards establishing music as a part of the school curriculum (ibid).

As noted in Section 3.4., the 1870 Education Act introduced music education provision in schools for the first time. Again, this consisted largely of singing, which was made a compulsory subject of elementary education, with one-sixth of a school's annual grant being dependent on singing being part of the curriculum. Schools had to prepare 'a dozen songs in the course of the year' and perform these for the inspector (Ministry of Education 1960 p.5). Therefore, while music was included in schools, the limited focus restricted the development of music as a curriculum subject, and did not align with the wider popular music of the Welsh in wider society at the time (Herbert 2023), remaining anglicised in approach, with 'no clear

distinction' between English and Welsh schools by the end of the 19th century (Beauchamp 1995 p.43). The following years, however, saw the Trinity College of Music begin theory and practical music examinations form 1877, followed by the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM) in 1889 (Beauchamp and Breeze 2022). These developments marked the early development of instrumental teaching that was more akin to popular music practice, though was not a fundamental part of music education in schools.

At the turn of the 20th century, there were calls for more instrumental tuition in schools to counteract the dominance of singing, and increasing numbers of teachers were attending teacher training colleges, helping to legitimise the profession (Beauchamp and Breeze 2022). Yet the Board of Education continued to maintain a firm control of school budgets, limiting the development of music pedagogy. In 1907, the establishment of the Welsh Department of the Board of Education saw the beginnings of a devolution of curriculum decision making, with a gradual recognition of the need for a music curriculum that was dedicated to Welsh musical culture and traditions (Beauchamp 1995). There was a significant step forward in 1919 with the constitution of the Welsh National Council of Music in Wales, with Walford Davies as director. Davies spent significant effort in the coming decades to stimulate Welsh musical culture and education, aiding the development of the eisteddfod tradition, and encouraging not only song and poetry, but also increasing instrumental diversity in eisteddfod competitions (Allsobrook 1992). In education, he recommended that schools adopt a five-year music syllabus for secondary schools, which would include daily singing, weekly school concerts, and a class lesson in music composing and reading tunes, alongside extra-curricular instrumental and vocal lessons, and ensemble practices, lead by a specialist music teacher (ibid). Davies also supported instrumental performance through summer schools for music teachers to develop skills in teaching music and through lecture recitals around Wales. He particularly encouraged schools to support pupil instrumentalists, in an effort to build an orchestral culture in Wales, to perform wider western classical repertoire.

It could be argued that a perceived imposition of wider western classical musical culture is an Arnoldian form of cultural reform, implicitly working 'to keep the beasts of incipient bolshevism and spiritual impoverishment at bay' amongst the 'economically disposed of South Wales' (Allsobrook 1992 p.163). However, there was a notably strong link between music and the Welsh national identity at this time, indicating that such efforts were not eroding Welsh musical culture through a form of cultural imperialism, but helping to strengthen cultural attitudes and activities throughout society (Beauchamp 2003). Indeed,

Wales was recognised by policymakers as a ‘musical nation’ at the time, and was reflected implicitly in policy, again suggesting that such efforts were non reformatory in nature (ibid p.132). Furthermore, Davies could instead be framed as a liberal humanist, recognising the wider social and educational benefits of enabling access to musical activities (ibid). This is a perspective that will be reflected in later 21st century discussions (see Chapters 4 and 8).

Yet, Davies and the Council had no legislative power over music education, with their activities being limited to offering support and encouragement to schools. Subsequently, the external economic pressures on school system in the 1920s caused music training to be neglected in favour of subjects perceived as more useful. As such, while many schools benefited from the Council’s support, the time spent on music in schools varied widely, again with a focus on singing and sightreading exercises, with only limited notation and harmony being taught, if at all (Allsobrook 1992). Furthermore, the official policy perspective of the late 1920s seemed to view music as a ‘useful distraction for students rather than a valued part of an academic curriculum’ (Beauchamp 2003 p.132). Therefore, both policy and economic pressures worked against the development of music education in this period. Such issues persisted into the 1930s, with singing remaining the focus, and a lack of definite and progressive standards of attainment in music education in schools. There were calls for such measures to be introduced in 1937, but this was not supported by legislation (Beauchamp and Breeze 2022).

During the Second World War and over subsequent decades, there would be an acknowledgement of the need for a Welsh cultural heritage to be a part of music in the school curriculum, and by early 1970s, music had become an established feature in all schools, with secondary schools in particular being noted as having specialist teachers and equipment. Primary schools, however, were notably lacking, with little development by comparison. Yet, it is acknowledged that there was a distinct musical culture in Wales, eventually resulting in the adoption of a separate musical curriculum in Welsh schools in 1992 (Beachamp 1995). It was the 1943 Norwood Report and 1944 Education Act that marks the significant point of divergence between curriculum music and extra-curricular instrumental tuition. It is at this point that we will pivot away from music education in schools, and turn to examine the development of music service instrumental education in greater detail, the area of music education that underpins the music service focus of this thesis.

3.7. 1939 – 1944

The Second World War of 1939-1945 was instrumental in sparking an unparalleled engagement with music across all levels of society. For instance, the establishment of the Council for the Encouragement of Arts and Music (CEMA) (which would become the Arts Council post-war in 1946) was established shortly after war was declared in 1939, primarily to utilise the moral enhancing properties of music-making. In just the first two years of the war alone, the CEMA delivered some 8,000 concerts and events (Rainbow and Cox 2006). As well as funding professional events, the CEMA also directly encouraged music-making within local communities, coordinating on existing local community music and amateur groups. It also helped establish county council music committees, largely funded by LAs, in many areas and provided appropriate advisors for expanding community activities, as well as the then-innovative idea of funding peripatetic teaching practitioners to provide instrumental lessons across the country, which grew steadily in demand as the war progressed (Ibberson 1977). The initiatives delivered by the government through CEMA fuelled a monumental increase in the public's appetite for both popular and orchestral music. Music became a crucial form of emotional support as a morale booster as entertainment, participation as social activity, and as a much-needed distraction in a time of severe domestic restrictions and upheaval (Rainbow and Cox 2006). By the end of the war, the popularity of listening to, learning, and performing music had reached unprecedented levels.

The Norwood Report was published in 1943 amidst the Second World War as a review of the education system in response to the Spens Report. In terms of music, the report stated that the aims of the subject in education should be firstly, musical appreciation in the classroom, and secondly, the promotion of instrumental and singing tuition by LEAs (Norwood et al. 1943). The subsequent 1944 Education Act was enacted on the basis of the Norwood Report, and aimed to address the inequalities evident in the education system. In general terms, the Act provided free secondary education for all pupils, which was reorganised at this level into a tripartite system encompassing grammar, secondary modern, and technical schools, with pupils allocated to one of each according to an exam at the age of eleven (Ministry of Education 1944). In terms of music education, the Act incorporated the two key elements recommended by the Norwood Report. Firstly, music was officially recognised as an important curriculum component for every pupil. Secondly, that extra-curricular activity in

the form of instrumental and singing tuition and other activities such as youth ensembles would be supported in all three avenues of secondary education.

While the Norwood Report and subsequent 1944 Education Act marked a ground-breaking step forward as a government endorsement of music education, a number of far-reaching consequences for music education became apparent. Perhaps the most prominent was that the policy split the formalised teaching of music in the classroom and the teaching of musical instruments into curricular and extra-curricular activities. Thus, while the teaching of music in schools was provided with statutory protection, the right for pupils to learn musical instruments was far more ambiguous, with funding relying on political will (Bentley 1989). Furthermore, the post-war agenda was focused on systemic reorganisation, rather than promoting new pedagogical practice (Lowe 2007). Therefore, the 1944 Act offered little practical planning for the development of instrumental tuition, and unequivocally placed the responsibility of doing so in the hands of LEAs, as well as teachers and musicians (Ministry of Education 1944). The result was that the development of instrumental tuition through early LEA music services was to be an inconsistent affair throughout the country, with much depending on the attitudes and funding of specific LEAs.

3.8. 1944 – 1980

In the initial post-war years, many LEAs recognised the increased enthusiasm for music and continued to fund the advisors provided by CEMA during the war (Bracey 1959). Early activities undertaken typically mirrored those of the war (i.e. the organisation of concerts, events, and community music groups) and gradually evolved over the late 1940s to focus on providing instrumental tuition for children in schools (Taylor 1979; Adams et al. 2010). London County Council had taken an early lead in introducing such courses of individual instrumental tuition for pupils during the war years with excellent results in terms of the numbers and enthusiasm of pupils engaged in tuition. This was recognised in the McNair Report (1944), which recommended that the London example be used as a blueprint for other LEAs across the country. Indeed, the recommendations of the report would set the ethos for instrument tuition across the newly developing LEA music services for the remainder of the century:

> For the fortunate children in a few places there are admirable instrumental classes, and a few local education authorities, notably London, have begun to select gifted children for individual courses of lessons, with outstanding results. These facilities should not wait for the post-primary stage, since the foundation of executive skill can be laid in childhood with unique ease and certainty; nor, if adequate teachers can be found, is there any reason why the facilities should not be made available everywhere and dependent neither on extra fees nor on the chance of a particular locality or school. A few determined local education authorities have already shown that the problem of the provision of instruments can be overcome. (McNair et al. 1944, p.155)

As we can observe, what is being presented is a universal system of instrumental tuition covering both primary and secondary levels of education. This is crucial. It is the first instance of what would evolve into the modern LA music service being recommended. In using the example of the London LEAs, it demonstrates that such a vision had the potential for successful implementation.

Indeed, many LEAs across Britain would follow the recommendations of the Report throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s, introducing tuition and providing funding for teachers and instruments. At least twelve LEA music services were established by the end of the 1940s (Cleave and Dust 1989). Consequently, this period enabled a significant amount of children to access instrument tuition for the first time, often for free or for very little cost (Brace 1970). Musical opportunities began developing rapidly, building on the progress established during the Second World War. As LEA music services became established, a pyramid structure began to emerge. LEA music services aimed to engage with large groups of younger children, before smaller numbers who opted to continue moving on to individual tuition and school ensembles. Talented pupils would then be able to perform at county level ensembles, drawing the best pupils from a specific LEA, before finally the most talented could perform in newly established national ensembles (Henley 2011). Such national ensembles included the National Youth Orchestra of Wales in 1945 and of Great Britain in 1947, and the National Youth Brass Band of Great Britain in 1952.

During the 1950s, LEA music services continued to develop where provision was available, and elicited generally high demand from pupils, despite some regional variability (Long 1959). Saturday ‘music centres’ began to be introduced in the 1950s, a tradition which continues to this day, which would be run by LEA music services to provide a collective setting for ensembles, drawing pupils from multiple schools in a given area (Trodd 1978). This allowed further musical and social opportunities for pupils, and eased tensions between

the time taken up by extra-curricular music compared to academic subjects during the school week. These centres allowed LEA music services to develop county level activities, with approximately half of authorities across the country having established youth ensembles by 1958 (SCAM 1960). Provision was far from universal however, and was strongly weighted towards grammar schools, which represented a relatively small proportion of the secondary age population, with pupils from predominately middle-class backgrounds. For example, in 1958 only 5% of primary schools were receiving instrumental tuition in 1958, compared to 69% of grammar and technical secondary schools. Only 36% of secondary modern schools received tuition, indicating potential discrepancies in the accessibility of music to those pupils in this pathway of education (SCAM 1960). As such, music education is clearly weighted towards pupils from middle class backgrounds, compared to those of the working class.

As mentioned above, the provision of instrument lessons was not a statutory requirement. Other LEAs opted not to deliver such provision, particularly in the context of post-war austerity (Ibberson 1977). As such, funding structures varied considerably as more LEA music services emerged across the country, and by the end of the 1950s tensions were appearing with balancing the cost of lessons between LEAs and parents. For example, Long (1959 p.67) noted that as well as the desire to learn an instrument, a pupil is also required to have 'the ability of his parents to pay the fee', raising questions as to the equality of access for pupils from low-income backgrounds in areas where LEAs did not fund free or subsidised tuition. Divisions such as this highlight the fundamental flaw in designating instrumental tuition as extra-curricular, despite the substantial educational benefits (as discussed in Section 4.3.). Without guaranteed funding, the provision of instrumental tuition is nationally inconsistent in delivery and disadvantages those who are unable to afford fees in terms of accessing music education. As we shall examine, this systemic issue will remain a key point of contention from the 1950s to the present day (Cleave and Dust 1989; Sharp 1991; Miles 2022).

That said, the 1960s marked a considerable expansion in the development of music service provision, in which huge numbers of children had the opportunity to learn musical instruments amidst an environment of high standards of delivery and increasingly free tuition being provided by LEAs as Britain emerged from post-war austerity. This matched a wider commitment to comprehensive education (Cleave and Dust 1989; Holman-Fox 1993). For example, 80% of LEAs had music advisors by 1966 (Taylor 1979), while 40% of LEAs had

established a formal music service organisation (Cleave and Dust 1989), and between 50% and 60% were (Cleave and Dust 1989). Between 50% and 60% of all LEAs were delivering instrument tuition by the end of the 1960s (Trodd 1978).

This increase in provision had dual influences. Firstly, it was driven by the so called "cultural revolution" which expanded throughout the 1960s (Cloonan 2016). An increase in access to popular music through developments in mass media such as television and recording technology led to an increased demand among children to learn musical instruments (Trodd 1978; Taylor 1979). Secondly, it was further complemented by the government's emerging agenda encouraging equality of opportunity for all pupils (Adams et al. 2010). This resulted in approximately 10% of all pupils engaging with the learning of musical instruments at some point during the decade (Hallam 2012). It should be noted, however, that the quality of provision differed according to area, as did fees that parents were required to pay (Taylor 1979). While the 1960s marked a broad step forward in terms of provision and accessibility for all pupils, this cannot be claimed to be universal.

In Wales, the 1971 Welsh Education Survey noted that fourteen of the seventeen counties had appointed musical advisors and were engaged in providing tuition for musical instruments (Welsh Office 1971). The report reveals a substantial change in focus towards extra-curricular instrumental learning alongside formal classroom musical learning, compared to the singing-oriented approach of music in the pre-war period. '49 full-time and 126 part-time peripatetic teachers of instrumental music' (p.38) were employed by various Welsh LEAs to deliver such tuition and support music making within schools. The infrastructure of musical provision provided by LEAs was also expanding beyond individual tuition. For instance, it is noted that many LEAs established school orchestras and county youth orchestras in response to the success of the NYOW since its establishment in 1945. These orchestras offered pupils local opportunities to develop their musical skills and acted as a stepping stone to the national ensemble, potentially to a university place or professional career for the most talented. Such opportunities were further enhanced by inter-county music festivals, giving LEAs the chance to showcase the results of their musical development.

The Report did however note some substantial issues with Welsh music education as it stood in 1971. To become a full-time peripatetic teacher, a teaching diploma was required, and the number of trained specialist teachers leaving colleges with such a qualification was 'pitifully small' (p.35). This resulted in a lack of trained staff, particularly in rural counties of Wales, to

which the long journeys, difficult travelling conditions, and lack of musical opportunities proved significantly less attractive to peripatetic teachers, with the majority of teachers preferring to work in the large population centres of South East Wales. A partial consequence of this scenario was that not all LEAs provided equal opportunities. Those in rural areas in particular proved unable to rapidly develop due to a lack of specialist staff. This was not the only cause. Much depended on the attitudes towards music of particular LEAs. For example, the report states that Glamorgan County alone employed '26 full-time and 19 part-time teachers' (p.39), some 25.7% of the total of full-time and part-time peripatetic teachers in the whole of Wales at the time. Most other counties, and particularly rural counties such as Anglesey and Brecknockshire, employed just one or two full-time teachers and a variable number of part-time staff. Meanwhile others, such as Cardiganshire and Swansea, relied solely on part-time teachers. Subsequently, the level of provision in such areas proved inadequate to meet demand and growth in provision, uptake, and accessibility to music education for pupils remained limited. The report illustrates this disparity in a breakdown of members of the NYOW by county in 1970. Unsurprisingly, the best funded county LEA music services in Wales at the time, Glamorgan, Carmarthenshire, and Montgomeryshire, contributed 45, 25, and 11 respectively. This accounted for 61.8% of the 131 total members of the orchestra from just three counties, while the majority of the other counties contributed only five or under, and Radnorshire contributed no members.

However, measuring the success of music services by the number of orchestral musicians is not necessarily an accurate or representative gauge of success. When referring to instrumental tuition, the report places a disproportionate weighting on the western classical tradition of orchestral music and the associated orchestral instruments, neglecting the value of other instrumental genres, such as brass bands, which were successfully pursued by music services at the time. This is displayed in remarkably overt overtones of cultural elitism. For example, in the brief section discussing brass bands in music education, the report states:

> The solid core of any orchestra is its string section, and it is natural that the great emphasis in orchestral work should be on the teaching of stringed instruments. But it is a well-known fact that the technical demands of string playing are greater than those of most wind instruments, with the result that, eventually, it is the child who is academically able who becomes an effective violinist or cellist. An analysis of the present membership of the National Youth Orchestra of Wales reveals that the majority are the abler pupils from secondary schools, many of whom proceed to the universities… few secondary modern schools are able to muster enough effective string players to form a good school orchestra.

> Fortunately, brass instruments do not make the same intellectual demands upon the players, and many secondary modern schools in Wales have been able to take advantage of a brass band tradition in particular areas and have developed their own school band… This is an excellent thing, as it gives academically less able pupils an opportunity to enjoy all the advantages that membership of an orchestral course offers. (Welsh Office 1971 p.34)

As we can see from the above extract, the report writers clearly view orchestral music, and string players in particularly, as fundamentally superior to other musical genres, such as the brass band tradition in this case. It demonstrates how the class-based nature of the tripartite system was reflected in the class-based nature music education, and in turn the classed nature of the western classical tradition. Such discourse reflects that the Arnoldian theory of utilising 'high' culture as the ideal, viewed by policymakers as the default for middle classes. We also see Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital at play here (1984). For example, the more 'academically able' grammar school pupils are perceived to be inherently more capable of learning string instruments and appreciated the western classical musical tradition, due to generations of *habitus* and acquired cultural capital that is viewed as valuable by the dominant class. Thus, we can observe an attitude of cultural deprivation from policymakers (Vulliamy and Shephard 1984) in that it is assumed by the policymakers that the 'less academically able' working class pupils 'in particular areas' will naturally defer to more simplistic working class musical culture that does not place 'the same intellectual demand upon the players'. In this case brass bands are used as an example; a genre associated with the working classes since the middle of the 19th century (Newsome 1998). The view that learning string instruments requires a higher intellect than wind instruments has long been debunked. It is since acknowledged that all musical instruments provide significant physical and psychological challenges to the learner (Parncutt and McPherson 2002). Thus, we can view this as a form of habitus at play in policy, reinforcing class structures based on types of cultural capital.

Interestingly, the 1971 Report goes on to note that school and county brass bands are doing exceptionally well at this time, being common in many schools, and indeed at a county level outnumbering both orchestras and choirs with 15 county brass bands compared to 14 and 13 county orchestras and choirs respectively. Clearly brass bands had developed as a valued cultural artefact within Wales by this point. However, the report notes that the development of youth bands was driven by 'the support of local [community] bands', which often provided 'tuition' and 'a free loan of instruments' (Welsh Office 1971 p.34-35). Thus, policymakers

relied on this support, placing a clearly popular yet non-western classical genre in a precarious position compared to orchestral learning, which was strongly supported by LEAs. Therefore, despite the apparent success of music services at this time in terms of pupil engagement, a consequence of a perceived cultural hierarchal distinction by policymakers (either implicitly or explicitly) was that access to learning different genres was limited according to pupils' social class and where they live. Such polices perpetuated a cultural stratification based on social class, limiting opportunities for working class pupils to experience a variety of musical genres within the music education system.

Despite concerns surrounding aspects of elitism in the attitudes of policymakers, it is clear that the 1970s proved something of a "high water" mark for instrumental tuition, with a majority of authorities across England and Wales having established a music service of some form by the end of the decade (Cleave and Dust 1989). Consequently, widespread, largely free or heavily subsidised tuition was available. This enabled large numbers of pupils to engage with music education. Both professional and community amateur music flourished as a result (Fletcher 1987). This led to further opportunities developing for young people to make music, with a surge in youth ensemble initiatives and weekend music centres being established to augment individual tuition (ibid). In 1970 for example, the National Festival of Music for Youth was established, offering regional and national performance opportunities for thousands of young people (MFY 2021). Furthermore, supplies of instruments were able to be accessed more cheaply through importation from far eastern markets (Taylor 1979). In a 2018 study of key stakeholders in the Welsh music education sector, Carr (2018 p.19-20) notes that some participants considered the music service system of the 1970s to be 'perfect', with free tuition for 'every element' of instrumental studies resulting in a much 'higher standard' than produced by the present-day music service system. This is interesting as it may be the case that modern music service practitioners who were educated at this time have the potential to carry forth the elitist attitudes of the time (outlined in the previous paragraph) into their teaching, potentially perpetuating subsequent issues. These attitudes are explored further in Chapter 8.

3.9. 1980 – 1996

As the 1970s ended, a combination of economic downturn and local government reform began to take its toll on the music service system (Cleave and Dust 1989). Following victory

at the 1979 general election, the Thatcher Conservative government represented fundamental shift in political ideology, with a pledge to combat the economic issues of the late 1970s in part by drastically reducing the proportion of the gross national product dedicated to public spending (Elcock 2013). The Thatcher government posited that the heavy levels of spending by LAs was excessive, and thus took action to limit the autonomy LAs had over their respective budgets. Past governments had based LA spending on national totals, with grants allocated based an analysis of a LAs' previous spending, thus giving LAs a significant degree of control over their budget. In contrast, the Thatcher administration took control of LA spending decisions at an individual level, removing LA autonomy to set their own local tax rates. Grants were allocated according to the government's calculation of LA spending requirements and financial penalties were introduced for LAs that exceeded the allocated spending levels (ibid).

With LAs facing both economic downturn and newly introduced limitations of control over budgeting and spending, LA budgets for music services began to be reduced from the high-water mark of the 1970s. Consequently, to account for the lack of funding, LA music services across the UK increasingly opting to introduce parental fees for tuition by the start of the 1980s (Cleave and Dust 1989). By 1981 for example, approximately 50% of music services had introduced some form of fees for individual instrumental tuition, ensembles, and other activities (Geddes 1981; Cleave and Dust 1989). This began to raise concerns of accessibility for pupils from deprived socio-economic circumstances, with many services opting to focus on a minority of pupils perceived to be talented rather than providing wider opportunities, leading to accusations of elitism (Adams 2002).

The result of this apprehension was a 1981 legal challenge over the lawfulness of an LA charging fees for instrumental tuition. The result of which was a ruling that 'fees could not be imposed for lessons which took place in schools during normal school hours' (Cleave and Dust 1989 p.10). The judgement had significant ramifications for many LA music services over the 1980s. The teaching of instruments during school hours by music service teaching practitioners was a common practice, and the ruling made charging for such lessons technically illegal. Theoretically then, the teaching of musical instruments had reached parity with that of its curriculum counterpart, removing cost as an obstacle of access for pupils. However, the financial pressures faced by many LAs were still a pressing issue, and the ruling did not result in the additional funding from central government that would be required to deliver the same levels of provision without parental contributions. Consequently, there

were a variety of different outcomes depending on the financial position of the relevant LA. While some had the finances to maintain their levels of tuition, others were forced to reduce the size of their teaching workforce, cut the range of instruments that were taught, and/or focus more heavily on either primary or secondary levels of provision. Other music services enacted methods of working around the ruling by asking parents for voluntary contributions or moving tuition to weekend music centres, which took place outside of school hours and were therefore able to be charged (Cleave and Dust 1989). Indeed, there is some evidence of potentially illicit charging of tuition fees by some LAs which would have had no funding to otherwise provide tuition (Rogers 1985). As such, inconsistencies in music service delivery across England and Wales were exacerbated during this time by the ruling.

Despite legal complications surrounding the 1981 ruling, several positive developments in terms of accessibility can be observed in the 1980s. For instance, Purves (2017 p.95) estimates that an average of 6.55% of all school pupils were receiving music service instrument tuition between 1982 and 1986. Furthermore, schools typically viewed music service activities as important, and sought to integrate their activities to 'enrich the life of the school' and gain a number of 'spin-off benefits' for their pupils (Cleave and Dust 1989 p.86-87). Such perceived benefits included 'self-discipline and increased self-confidence', giving pupils a 'chance to shine' and providing an 'interest for life' (ibid p.87). There is also evidence to suggest that music services 'were deliberately trying to move away from the western instrumental tradition into a more multicultural approach' (Cleave and Dust 1989 p.43). This was likely influenced by developments in curriculum music, which despite remaining an undervalued subject (Bentley 1989), had seen a gradual increase in the exploration of non-western classical musical ideas in Wales since the 1960s. An example of such can be found in the adoption of the Orff-Schulwerk method of teaching, which encompassed a series of classroom activities based on world music, fusing musical cultures of Africa, Asia, and South America with more familiar western classical activities (Roese 2003). This gradual exploration of world music can be seen reflected in new instruments that were being introduced by music services. For instance, by 1989 33% of music services in England and Wales were teaching electric guitar, 30% teaching synthesiser, 19% early music instruments, 18% steel drums, 8% sitar, 8% tabla, 8% harmonium, and 2% teaching other non-western classical instruments (ibid p.42). While it should be noted that western instruments remained in the majority, the diversification of instrumentation offered demonstrates a significant shift in cultural attitudes compared to the traditional focus on

western classical traditions demonstrated only two decades before in the 1960s, as discussed above for example (Welsh Office 1971).

The 1988 Education Reform Act was to have a key impact on formalising music as a curriculum subject, particularly in Wales, where a musical curriculum was created specifically for Wales, aiming to give pupils an understanding of 'the distinct nature of Welsh music, both traditional and contemporary, vocal and instrumental' (Elfed-Owens 1996 p.67). Thus, we see the beginnings of a shift in policy decisions away from a traditional 'high culture' approach to formal musical learning in the classroom, and towards developing an awareness of wider musical culture among pupils. However, while the Act began to reform curriculum music teaching in the classroom, it opted not to incorporate LA music services teaching as a statutory part of the curriculum, leaving it as an extracurricular activity. It did resolve the legal disputes over charging for tuition, with Section 106 stating that individual instrumental tuition *could* be charged for within school hours, though the teaching of small groups could not be (Sharp 1991). Consequently, there was a substantial increase in music services reintroducing parental fees. These were compounded by increased funding cuts by LAs towards music services. The Federation of Music Services estimated a countrywide aggregate loss of music service funding of 'well in excess of £10,000,000 per annum' between 1994 and 1998 (Ridgeway 2002, p.304).

Despite this, Sharp (1991) noted a statistical increase in tuition in the following years, likely due to some music services reorganising small group teaching into individual teaching to enable fees to be charged within school hours. Indeed, by 1993, at least 75% of music services in England and Wales had refocused their funding models to designs based on parental fees or were in the process of doing so (Hallam et al. 2005). Such funding models varied enormously according to the particular LA. This disparity resulted in a wide spectrum of provision and parental fees evident across the country, with 'great inequality of opportunity to play an instrument' in areas where 'inability to pay' the required fees proved an issue (ibid p.15). This was to prove a particular issue in Wales. Heavy industry such as coal mining and steel production had provided a disproportionally large portion of the Welsh economy since the industrial revolution of the 19th century. These industries had been significantly reduced throughout the 1980s and early 1990s following Conservative government reform of the public sector. This subsequently resulted in high levels of unemployment and deprivation, particularly in the South Wales areas (Jones and Roderick

2003), which limited the ability of parents to pay for music service fees, and particularly those from working class families (Hallam et al. 2005).

3.10. 1996 – 2010

The period between 1996 and 2010 marked a time of significant change for music service education. In Wales, three key events occurred in the late 1990s which would shape music service education for the following decade.

Firstly, in 1996 a reorganisation of local government in Wales saw the traditional eight counties split into 22 LAs. This necessitated a nationwide restructure of the music service system, with 20 music services being formed anew or adapted from existing Welsh services (Napieralla et al. 2015). As before, each music service was funded by their respective LA, and tasked with providing individual and group instrumental tuition in schools, providing additional activities such as supporting ensembles ranging from a school to county level, and providing support for the curriculum where schools lacked music teaching expertise. However, these smaller LAs found it challenging to afford to sustain the levels of music service provision maintained by the previous larger LAs, leading to a position in which 'the whole edifice of extra curricula music in Wales seemed to be threatened' (Braithwaite 2011 p.1).

The second key event would be instrumental in allaying such concerns. In May 1997, New Labour claimed victory at the general election, heralding a significant ideological shift in political attitudes towards music education, with the new government placing great importance on the arts, For example, the newly elected Culture Secretary Chris Smith (1998, p.43) stated that 'the arts are for everyone. Things of quality must be available to the many, not just the few. Cultural activity is not some elitist exercise that takes place in reverential temples aimed at the predilections of the cognoscenti… Enjoyment of the arts – be it of Jarvis Cocker or of Jessye Norman, or Anthony Gormley or Anthony Hopkins – crosses all social and geographical boundaries.'

For the first time, popular music is being championed in government policy, rather than exclusively the traditional 'high' culture musical pursuits (Purves 2017). However, it is not simply supporting culture for culture's sake. Instead, there is a political and economic drive behind New Labour's stance. Politically, the new government wished to portray the UK as

‘cutting edge’ (Schlesinger 2007 p.379), and thus it could be argued that they were pandering to the wider popular music of the ‘cool Britannia’ movement of the time (Buckingham and Jones 2001) to score political points. An even stronger argument can be found in that of economy. The New Labour government posited a ‘creative economy’ approach (Tremblay 2011 p.289), which aimed to capitalise on the purported wider economic benefits of the creative industries, developing a discourse of creativity that linked the arts to economic competitiveness and social inclusion (Oakley 2006). However, Smith’s (1998) use of creativity was really an attempt to provide an economic justification to bring money into the arts and would have debatable effects. Whether or not this political ethos could be labelled as successful is debatable. Greenhalgh (1998 p.84) argued at the time that there continued to be ‘…a disjunctive between the recognition of the creative economy and the continued existence of traditional arts policy-making institutions’. Thus, the concept of creative industries was at odds with more traditional cultural forms, and ‘has left confusion and demoralisation in its wake’, leaving ‘cultural policy more marginalised and irrelevant than ever’ as the promise of creative industries has become dominated by global corporations at the expense of ‘low paid and insecure’ cultural workers (O’Connor 2024 pp.2-3)

While the intricacies of the wider creative industry argument are firmly beyond the scope of this thesis, what I can examine is the impact of the policy of the creative economy on the meso-level of LA music services Within this scope, positive effects in terms of accessibility and democratisation of music can be observed. As part of the policy to promote the arts the New Labour government pledged to ‘ensure that the arts and creativity are made an integral part of our education service’ (Smith 1998 p.46). In terms of extra-curricular LA music services, this policy manifested as the introduction of the Music Standards Fund (MSF) in 1998, which reversed much of the funding reductions of the 1980s and early 1990s (Purves 2017). The MSF provided ring-fenced funding for LAs to provide music service tuition, being worth between £40 million and £41 million in the first year alone (Hallam and Prince, 2000), with some £180 million being spent between 1999 and 2011 (Purves 2017). The policy was further expanded in 2001 Department for Education and Skills (DfES) white paper *Schools: Achieving Success* pledging that every primary school pupil wishing to learn a musical instrument would be afforded the opportunity to do so (DfES 2001).

One of the purposes of such funding was to mitigate differential access because of economic means. As noted by Chris Smith at the time, ‘In many parts of the country if your parents don’t have very much money it’s very difficult to get access to musical instrument tuition’,

and that the long-term aim of the MSF was to 'ensure that any young person anywhere in the country who wants to play a musical instrument will have the opportunity to do so' (quoted in Lister 1998, p.10). As a result of the MSF, parental fees began to reduce, and pupil numbers began to rise, reaching a figure of 8.4% of all pupils learning a musical instrument by 2005 (Hallam et al. 2005). There was also a considerable increase in the amount of choice of musical genres available to pupils. Popular, folk, and world instruments became available, alongside the traditional orchestral instruments, into the early years of the 21st century.

Now the context has been set, we can examine the third key event of the late 1990s for music education in Wales, and how New Labour policies influenced Welsh music education. The New Labour commitment was to deliver a referendum on Welsh devolution. Following an affirmative result of in September 1997, New Labour committed to establishing a Welsh Assembly, which met for the first time in 1999. Wales now had partial autonomy over budget and education policy, with law-making powers that continued to expand throughout the 2010s (Deacon et al. 2018).

Welsh policy pursued a route of progressivism in education, developing a wide-ranging curriculum with a focus on the inclusion of the expressive arts alongside traditional academic subjects, and the reduction of standardised testing (Power 2016). Despite the broadening of music in the design of the post-devolution curriculum, there are indications that music was viewed as elitist and inaccessible by some pupils in formal school settings. For example, Wright (2002) found that some pupils considered themselves at a disadvantage in the GCSE music course and examinations unless they had prior instrumental lessons, of whom not all had the financial or human resources to pursue. As such, although separate, the extracurricular music service education and classroom music can overlap when it comes to access issues. GCSE music was perceived as an inaccessible subject by pupils who had not accrued the relevant cultural capital due to their social position. Such perceptions of inaccessibility may also stem from a continued focus on the Western classical musical tradition within classroom music, which as we explored in Chapter 3, has been a consistent focus with formal music education as it has developed throughout the 20th century. Indeed, it may be that this has contributed towards a disjuncture between young people's musical experiences outside of school and the teaching of music within schools (e.g. Harland et al. 2000; Green 2001; 2005; 2006; Wright 2002). In one ethnographic study of a secondary school music department, it was found that adapting the genres of music according to the pupils' musical interests rather than the preconceived Western classical learning presented in

the formal curriculum, pupils opting to study at GCSE level raised to 25%, compared to the national uptake of 8% (Wright 2008). This study highlights the potential effectiveness in terms of uptake and engagement of integrating the musical tastes valued by pupils into formalised music education, rather than potentially alienating pupils with a more traditional form of cultural capital with which they are unfamiliar. This is an effect we will later examine in Chapter 8.

Within extra-curricular realm of LA music services however, Welsh policy mirrored English policy far more closely, and with far greater success in terms of engagement. Emulating the English introduction of the MSF, the Welsh Government formed the Music Development Fund (MDF) in 1999, which would provide £8 million of ring-fenced funding between 1999 and 2003 to support LA music service provision, alongside music therapy and music for children with special educational needs (Carr 2018). The MDF successfully countered the music service funding issues faced by Welsh LAs after the 1996 local government reorganisation. Subsequent analysis demonstrates that such policy mechanisms were successful in stimulating music service participation in the following years. By 2005 for example, 76% of primary schools and 88% of secondary schools were engaged with music service tuition, resulting in 8.4% of all pupils between Key Stages 1 and 4 learning to play an instrument at this time (Hallam et al. 2005). These figures marked a small increase in overall engagement since 2002 (Hallam and Rogers 2002), with a significant 13% increase at the primary school level.

However, Welsh Government policy began to shift after 2005. While the MDF was extended to cover the 2004–2005 academic year, funding was reduced to £1.9 million. After 2005, the Welsh Government ceased the MDF entirely, withdrawing all ring-fenced funding for music services. The responsibility for funding music services was therefore devolved entirely to LAs, which began to gradual increase parental fees over the coming years for music service provision to compensate for the loss of the MDF (Carr 2018). While this increase was initially negligible, the policy decision to withdraw ring-fenced funding left the future of music service funding inextricably intertwined with the economic fortunes of LAs themselves, and left services vulnerable should LA budgets be reduced. The 2008 financial crisis provided just such a catalyst (Drakeford 2012), and the consequences for music services in Wales will be examined in Chapter 4.

3.11. Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the history of music education in the UK, and examined how both socioeconomic factors and cultural attitudes have shaped policy and affected access to music education.

Firstly, writings on music education from ancient and classical Greece were examined. This was significant as the philosophies of ancient and classical Greek writers would have a substantial influence on later social reformers and policymakers, even into the 19th and 20th centuries. I then explored medieval and early modern music education in the British Iles, revealing that musical distinction based on class remained a key part of formalised music education, much of which was delivered by the church. Technological changes in the early modern period allowed for the development of new instruments and larger ensembles, resulting in the formulation of the western classical musical tradition, which remained the realm of societal elites, further reinforcing a Bourdieusian musical class distinction within society.

In the 19th century, drastic social changes caused by the industrial revolution resulted in calls for reform, marking the advent of Arnoldian views of cultural reform. Arnold's (1869 p.viii) publication date and quote page number) theory drew on classical Greek views on culture, and posited that 'high' culture, or the 'best that has been thought and said' be used as a reformatory tool to project desired moral values onto society, particularly the working classes. Following the 1870 and 1902 Education Acts, the limited music education that was offered manifested in 'high' cultural music, typically singing, being used to instil moral, religious, and patriotic values in pupils, rather than for its other educational benefits. This use of western classical culture set the scene for a future 'culture clash' in music education later in the 20th century.

The Second World War proved a pivotal event for the popularity of music throughout all layers of society, with an unparalleled interest in listening to and learning both popular and orchestral music. From this, the 1944 Education Act led to the founding of LA music services, which funded the tuition of musical instrument tuition. However, lessons are paid for at the discretion of each individual LA, leaving a major loophole wherein socioeconomically deprived pupils may be left vulnerable in terms of access, should economic or political changes mean a withdrawal of LA funding. The following decades

proved a high point for music services, with most LAs establishing a service by the 1970s, resulting in a significant increase in pupils learning musical instruments. However, the Arnoldian theory of utilising ‘high’ culture, or western classical music, incited a ‘culture clash’ between working class pupils, who were unfamiliar with the 'valued’ musical genres associated with ‘high’ cultural capital. Consequently, pupils from working class backgrounds were viewed by some policymakers and practitioners through a cultural deprivation lens; being thought of as unwilling, or indeed unable, to engage with the learning of music. Thus, such pupils were presented with limited opportunities to learn music compared to their middle-class contemporaries. I will later argue that such views at least partially persist into the 21st century and remain an implicit barrier to access. Socioeconomic barriers were also evident. The 1980s saw economic decline and political reform, limiting LA budgets. This resulted in music service budgets being reduced and parental fees introduced, effectively pricing out pupils from music service education whose families were unable to afford to pay such fees. Thus, economic capital results in a distinction based on class in deciding who can afford to access music education and who cannot.

The election of the New Labour government in 1997, however, resulted in a new focus on the arts, with the MSF being formed to provide ring fenced music service funding in England. Following the referendum for Welsh devolution, the newly formed Welsh Assembly (as it was then known) emulated the Westminster government’s focus on music and established the similar MDF to provide ring fenced funding for Welsh LAs to allocate to music services. Subsequently, pupil engagement numbers increased, and new genres of music were introduced, widening from the traditional focus on western classical instruments. This allowed for a more democratic development of musical culture within society, in line with Williams’ ‘long revolution’ theory. However, the MDF ended in Wales in 2005, and the responsibility of funding music services passed back to LA budgets. As in the 1980s, this left music services vulnerable to economic and political change, and following the 2008 financial crisis, music services would suffer severe funding reductions over the following decade. Chapter 4 will examine the context and impact of these reforms on the accessibility of music education in Wales.

4. Music Service Funding, Provision and Accessibility in Wales 2010 – 2021

Now the history, development, and philosophies of music service education have been examined, we turn to analyse the contemporary issues faced by music services instigated by LA funding reforms. As I have examined in Chapter 3, LA music services are a non-statutory part of education system and were accorded no legal protection from spending reductions. Music services were subjected to extensive funding reductions in LAs throughout Wales over the course of the decade (Carr 2018; Sayed et al. 2018). In this chapter, I examine the extent of the music service funding reforms enacted between 2011 and 2020, and explore the impact of these funding reductions in terms of the provision offered by music services, and the accessibility of music service provision.

4.1. Music Service Funding Reforms: 2011 – 2020

In 2010, the newly elected Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government embarked on a series of stringent austerity measures limiting public spending in a bid to stem the economic damage caused by the 2008 financial crisis. The June 2010 emergency budget and the October 2010 Comprehensive Spending Review saw a 12% reduction to the Welsh Government budget, which would total some £1.8 billion by 2015 (Drakeford 2012). Consequently, Welsh LAs faced severe financial pressure and were forced to economise spending.

In the years following 2011, Local Authorities (LAs) across Wales have enacted a substantial series of funding reforms for music services under their remits. 2011 for example saw at least £500,000 worth of music service cuts across Wales (BBC 2011). This is a trend which has continued across Wales since, with some of the most high-profile examples being compiled in the Table 1 below (BBC 2011; Newport Council 2013; Holford 2014; Carr 2018; BBC 2018; BBC 2019a; BBC 2019b; Canty 2019; Bird et al. 2020):

Table 1 – Music Service Funding Reductions

Local Authority	Year(s)	Music Service Funding Reduction (Per Annum)
Flintshire Council	2011	£177,000
Carmarthenshire Council	2011	£120,000
Cardiff Council	2013	£172,000
Newport Council	2013	£295,000
Pembrokeshire Council	2014-2016	£150,000
Denbighshire Council	2015	£103,000
Wrexham Council	2018	£300,000
Conwy Council	2019	£266,000
Ceredigion Council	2019	£166,000

As demonstrated, in 2011 Flintshire Council cut its music service budget by £177,000, no longer supporting county ensembles or large-scale outreach projects such as singing in primary schools. As did Carmarthenshire Council, which reduced its music service budget by £120,000 (Carr 2018). Also in 2011, lesson fees in the Cardiff County and Vale of Glamorgan Music Service (CCVGMS) rose by 7% (BBC 2011). Worse was yet to follow. In 2013, the section of CCVGMS primarily responsible for whole class activities 'targeting young people with the least opportunity' had the entirety of its £172,000 annual funding reallocated by Cardiff Council (Holford 2014). This funding also partially supported (in conjunction with fees) the half of the service responsible for musical instrument tuition, forcing it to become completely self-funded. This resulted in the reduction of services and increased fees, limiting access to those families who could afford to pay. Gwent Music Service provides music tuition across four authorities in South East Wales, Newport, Torfaen, Blaenau Gwent, and Monmouthshire, and suffered similarly. In 2013 Newport Council cut 100% of its £295,000 annual contribution to Gwent Music (Newport Council 2013). Between 2014 and 2016, Pembrokeshire Council reduced their music service budget by £150,000 (Pountney 2015), while increasing lesson costs for pupils by £4 per hour (Carr 2018).

In 2015, Denbighshire Council opted to cease all of its £103,000 annual funding for its music service, which subsequently ceased all operations (BBC 2014; Bird et al. 2020). Interestingly however, the service was replaced by a cooperative group made up of former teachers in the

music service. Denbighshire Music Co-operative (DMC) was the first of its kind in Wales, with 'teacher-members' who are self-employed but in turn own and manage the company. The success of the enterprise depends on the quality of its teaching. It focused on 'providing a service that customers want, at a price they can afford' (Bird et al. 2020). Three years later, Wrexham councillors voted to reallocate 100% of its music service budget of £300,000 to other council services, causing the music service to collapse. Since then, however, representatives from DMC have worked with former teachers of Wrexham Music Service to form Wrexham Music Co-operative, modelled on the Denbighshire example, replacing in part music provision in the area (BBC 2018). Services elsewhere in Wales have not been so fortunate. Reductions in music service spending continued in 2019, with Conwy Council opting for savings in its education budget by reducing music service funding from £327,000 to £61,000 per annum and introducing lesson fees, labelled by opposition councillors as a 'systematic attack on education' (BBC 2019a; Canty 2019). Similarly, Ceredigion Council reduced its music service contribution by a third (approximately £166,000) in 2019 (BBC 2019b).

These extensive funding reforms across Wales represented a significant upheaval of the music service system by LAs, forcing music services to introduce parental fees for lessons in order to remain financially viable, or indeed being forced to cease operations entirely, as in the case of Denbighshire and Wrexham. The consequences of these changes would manifest in substantial issues of accessibility due to cost, which we now explore.

4.2. Music Service Provision and Accessibility: 2011 – 2020

Smith (2013a) was the first to highlight inequalities in access and provision of music service education. Smith argues that while there is a generic, widespread pride in Welsh cultural heritage across the country, it is not physically manifested in the education system, with arts subjects being eroded and devalued in schools. It was found that Arts subjects such as Drama, Music, and Art experience reduced teaching hours and staff numbers, and are often relegated to extracurricular activities. While the broader scope of the report encompasses arts education as a whole, Smith makes two key observations regarding the precarious state of LA music services. Firstly, it is argued that funding reforms have limited access to music service education, noting a 'real anxiety across Wales about the current and reducing state of local authority funded music services'. Smith argues in favour of immediate action 'to ensure that

the opportunity to learn a musical instrument does not become restricted to the children of parents who can afford to pay' (ibid p.45), as well as ensuring musical talent can be effectively discovered and nurtured across the country. Smith makes a key link between deprivation and arts access, suggesting that investment and increased participation in the arts 'could be an important contributory factor in narrowing the attainment gap in education in those from disadvantaged backgrounds' (ibid p.38).

Secondly, Smith (2013a p.28) observes that while LAs have a responsibility to provide music services for schools from within their budget, 'there is no minimum requirement for the funding and provision of such music services'. Consequently, there is no statutory requirement for music services to have a specific level of engagement with schools and pupils, thus leaving services vulnerable to funding reductions from individual LAs. Smith's vision for arts education in Wales incorporates arts subjects into the curriculum, with the substantial supplementary benefits of these subjects (see Section 4.4.) augmenting pupils' experience and performance in other subjects such as numeracy, literacy, the humanities and sciences, reducing the educational impact of deprivation, and providing a proactive, tangible stimulus for Welsh arts culture. Crucially, this would more closely link music services to the curriculum, addressing the lack of a statutory requirement for music service provision, and improving universal access to music service education.

Following Smith's 2013 report, the Welsh Government commissioned the Task and Finish Group on Music Services in Wales (Napieralla et al. 2015) to investigate the impact of funding reforms on music services and develop a future strategy. The report recognised that maintaining high quality music service provision was proving a challenge while school and LA budgets were reducing due to the economic climate. Furthermore, there was a disparity in existing tuition across with country. Tuition costs were increasingly being passed to parents, which, when combined with high levels of deprivation, marginalising children from low-income families from music education (Napieralla et al. 2015). As such the report committed to working with the Welsh Local Government Association (WLGA) to assess the then current models of service, and consider alternative methods of working, more equitable charging policies and inter-LA cooperation, and develop a set of minimum expectations for music service delivery through a series of 15 recommendations. Chief among these methods was that the WLGA should work in collaboration with schools and governing bodies to develop 'fair and consistent charging policies' and 'achieve greater consistency… in terms of the running costs of service provision' as a priority (p.19).

However, Williams' (2017) progress report demonstrates a notable lack of progress in this regard. While noting a level of partial progress towards some minor objectives, a notable level of resistance to change is evident from the WLGA. For instance, the WLGA argue that provision structure is best left to individual LAs as they can best adapt to local requirements, and cooperation with other LA music services would be logistically challenging. In summary, the WLGA make the case that 'the current structure of individual local authority Music Services maximise consistency and quality of delivery' and that 'this model of Music service delivery ensures that there is equality of provision for all children within each local authority' (2017 p.4). However, this does not address the concerns surrounding equality of access identified by Smith (2013a) and in the initial 2015 Napieralla et al. report. This level of resistance from the WLGA appears to have hindered any meaningful change in the years following the 2015 report, with the final progress report (Welsh Government 2019) noting that the previous form of localised LA delivery has been maintained. The 2019 report does note that additional funding has been made available to help pupils from socioeconomically deprived backgrounds, such as the Pupil Development Grant and £1.4 million grant funding in 2018. However, both of these funds are not ring-fenced to specifically support deprived pupils, and have a broad spectrum of potential uses, being delivered at the discretion of individual schools and specific LAs respectively. While the report states they may be used to address issues surrounding access, it provides no evidence that they are specifically being used to do so, and does not state whether the £1.4 million grant will extend beyond the 2018-2019 academic year.

The key facet of the Sayed et al. (2018) report is a recommendation for music service education in Wales to be delivered through a national, top-down approach. This represents a significant paradigm shift away from the previous recommendations of Napieralla et al. (2015; 2017), which focused on improving the quality of provision within the existing model of individual LAs having autonomy over music service education in their respective regions.

The Sayed et al. (2018) report argues that the implementation of Napieralla et al.'s recommendations has been 'inadequate at a number of levels' (p.31), achieving very little progress since 2015. The report recognises that no extra funding has been made available to the WLGA from the Welsh Government. While this indicates a lack of priority and a 'reluctance to take overall responsibility from the Welsh Government' (p.31), it is however noted that the responsibility for implementation of recommendations does not rest solely on the Welsh Government, but on the WLGA also. In this regard, the report is critical of the

sporadic implementation in LAs across Wales, often being ignored in some instances due to the lack of statutory accountability requiring the delivery of music service education. The 'fragile and fragmented' (p.19) delivery of music service education has resulted in an inconsistent, and crucially *unequal*, quality of provision being delivered across Wales. The report also highlights that the teaching workforce has become increasingly precarious since LA funding reductions were enacted, with an increase in self-employment making the profession less secure, and potentially impacting upon the quality of delivery.

Furthermore, the report found that this fragmentation in approach has resulted in significant issues of access to music service education across Wales. For example, the report found that despite the recommendations of Napieralla et al. (2015), LAs were continuing to reduce funding for music services under their remits across Wales, and are 'passing the costs of music service provision on to parents' (p.16). Consequently, the report argues that inequality based on socioeconomic background has become a key cause for concern, stating that 'access to these services is therefore increasingly about ability to pay and there is no equality of access for pupils whose families cannot afford the cost of tuition' (p.16). It is argued that the current fragmented organisation of music services at the LA level will not be able to provide true equality of provision and access, demonstrated by the failure of Napieralla et al.'s (2015) recommendations to have an impact. Therefore, the report posits that relocating LA funding to support a radical reworking of the music service system in Wales would provide a unified, collaborative national vision which is necessary to successfully reform the sector. However, the report also recognises that the establishing such a system would take time, and the remaining recommendations offer solutions for transition and improvements in the meantime.

The report's recommendations have been welcomed by a range of arts organisations, indicating a wide degree of support in Wales. However, the WLGA again offered significant resistance in their official response, reiterating their view that music service education should be delivered within the 'democratic framework of local accountability' offered by LAs (Wilcox 2018 p.1). They argue that 'unelected quango is not the solution to the problem. No amount of tinkering with structure and processes, or the constant review of service provision, can overcome the impact of 9 successive years of funding cuts' (ibid p.1). The point that funding reductions have had a major impact on LA music services is a valid one, having been recognised both by Napieralla et al. (2015) and Sayed et al. (2018). However, both reports identify that the current system has inherent inequalities. Given that funding is unlikely to improve, combined with the lack of progress following Napieralla et al.'s recommendations,

it weakens the argument that the current system is the best way forward. Crucially, this is a view shared by the Welsh Government, which agreed in principle with Sayed et al.'s Recommendation 1, affirming their commitment to ensuring 'music education is available for all those learners who wish to participate, irrespective of location, social background or ability to pay' (Williams 2018 p.2). However, the response falls short of actively committing to support a shift towards a national vision, arguing that they cannot transfer responsibility and funding for music services away from LAs without assessing the potential outcomes. Subsequently a music services feasibility study was commissioned, which will be discussed in Section 6 below.

Carr (2018) offers a rare academic insight into the issue of music service funding reforms in Wales. Through qualitative interviews with expert stakeholders in the field of music education and the music industry, they examine the state of music service education in Wales and visions for the future. The overarching themes emerging from Carr's analysis echo that of the 'anxiety' over the decline of Welsh music services observed by Smith (2013a p.45). Multiple participants note that a lack of funding for music services has eroded an historical legacy of excellence in Wales. Services are now significantly diminished in their capacity to deliver music education to all children. There is a generally agreed upon view among the participants that the present system of music services has become prohibitively expensive with the rise in fees excluding those who are unable to afford such additional expenses. Indeed, one participant noted concerns that this would manifest in 'membership of the top orchestras will become more elitist, due to the problems of instrument affordability and lack of availability of tuition' (Carr 2018 p.20). Thus, there is a worry over a form of cultural elitism being formed due to costs forcing out those pupils who are unable to afford tuition and other expenses. Instead, the participants strongly argue that music tuition should be free, or with a small charge in order to provide an accessible and affordable service for all pupils, regardless of economic background.

The issue of how to proceed proves less straightforward. While Carr notes that 'what was considered absolutely essential by all interviewees was that the opportunity to engage in individual and ensemble/tuition should be accessible for *all* young people in Wales, regardless of their geographic or financial position' (2018 p.38), two distinct pathways emerge from within the data. Some participants take the view that earlier periods in music service history such as the late 1990s and 1970s to be the best practice for music services. The structure of music service delivery during these time periods was largely similar to the

present, with LAs funding their respective local music services. The difference being that substantial ring-fenced funding was readily available, such as the MDF in 1999, resulting in largely free or heavily subsidised tuition, increased levels of participation, and a high standard of provision. In their view, increased funding is therefore the solution to tackle present issues.

Conversely, other participants argue that funding levels are unlikely to return to previous high points, and as such the existing inequalities are exacerbated by the fragmented LA funding system. They hold views more closely aligned with Sayed et al.'s (2018) report, arguing that funding levels are unlikely to return to previous high levels through the LA funding framework, and therefore a new national strategy should be considered. It is argued that a centralised fund implemented through a centralised vision will help to eliminate the inequalities evident in the present system. Carr (2018) agrees with this argument, also positing that music service education needs to transition to be 'underpinned and complemented by a core statutory service that is linked to all schools in Wales' (p.37) to help ensure both ring-fenced funding and engagement levels. As with Sayed et al. (2018) however, an element of caution is present; the viability of such a national vision would need to be vigorously assessed and a vision developed collaboratively over time.

An initiative set up alongside the Sayed et al. (2018) report was the founding of the Anthem organisation by the Welsh Government. Anthem was established as a permanent, entirely new legal entity 'established to support the Welsh Government's long-term ambition to deliver a National Music Endowment for Wales' (Anthem 2020). The stated aims of this endowment fund are:

- To make musical opportunities more accessible to all young people aged 3-25
- To develop musical opportunity in all genres and in all communities
- To identify and nurture talent and ability
- To support career pathways in music and the music industry

As of 2020, Anthem is in the process of being formalised as an organisation, and is yet to capitalise the fund. Precise details of the intervention of the fund in music education in Wales is yet to be given, particularly as Anthem explicitly states that it is 'not a replacement for music education services across Wales' (Anthem 2020a). However, while the future role of the organisation is yet to be refined, in 2020 Anthem released initial reports investigating the state of music education in Wales.

The January 2020 *Initial Mapping Report: Youth Music and Music Education in Wales* offers a useful insight into the overall picture of music education provision immediately prior to the Covid-19 pandemic (Holford 2020a). The report surveyed 136 national, community, charitable, and youth organisations that provide music education, including LA and independent music services. The survey revealed that fourteen LA music services were in operation across Wales at that point, and that there were five independent music services which fulfilled a similar role to that of the traditional music service structure. Two of these independent services were the aforementioned cooperatives in Denbighshire and Wrexham, established as a result of the collapse of the previous LA music service due to funding reductions, while the other three were independent limited companies. The report notes that 'there is a good spread of genre diversity' in which 'western classical and contemporary commercial rock/pop dominate equally' (ibid p.5). Furthermore, between 40-50% of providers reported specialising in provision for children from economically deprived backgrounds. However, LA music services only make up 10.3% of the organisations surveyed, and the report does not specify how the organisations engaging with diverse musical genres and pupils from deprived backgrounds are dispersed, or the role the traditional LA music services play within this. Similarly, while fourteen LA music services across Wales may seem a substantial number, the report does not specify the capacity or efficiency they are able to operate in. As noted above, previous reports have stated that provision and access remain highly disparate between various LA music services across Wales (Napieralla et al. 2015; Sayed et al. 2018; Bird et al. 2020).

The second report was a qualitative study in June 2020 which gained the views of 45 young people aged 7-23 from a variety of youth music initiatives across Wales (including 11 pupils from a LA music service) through online focus groups (Holford 2020b). A number of barriers in music education were identified by the participants, within which a recurring theme was that of cost. It was observed that financial barriers such as the cost of instruments, equipment, and travel to reach opportunities reduced easy access to music, and that there was a need for more opportunities that are affordable. Travel costs proved a notable issue, with the participants reporting that there was a lack of local opportunities, particularly in rural areas, with the majority of significant opportunities taking place in major towns and/or cities. Consequently, those unable to afford or access transport were unable to access many youth music initiatives. Furthermore, even for those able to access such opportunities, it was felt that there was limited choice in instruments and ways of making music, with little scope for

tailored opportunities according to musical preference. Lastly, participants from all demographics were of the view that many schools undervalued music as an activity, and while opportunities to engage with music were offered, this was limited, and greater variety was desired. While only representing a small number of the population, the report echoes concern over the lack of provision and decreased access for pupils from deprived backgrounds highlighted in the above Welsh Government reports, and highlights that the impact of these issues is being felt at by pupils within the system.

In response to Sayed et al. (2018), Bird et al. (2020) were commissioned by the Welsh Government to provide a study to test the feasibility of the proposed vision for national music service delivery models in Wales. The study highlights the culture of fees being charged for tuition, with service-level agreements between music services and schools range from £26.67 to £57.00 per hour across Wales. These charges are typically higher where LA music service funding is lower, with parents making up the shortfall. A consequence of these charges are shorter lesson times in order to reduce costs, which may be as short as 10 minutes in some cases, thus compromising on quality and musical outcomes. Additional complications arise when considering instrument hire costs, charges for ensembles, which range from £42.00 to £62.00 per term, and travel costs to rehearsals and events, all of which are paid by parents. Some music services have 'Friends' charities which may subsidise some of these costs to those from low-income families, yet these are far from universal. Pupil numbers are difficult to gauge as there is no overall monitoring framework, and are recorded inconsistently in music services across Wales. Yet the report states that there has been a noticeable drop in overall uptake and retention in deprived areas as opposed to affluent areas, and from eFSM-entitled pupils in general, though does not provide specific data to support this claim. The report also echoed Sayed et al.'s (2018) concerns over the sustainability of the teaching workforce, which has largely shifted to self-employment in recent years, resulting in a precarious occupation that has led to a high turnover of staff. Like Carr (2018), the report also expresses concern over a lack of statutory accountability for music services, with the power to grant access to music often largely being held by schools.

The outcome of the study is five potential future options for consideration by the Welsh Government (Bird et al. 2020 p.63):

1. Maintain the status quo — a disparate service which is gradually shrinking with loose coordination, based upon local authority provision;

2. Allow the market to determine provision;
3. Develop a strong national coordinating body run by providers, including local authorities/co-operatives/charities/private businesses, and individual tutors;
4. Introduce a regional music service with a national coordinating body;
5. Introduce a national music service.

In terms of addressing the access issues for pupils from low-income backgrounds, Options 1 and 2 are likely to exacerbate the problem as current situation is widely viewed as unsustainable (Smith 2013a; Carr 2018; Sayed et al. 2018). Allowing the market to determine provision would likely result in 'prioritising music education for learners from affluent backgrounds' (Bird et al. 2020 p.67). Option 3 may provide the basis for national cooperation between organisations, yet it would prove the most expensive option to implement. The marked differences in provision across Wales would prove 'difficult to overcome' (ibid p.73), as would political tensions from the 'perceived challenge to LA functions' (ibid p.73); also highlighted by the Williams' progress report (2017). Options 4 and 5 depart from the current model of delivery and align with the vision put forth by Sayed et al. (2018). Option 4 offers a similar system to that of England, with four nationally coordinated Hubs. The model differs from the English system in that the Hubs would not directly deliver teaching, but commission local organisations such as existing music services, cooperatives, and private initiatives to provide provision. The centralised coordination would provide an organisation to receive funding, offering an improvement over the existing patchwork of LA funding (Carr 2018; Sayed et al. 2018), while the 4 Hubs could remain responsive to local requirements. However, additional administrative complexity and costs would be encountered. LAs would likely contest the reallocation of funding (as in Williams 2017), and care would have to be taken to avoid the 'current fragmentary system' being 'replicated in four disparate systems' rather than a unified approach (Bird et al. 2020 p.76). Option 5 may address this issue of unity of vision, proposing a wholly national Welsh Music Service with a clear control mechanism and national accountability, while clarifying funding allocation procedures across Wales. However, it is not clear whether an existing organisation exists with the 'collective strategic impetus' to transform the music landscape of Wales, and even then, such a large national structure may prove too large to remain responsive to the country's diverse local requirements (Bird et al. 2020 p.77). Options 4 or 5 would align with the Sayed et al. (2018) recommendation that the Welsh Government agreed to in principle.

4.3. A National Approach: 2021 – Present

In 2022, the Welsh Government announced a new National Plan for Music Education (NPME), funded by £13.5 million invested over three years. The main facets of the plan with regards to music services include plans to develop:

- A new National Music Service for Wales, to be established as of May 2022.
- £5.5 million investment to develop a national instrument, resource and equipment library.
- A 'Music in Schools' programme to ensure all young people aged 3 to 16 have the opportunity to access music.
- A 'Making Music with Others' programme, which includes an ensemble recovery programme and opportunities for young people to gain industry experience through working alongside musicians and creative industries in the community.
- £1.32 million investment in providing professional learning support such as a digital platform with access to materials to support tuition.
- A review on music tutors' terms and conditions, to ensure they are treated equitably and are recognised properly.

The NPME recognises several key barriers to music education that exist in the current system, which include 'cost of tuition, access to music provision, limited range and diversity of musical instruments and genres, lack of professional learning to support music'. The plan aims to 'break down these barriers and make sure that a lack of money in particular does not prevent any child or young person being able to play an instrument, sing, take part in or create music using traditional and digital ways' (Miles 2022 p.4). This ethos highlights the focus of the plan on combatting issues of access based on socioeconomic status, aiming to create a 'diverse and equitable' music education system.

The establishment of the National Music Service for Wales (NMSW) is a direct response to the recommendations of the three key reports from Napieralla et al. (2015), Sayed et al. (2019), and Bird et al. (2020), who recommended a national organisation be considered to address inequalities of access based on affordability. The NMSW will form a 'lead body' that will work to co-ordinate existing regional providers, such as LA music services, HE institutions, regional consortia and partnerships, schools and settings, national music organisations, the Arts Council of Wales, and community organisations such as brass bands

and choirs. In effect, this is a copy of the Hub system in England, where local organisations retain their autonomy but receive funding and support from the central organisation, only with the entirety of Wales acting as one large national hub. LAs will be provided with dedicated funding from central government to distribute to schools, music services, and other organisations.

The 'Music in Schools' policy is the leading policy put in place to address this, pledging to ensure all young people aged 3 to 16 can access music. The leading aspects of the Music in Schools policy are the 'First Experiences' programme, wherein primary age pupils will be introduced to music, and the 'Music Pathways' programme, wherein secondary age pupils will be encouraged to pursue and further develop their musical learning. Essentially, this translates to the type of music education delivered by LA music services and similar providers. The primary level First Experiences programme provides 'instrumental, vocal, compositional or music technology-based sessions, to large groups or whole classes' and will 'encompass a wide range of instruments and genres/styles of music, informed by the voice of children and young people' (Miles 2022 p.13). At the secondary education level, there is more of a focus on the individual and tackling access issues for pupils from low-income backgrounds with 'specific funding'. For instance, the plan aims to 'ensure that those learners from low-income households wishing to pursue practical or theoretical music examinations have access to appropriate lesson durations to support progression, and financial support with examination fees' (ibid p.15). Here we can see that the NPME aims to remove the barrier of cost to accessing music using whole-class tuition, and to broaden the cultural scope of musical delivery utilising pupil feedback, which has the potential to break down barriers based on cultural capital (Wright 2015) and increase the accessibility of music.

However, there are several issues at play here.[2] Firstly, the use of whole-class tuition can be viewed as problematic by peripatetic music service teaching practitioners in terms of reducing the quality of tuition in favour of quantity of participants (Dunne 2020). Secondly, the NPME does not provide costings for the delivery of the First Experiences programme, which would draw a significant portion of the yearly funding with the costs of delivery and providing musical instruments for the programme. Thirdly, there is a lack of information on the secondary age Music Pathways programme, which does not provide any substantive plan

[2] Please note: the announcement and early implementation of the NPME from May 2022 intersected the timeframe of conducting the research of this thesis, limiting the scope for a full assessment of the viability and impact of the policy.

for activities or costings, instead relying on the existing LA music service system of parental fees to fill this gap. Instead, ‘a policy to agree a maximum charge for music tuition delivered during school hours’ would be introduced (Miles 2022 p.16). While the fees may be limited, they still exist, and there is no indication of the extent of these ‘maximum charges’ and whether they would be truly affordable. As we will explore in Chapter 7, there is an argument to be made that if the NPME only focuses on enabling first experiences of music, and neglects to provide financially subsidised substantive routes for progression to enable all pupils to continue learning music regardless of economic background. Consequently, the access issues presented by parental fees will still be present after these first experiences. While considering affordability, it appears that the main focus of the plan is tackling access issues based on cost, but it fails to consider other potential access issues such as potentially negative attitudes from music service practitioners; a point I propose in Section 1.2. The programme neglects to mention music service practitioners, which reinforces my argument that these practitioners remain an underexplored voice in the music service sector in Wales. Lastly, the plan to broaden musical offerings and to be ‘informed by the voice of children and young people’ (ibid p.13) does not state how this student voice will be measured or enacted, and so, for now, remains an unknown.

The NPME also commits to reviewing the terms and conditions for LA music service practitioners, recognising ‘an increasing variation in terms and conditions’ and stating that the workforce ‘are treated equitably and that their contribution to music education is recognised properly’ (Miles 2022 p.8). This addresses the issue of precariousness for music service teaching practitioners for the first time in Welsh Government policy. However, the review is not due to be completed until summer 2024, meaning music service practitioners will be working in a precarious, underpaid sector with no employment benefits at least until the 2024/25 academic year, and even then, there is no guarantee provided by the NPME that change will occur. There is a danger that music service practitioners will choose to leave the sector because of the precarious nature of the profession, which has the potential to further restrict access to music education due to a reduced workforce (see Section 7.4).

The NPME frames LA music service education in a different way to earlier policies, placing it in a supportive role to well-being and the school curriculum. It states that the learning of music ‘will improve the health and well-being of children and young people, develop their skills and confidence, and support classroom practitioners in delivering music activities into their broader curriculum’ (Miles 2022 p.13). This utilises the ethos that music is beneficial

not only to academic attainment but also to health, and a range of other benefits. However, this is not the NPME merely utilising music as a means to an end, but the NPME actively promoting the enjoyment of music as a key facet of music education, stating that 'we want young people to have authentic, purposeful and rich experiences, but the core should be about the joy of music in whatever form without the pressure of having to get better' (ibid p.21). The focus on enjoyment for enjoyment's sake leans heavily towards a more liberal humanist approach, and sharply contrasts to the creative economy arguments of the New Labour government in the late 1990s (see Section 3.9.). There is an explicit recognition that the enjoyment of music can lead to beneficial outcomes, and for the first time the role of LA music services is tied into this ethos through an explicit Welsh Government policy context. As such, it is important to better understand the benefits of music on improving educational attainment, on health and wellbeing, and the range of other benefits purported by the NPME, which I will explore in forthcoming Sections 4.4. and 4.5.

4.4. Music Education, Academic Attainment, and Other Benefits

As we have examined in Section 4.2, the literature suggests that LA funding reforms have impacted upon music service provision since 2011. In this section, I argue that this reduction in provision for music education may deprive children of significant educational, cognitive, physical, and social advantages throughout the course of their educational childhood and adolescent education.

The developmental advantages of children engaging in music education are extensively acknowledged in a wide array of literature. In a review of the empirical evidence, Hallam (2010) identified eight key areas in which the active engagement of music enhances childhood development:

- Perceptual and language skills
- Literacy
- Numeracy
- Intellectual development
- General educational attainment
- Creativity
- Social and personal development
- Physical development and health and well-being

Evidence for these developmental benefits of music is widely acknowledged within the wider literature. For instance, during early years of childhood development, perceptual and language skills are enhanced by musical engagement, which refines the encoding of linguistic sound by the brain, a mechanism which may lead to superior linguistic coding (Patel & Iverson, 2007; Tallal & Gaab, 2006). This cognitive refinement enhances the ability of a child to effectively interpret speech (Thompson et al. 2004). Furthermore, such benefits extend into later life, with Musacchia et al. (2007) finding that musicians that have been playing instruments from an early age have quicker responses and increased neural activity to music and speech, which continues to improve the longer the musician has been playing.

These developments in perceptual and language skills subsequently translate into increased literacy skills. For example, a study by Piro and Ortz (2009) compared vocabulary and verbal sequencing scores of a group of 46 children learning piano to a group of 57 who were not over a three-year study. It was found that while both groups started with similar scores, after the three years, the group learning piano had developed significantly higher scores, indicating that musical learning has an impact on literacy as children develop over time. Similar improvements in literacy have been found in several studies over time, such as with children experiencing difficulty reading (Nicholson 1972; Long 2007) and those with dyslexia (Thomson 1993; Overy 2003). Comparable improvements in children's literacy have also been found. For example, Geoghegan and Mitchelmore (1996) found that pre-school children who were involved in musical activity scored higher in mathematical testing than those who did not. This effect continues over time, with Gardiner et al. (1996), Catterall et al. (1999), and Haley (2001) noting correlations between mathematical proficiency and engagement with musical learning at various stages of the educational process.

Improved intellectual development is another key aspect of musical engagement, particularly the effect of music on spatial reasoning. Several comparative studies between a group of children engaging in music compared to a control group have found that those engaging with music scored notably higher on spatial recognition tests (e.g. Rauscher et al. 1997; Costa-Giomi 1999; Orsmond and Miller 1999; Rauscher and Zupan 2000). Reviewing 15 such studies, Hetland (2000) concluded that the results demonstrated that musical engagement of the course of around two years consistently and reliably demonstrated improved spatial intelligence, indicating a direct causal link with the learning of music. Music education has

also been shown to develop intelligence more generally. For instance, Schellenberg (2004) noted that in comparing two randomly assigned groups of children, one group having music lessons, the other not, there was a reliably larger increase in intelligence quotient (IQ) scores in those which had engaged with music. Within such findings, there is some debate about how different types of musical learning affects intellectual development. Rauscher (2009) posits that rhythmic training is important for developing temporal cognition, numeracy, and literacy, while perceptual skills and language development are developed through learning surrounding pitch and melody. Thus, we can infer that a broad spectrum of musical learning is required during childhood to gain the most from such benefits, with both classroom-based group music and the learning of musical instruments and singing offering this rhythmic, pitching, and melodic training.

The impact of developing the aforementioned perceptual and language skills, literacy, numeracy, and intellect through musical engagement has an enriching effect on children's general educational attainment. Much evidence for this stems from the USA, a country in which musical participation in schools is notably more commonplace and integrated than that of Wales, which reveals a strong positive correlation between musical participation and academic attainment. In a study of 13,000 students, Morrison (1994) revealed that those high school students who engaged with musical activity achieved higher grades in the sciences, mathematics, English, and history than those who did not. A wide range of similar studies in the USA support this trend, such as Trent (1996), Yoon (2000), Cardarelli (2003), and Johnson and Memmott (2006). Even when additional factors were considered, such as parental support, home environment, social class, gender, and musical engagement outside of school were considered, the overall trend of musical learning positively correlating with academic attainment persisted (Southgate and Roscigno 2009). Furthermore, it was found that leaving classes to attend instrumental lessons during school hours did not affect academic attainment in a negative way (Hodges and O'Connell 2007). The trend of music positively affecting academic achievement is not exclusive to the USA, with similar results being evident in Canada (Guhn et al. 2020), Germany, (Hille and Schupp 2015), and Portugal (dos Santos-Luiz et al. 2015) for example. As such, music education has a strong correlation with children's academic achievements, and should thus form a substantial, integrated part of the education system as a whole.

Aside from cognitive and educational developmental benefits, childhood engagement with music also has a number of other advantages. For example, increased creativity is a common

result of musical engagement. Pre-school children were found to have higher levels of creativity and abstraction in play activities compared to control groups (Kalmar 1982). This effect continues over a wide range. High school and university students who engaged with music classes demonstrated higher creativity levels than their peers (Hamman et al. 1990).

There is substantial evidence that musical activity contributes towards social and personal development. Such effects are extensive and widely recognised. For example, Hallam and Prince (2000) noted that music service teaching practitioners in the UK reported a number of positive effects in pupils as they learn musical instruments. These included attaining an appreciation and love of music, developing their sense of confidence and self-discipline, and expanding team collaboration skills. Furthermore, musical activity has been found to be particularly effective in developing of inter-personal relationships (Pitts 2007), expanding social skills through facilitating a sense of belonging, satisfaction, self-esteem, and pride in contributing to a group effort (Sward 1989). Such personal and social development can lead to children and young adults being more conscientious, open, and ambitious, with this effect being particularly strong in those from socioeconomically deprived backgrounds (Hille and Schupp 2015).

Similarly, musical participation can benefit physical development and health and well-being. Multiple studies have found that learning musical instruments or taking part in group musical activities from an early age improves fine motor skills (e.g. Brown et al. 1981; Schlaug et al. 2005). Furthermore, musical engagement provides a number of health and well-being benefits. For example, singing provides a physical boost to the immune system in some cases, with a noticeable increase in salivary immunoglobulin (Clift et al. 2008). Musical activity also benefits physical posture, as well as lung function and breathing in those involved with singing or wind instruments (Clift and Hancox 2001). In addition, music has been found to improve emotional well-being by reducing stress and improving mood, attention span, energy levels, self-confidence, and self-esteem, through stimulation of cognitive and physical capacities. Thus, perceived good health, mental well-being, and quality of life is evident among participants engaging in musical activity (Vanderark et al. 1983; Khan 1998; Clift et al. 2008)

As we have seen in this section, engaging with active musical learning can play a vital part in educational, cognitive, physical, and social childhood development. Thus, I argue that music should form integral part of the wider education system, which utilises its extensive benefits

to enhance the wider learning experience of children. This affirms the ethos behind the NPME in promoting music service education as a way of enabling wider benefits and academic attainment. However, as we have examined in Section 4.2, music service provision has not been accessible to all for some time in Wales. Despite the rhetoric of the NPME, we found in Section 4.3. that music service fees will still remain. This risks further potential exacerbation of existing social divides based on economic circumstance, which will be explored next in Section 4.5.

4.5. Socioeconomic Deprivation and Academic Attainment

Multiple reports have recognised that the shift away from LA-funded music provision towards a system reliant on parental fees has resulted in inequalities in access to music education based on socioeconomic status (Smith 2013a; Napieralla et al. 2015; Sayed et al. 2018; Consultany.coop 2020). Therefore, in this section I argue that the access issues caused by LA music service funding reductions risks compounding existing divides in educational attainment based on socioeconomic status.

A causal link between childhood socioeconomic deprivation and academic attainment is well established within the literature, presenting a significant global problem within education systems (Ilie et al. 2017). While specific circumstances vary according to the given country and/or education system, attainment gaps emerge based on socioeconomic status, with particularly pertinent factors being household income (e.g. Cooper and Stewart 2013), parental occupation (e.g. Letourneau et al. 2013), and parental education (e.g. Chowdry et al. 2010). Such gaps in educational attainment begin in the earliest years of education and widen as children progress through the education childhood and adolescent education, with subsequent impacts persisting into adulthood and reducing social mobility (e.g. Egan 2007; Entwisle et al. 2007; Jerrim and Micklewright 2012; Strand 2014a; 2014b; Anders and Jerrim 2017).

The link between socioeconomic deprivation and academic attainment presents a particular problem for Wales, a country in which child poverty has proved a significant issue in the 21st century. For example, in 2007 it was estimated that the child poverty figure stood at 27%, meaning that approximately 180,000, or one in four, children in Wales were living in some degree of poverty (Egan 2007). Of these, it was estimated that approximately 90,000, or 13%, of the child population were living in *severe* poverty, defined by the Welsh Government as

children residing in households earning below 60% of the median income (Crowley and Winckler 2008). As in the wider literature, key causes for these deprivation levels can be found in high levels of unemployment, low levels of household income, and low levels of parental educational attainment. Cumulative disadvantage is thus perpetuated in which children from such households, who have reduced educational attainment and thus social mobility later in life (ibid). For instance, in 2004, 27% of children in severe poverty in Wales were failing to achieve a minimum of five GCSEs, while 10% of all 16–18-year-olds were not in employment, education, or other training, and 25% of 19-year-olds had not achieved a minimum level-2 qualification (Egan 2007).

High child poverty levels have persisted during the time that LA music service funding reforms have been enacted across Wales since 2011, with child poverty levels remaining 'stubbornly high' in 2019 following the failure of the Welsh Government's Child Poverty Strategy to significantly impact upon the issue (Welsh Government 2019b p.4). It may be the case that dual impacts will emerge. Firstly, high levels of socioeconomic deprivation among children in Wales means that such children are now unable to access music service education due to LA funding reforms. Secondly, these children are most at risk of being impacted by the socioeconomic educational attainment gap, yet are now unable to benefit from the educational and developmental benefits offered by music education, which may help to negate such an attainment gap. Therefore, it appears that LA music service funding reductions may risk exacerbating the existing divide in educational attainment, limiting social and cultural mobility for children from socioeconomically deprived backgrounds. Reducing the educational attainment gap has been identified as a key factor in which cumulative disadvantage can be broken in the long term (Crowley and Winckler 2008). Thus, I argue that an integration of accessible music education back into the education system with the health and wellbeing and educational attainment benefits proposed by the NPME has the potential to play an important part in achieving such a goal. However, the persistence of parental fees in the secondary level of the NPME limits the potential for improvement due to economic barriers to access.

4.6. Covid-19 and Music Service Accessibility

The extent of the impact of Covid-19 on music services has not yet been extensively researched. Yet, several limitations surrounding issues of access for pupils from deprived

backgrounds have become apparent during the pandemic. Following the introduction of national lockdown measures on 20th March 2020, schools were closed to all pupils bar children of key workers. The vast majority of learning was required to move to a hybrid medium based on online learning and sending learning packs to pupils at home (Daubney and Faultley 2020). The closure of schools also had a significant negative impact on LA music services, with face-to-face teaching having to be stopped, along with other activities such as ensembles and weekend music centres. Unlike schools, the approach of music services to online teaching varied greatly, particularly in Wales, where the disparate approach to music service organisation (Bird et al. 2020) meant that proceeding with online teaching depended on the policy of the respective LAs. Consequently, while some music services in Wales were able to continue teaching, at least in part, in an online format, others ceased teaching altogether.

For services that were able to continue teaching pupils online, the issues surrounding equality of access based on socioeconomic resources were exacerbated. Not all households were able to access instruments, nor the technology and internet, to successfully engage in online learning (Daubney and Faultey 2020). Such findings were echoed in a 2020 report by the Incorporated Society of Musicians (ISM), which found that 'music education, in some cases, only became available through instrumental lessons for those families who could afford them or had the technology in place for remote learning' (Underhill 2020 p.2).

When pupils returned to schools in September 2020, practical safety concerns surrounding music service activities further limited the accessibility of music service provision. Aside from the issues surrounding the mixing of pupils in large group activities typically required by many music service activities, there has been considerable debate over whether singing and the playing of instruments may increase the risk of coronavirus transmission due to the required breathing techniques spreading particles of moisture through the air. This proves particularly difficult to manage in small spaces or large groups, such as those found in a school environment (Schwalje and Hoffman 2020). Multiple studies have reached differing conclusions on the extent of the risk spread of air particles, with some noting minimal risk (e.g. Richter 2020; Brandt 2020), while others recognised a spectrum of risk based on instrument type (e.g. Schwalje and Hoffman 2020; He et al. 2021). The practicalities of instrumental teaching in the required socially distanced environment proved a notable issue (Welsh Government 2020), with many schools lacking adequate teaching facilities for music

lessons (Dunne 2020). Consequently, access to music service provision was limited, potentially exacerbating existing inequalities within the system.

Aside from practical concerns, there has also been evidence of an ideological shift away from music education, in favour of requiring pupils to focus on core subjects to compensate for lost teaching time. The ISM report illustrates this point, noting that engagement with music was considerably reduced across the UK, with a substantial drop-in musical activity in schools. For example, 68% of primary classroom teachers and 39% of secondary classroom teachers reported that the effects of the pandemic had directly resulted in a reduction of musical activities in schools, and nearly 10% of both were not teaching any classroom music at all. Furthermore, 86% of secondary school classroom teachers provided evidence of the music curriculum being re-written in the 2020-2021 academic year, typically reducing teaching hours (Underhill 2020).

With music in the classroom being reduced, engagement with the non-statutory, extra-curricular activities offered by music services has also inevitably been even more heavily impacted. For instance, the ISM reported that in 72% of primary schools and 66% of secondary schools were not engaging with any such extra-curricular activities. This has had a substantial effect of peripatetic music service teaching practitioners working in schools, with 99% reporting that teaching had changed for them in the 2020-2021 academic year in some way. This is clearly demonstrated by 35% of primary schools and 28% of secondary schools stating that they would not be engaging with music service instrument tuition in a face-to-face environment, and rather moved to an online format, or ceased entirely, depending on the provider in question (Underhill 2020).

The Covid-19 pandemic has clearly impacted upon the music education sector, and the initial research clearly indicates that the accessibility of music services was limited for pupils, with pupils from deprived backgrounds potentially being among the worst affected (Daubney and Faultey 2020; Underhill 2020). However, the extent to which the pandemic has limited accessibility to pupils from differing socioeconomic backgrounds in this way has not been explored in detail. This is particularly the case within Wales, with existing data limited to broad generalisations of the situation across the UK (Underhill 2020). With evidence that schools are shifting away from supporting music education as the pandemic begins to subside (Underhill 2020), it is important that these changing attitudes are examined to help explain the outcomes of evolving, or devolving, music education policy in a post-Covid-19 world. Of

course, on the one hand, it may be the case that the issues of accessibility and shifting policy are temporary glitches in the system as a result of an (assumed) limited timeframe of the pandemic. On the other hand, it may be the case that the pandemic has exacerbated existing equality of access issues between socioeconomic groups, and that provision is permanently limited by changing attitudes towards music education by policymakers and schools. It is simply too early in the process to be able to tell for sure, and thus the issue is worth documenting, particularly as this thesis is ideally timed to observe the initial recovery of the Welsh music service sector as it emerges from the pandemic.

4.7. Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter I have observed that following reforms in LA spending following the 2008 financial crisis, music service budgets have been widely and substantially reduced by LAs across Wales. As the series of Welsh Government reports have revealed, such funding reforms have led to a reduction in the quantity and quality of provision that is provided by music services (Napieralla et al. 2015; Sayed et al. 2018; Bird et al. 2020). Crucially however, these reforms have led to music services introducing parental fees for music tuition and supporting activities to compensate for the lack of LA funding (Bird et al. 2020). A key consequence of this is that it appears pupils from socioeconomically deprived backgrounds are less likely to be able to afford such fees and are therefore less likely to be able to access music service education (Smith 2013a; Sayed et al. 2018; Bird et al. 2020). Thus, we see economic capital playing a significant role in accessibility to education, which may reinforce class divides in music education over time, as well as in health and wellbeing, educational attainment, and other forms of social and cultural capital.

In a situation where pupils from deprived backgrounds are unable to access music service tuition due to cost, as is implied by the recent Welsh Government reports, there is a risk that existing gaps in educational attainment based on socioeconomic status will be exacerbated (Egan 2007). This is a particular problem in Wales, which suffers from high levels of deprivation (Welsh Government 2019). Questions can also be raised over cultural equality, with children from deprived backgrounds potentially being unable to access a range of musical culture within the education system compared to their more affluent peers, limiting democratic development of Welsh musical culture in future. When considering a potential solution to the issues of music service funding, the literature suggests a divide in ideological

thinking between policymakers such as the WLGA, which argue in favour of the current system as the most equitable and economical option (e.g. Williams 2017), and music service practitioners, who argue that LA funding reductions have limited provision and that further reform is needed (Carr 2018). Furthermore, evidence suggests that the Covid-19 pandemic has further compounded issues of accessibility for pupils, and that music education is being marginalised in favour of core academic subjects (Daubney and Faultey 2020; Underhill 2020).

The NPME (Miles 2022) presents a response to these issues, introducing funding and musical experience programmes through LA music services to guarantee access to music education for all pupils in Wales. It also frames music as a positive force for good in terms of pupil enjoyment, health and wellbeing, and educational attainment, which have been assessed as an accurate perspective (e.g. Hallam 2010). Such benefits clearly provide advantages to those pupils who can afford to access music services. However, it was revealed that routes for progression past first experiences in the NPME were underdeveloped and parental fees for music service lessons would remain, further exacerbating access issues based on economic circumstances, and limiting the benefits of music making to those able to access services.

Now that I have explored the cultural, historical, and contemporary literature surrounding access to music service education, we will now move to introduce the methods of the original research in this thesis.

5. Methods

In this chapter I outline the methods for the original research undertaken in this thesis. I introduce the two-phase research design in Section 5.1. and explain the methodological perspective in Section 5.2. I then detail the Phase One documentary analysis in Section 5.3., and the Phase Two qualitative interviews in Section 5.4. Lastly, I present the ethical considerations of the research in Section 5.5.

5.1. Research Design

In selecting a research design for this project, I first considered the core purpose of each of the research questions, and how this may be explored through an appropriate method or methods. It became clear that the research questions approached the issue of access from two angles. As a reminder, the research questions are:

1. *How do policymakers and third-party organisations frame and justify access to music education?*
2. *How do peripatetic music service teaching practitioners perceive access to, and provision of, music education?*
3. *How do peripatetic music service teaching practitioners justify provision and explain outcomes of inequality within Welsh music services?*

The first question is concerned with how policymakers and other stakeholders frame and justify access, while the second and third questions focus on the experiences of music service practitioners, and how they perceive the access issue and justify and explain provision and inequality. I considered this to be a sensible order in which to approach the method. Researching the policy perspective on access would provide a useful basis from which to understand the context of the views of the music service practitioners on the topic. Therefore, I opted to employ a sequential research design in which I would first explore policymakers and access, followed by an examination of music service practitioners and access. The next step was to consider what methods to apply, and which would provide suitable data to answer the research questions.

I opted to employ a two-phased mixed-methods explanatory research design (Creswell and Creswell 2018). As the first research question aims to examine how access is framed by policymakers and third-party stakeholders, I decided to conduct a documentary analysis of

the key government and third-party reports and documents released during the period this thesis addresses (2010-2023). This period has been chosen as it aligns with the period in which local authorities began reforming music service spending to introduce parental fees for tuition. The reports directly address the issues surrounding such reforms, and examining the discourse enables an understanding of how accessibility issues in Wales are framed and understood. The analysis of key third sector reports within this timeframe, alongside Welsh Government documents, enables a broad view of the discourse, and enables comparisons to be made on the issues, priorities, and language utilised by different groups when discussing music services in Wales. I considered this to be the most efficient way of gaining an understanding of the accessibility discourse during this period. A more detailed rationale behind the selection of these key documents for analysis is presented in Section 5.3. below. The documentary analysis constitutes Phase One of the research design.

To conduct the documentary analysis, I conducted a detailed corpus analysis of the documents to explore the discourse of issues surrounding accessibility using the freeware corpus analysis software AntConc (Anthony 2023). Corpus analysis is an approach used in the field of linguistics that facilitates the identification and contextualisation of the discourse surrounding a given key word (in this case 'access') within texts (in this case, Welsh Government documents). It enables a focused interpretative examination of the results (Gries 2010). The quantitative testing run through the software locates qualitative data points throughout the documents that relate to 'access' and uncover its relationship to other key words and topics in the discourse surrounding music education. The advantage of this method, compared to a manual examination of the documents, is that it allows for a more efficient way of locating data within the documents. Manual analysis of each of the documents would be excessively time-consuming and human error on the part of the researcher may result in key points being missed. By using the corpus analysis method, the objectivity of the data analysis is greatly improved. I use the corpus analysis method to conduct a more precise analysis of the documents in relation to the topic of access, and to provide an overview of the linguistic and discursive changes within Welsh Government policymaking since devolution, and third sector commentary and analysis. The corpus analysis constitutes Phase One. The details of the corpus documentary analysis used in Phase One is outlined in Section 5.2. below. The method helped to develop and inform the protocol for Phase Two.

For Phase Two, I utilised semi-structured qualitative interviews with music service peripatetic instrumental teaching practitioners. These interviews enabled an opportunity to explore in detail the experiences regarding accessibility on the "front line" of music service teaching. Interviews constituted music service teaching practitioners who deal day-to-day with issues such as actively recruiting and retaining pupils, communicating with parents of pupils, collecting payment (in some instances), and are thus extremely well placed to reveal the minutiae of socioeconomic barriers to access that may be missed in a macro-level examination of music service provision. Furthermore, music service teaching practitioners have the potential to play the role of gatekeeper through enacting/representing social attitudes and cultural decision making (see Chapters 2 and 3) which may reveal accessibility issues that have previously been unexplored within the literature surrounding music services in Wales. Thus, I reached the conclusion that qualitative interviews in Phase Two, informed by the literature and the documentary analysis of Phase One, was the best way to draw out rich, highly detailed data from the music service practitioner population, addressing the aims of research questions two and three.

Therefore, this research project utilises a potentially methodologically unique two-phase explanatory research design (Creswell and Creswell 2018), with a fusion of interdisciplinary methods not typically seen in the social science field. Phase One engages quantitative testing as part of a corpus analysis of key government and third-party documents to explore the discourse surrounding access for policymakers and other key stakeholders. This produced an informed qualitative analysis of the discourse within the documents, and later a comparison between policymaker views and music service teaching practitioner experiences in the rich qualitative interviews of Phase Two. Before I outline these phases in detail, we will first explore the methodological considerations behind this research design.

5.2. Methodology

In terms of the methodological approach to the research, I first had to consider my own ontological beliefs on the nature of reality, and its place within the framework of this research project. From a personal perspective, I considered that objective, measurable social phenomena exist in some circumstances. Yet, I also recognise that other social phenomena are entirely subjective, and socially constructed within the minds of individuals or collective groups. However, I also reasoned that if these two polarised positions of ontological

argument should exist, then why should there be a divide between them? It may be the case that such positions are melded together, to a greater or lesser extent, within some social phenomenon. An objective social phenomenon may be measured, but if social actors are engaging with said phenomenon, then their interpretations and experiences of this interaction come into play, with their socially constructed view offering a different perspective of the phenomenon being considered.

Thus, upon reflection it became clear that I subscribe to the pragmatic epistemological perspective of the social world. The pragmatic approach does not subscribe to any particular philosophical system, traditionally distancing itself from the ontological debates regarding the nature of reality in research (Cherryholmes 1992). Instead, it is concerned with applications and solutions, focusing on 'what works' (Morgan 2014 p.2) when addressing a research problem. For pragmatists, the opposing paradigms of positivism and constructivism are 'two sides of the same coin' (Morgan 2014 p.5), each offering a unique perspective in acquiring knowledge regarding a phenomenon. It is not so much the taking of an epistemological stance, rather recognising the advantages (and potential disadvantages) of each and being willing to introduce flexibility into the philosophy of research according to the situation. Researchers therefore have the freedom to utilise all potential approaches when attempting to understand and address a research problem, including both from differing worldviews and multiple research methods (Rossman and Wilson 1985). Consequently, pragmatic research often employs mixed methods research to explore multiple aspects of a problem (Creswell and Creswell 2018).

The pragmatic approach aligns closely to this research project. For instance, the first research question aims to compare differences in discourses between policymakers and third-sector stakeholders, and how they may change over time. To do this I decided to undertake a documentary analysis that employs a quantitative corpus analysis method to identify data points. This helped to ensure objectivity in the data collection process, before a more interpretative analysis of the data points is undertaken to explore the meaning and context of the data. Thus, the pragmatic approach enabled this useful hybrid approach to documentary analysis, drawing on and combining the strengths of both objective and subjective methods to reach a conclusion. This approach is then combined with the qualitative interview method utilised to answer the more subjective second and third research questions of the project. These seek the interpretation of music service teaching practitioners' views to offer further insight on the overall phenomenon of limited access to music services by the individuals who

are actively engaged with it. Therefore, a pragmatic mixed methods approach allowed me to gain a rounded understanding of the phenomenon from multiple angles, from both quantitative analysis and qualitative interpretation. I will now outline the methods employed in each phase of research in Sections 5.3. and 5.4 respectively.

5.3. Phase One: Documentary Corpus Analysis

In Phase One I conducted a documentary corpus analysis of eight key Welsh Government documents (between 2015 and 2022), and six third party documents (between 2013 and 2022) relating to local authority music services. In this section, I present a full explanation of the documentary corpus analysis method, including how the documents were compiled into corpora, an explanation of key linguistic terminology, the procedure of corpora testing, and the analysis of the data following testing.

5.3.1. Building the Corpora

In this section I profile the details of the two corpora I use for the documentary analysis. The term ‘corpus’ (plural: ‘corpora’) stems from the field of corpus linguistics, which is defined as the linguistic analysis of a collection of texts (McEnery 2019). The tables below outline Corpus 1 and Corpus 2. Corpus 1 consists of eight reports produced by or on behalf of the Welsh Government and official Welsh Government responses to these reports (see Table 1 below). The criteria for the selection of these documents were that they must represent the major documents released by the Welsh Government directly relating to the accessibility of Welsh music service education within the period from which LA funding reforms were enacted in 2011 (see Section 4.1) to 2022, which marks the end of the period this thesis examines. Documents were sourced from the Welsh Government’s website (Welsh Government 2023), and selected based on their reference to the topic of music services, and examined for their relevance to the issue of accessibility. Subsequently, eight reports and responses were identified as representing the key public facing policy discourses of access during the period of 2015 and 2022. Therefore, Corpus 1 provides a strong basis to address Research Question 1, providing a detailed picture of the Welsh Government policy discourse around access to music services during this time.

Corpus 2 is made up of seven reports produced by third party organisations directly relating to music services in Wales (see Table 2 below). The rationale for selection was necessarily

broader than Corpus 1, as the third party documents would have to be sourced from multiple organisations that may be more or less focused on access and music service policy. However, the documents had to fall within the same 2011-2022 timeframe as Corpus 1 and discuss, or be closely related to, the accessibility of music service education in Wales. The documents were sourced online and selected based on their relevance to Research Question 1. A broader search resulted in documents from a range of sources, constituting individual academic reports and reports on behalf of charities (see Table 2). The seven selected documents in Corpus 2 encompassed the time span of 2013 to 2022, thus providing a framework that could provide a comparison with Corpus 1. The analysis of key third party reports within this timeframe, alongside Welsh Government documents, enables a broad view of the discourse, and allows comparisons to be made on the issues, priorities, and language utilised by different groups when discussing access to music services in Wales in this period. Thus, the analysis of different sources across two corpora enabled Research Question 1 to be addressed in greater detail.

As we can see from the Tables 2 and 3 below, the two corpora are roughly similar in number of reports and total word count, meaning a broadly equal comparison can be made utilising the corpus analysis software. For each of the documents, I conducted data cleaning, in which headers and footers were removed to avoid inflating the word frequency counts, and tables in text were reformatted into plain text to avoid the potential skewing of concordance lines and collocations (see Table 4 below for definitions of these terms).

Table 2 – Corpus 1: Welsh Government Documents

File ID	Document	Author	Year	Wordcount
0	Report of the task and finish group on music services in Wales	Karl Napieralla et al.	2015	8326
1	The Welsh Government response to the report of the task and finish group on music services in Wales	Huw Lewis AM	2015	2726
2	Music services: one year on report A progress report on the recommendations of the Task and Finish Group for Music Services in Wales	Kirsty Williams AM	2017	3475
3	Hitting the Right Note: Inquiry into funding for and access to music education	Bethan Sayed AM et al.	2018	15981
4	The Welsh Government's formal response to Hitting the Right Note: Inquiry into funding for and access to music education	Kirsty Williams AC/AM	2018	2622
5	Report of the task and finish group on music services in Wales Final progress report	Welsh Government	2019	3337
6	Music Services Feasibility Study	Alex Bird et al.	2020	35871
7	National Plan for Music Education	Jeremy Miles MS	2022	9656
Total Corpus Wordcount:				**81994**

Table 3 – Corpus 2: Third Sector Documents

File ID	Document	Author	Year	Wordcount
0	An independent report for the Welsh Government into Arts in Education in the Schools of Wales	Prof. Dai Smith	2013a	19555
1	An independent report for the Welsh Government into Arts in Education in the Schools of Wales Supporting documents	Prof. Dai Smith	2013b	43532
2	International Best Practice in Music Performance Education Models and Associated Learning Outcomes for Wales	Prof. Paul Carr	2018	12107
3	Making and Learning Music in Wales	Anita Holford et al.	2020	6751
4	Reflections on Making and Learning Music in Wales	Anna Arrieta	2020	1530
5	Initial Mapping Report: Youth Music and Music Education in Wales	Anita Holford	2020	4008
6	Anthem Impact Report	Rhian Hutchings	2022	1862
Total Corpus Wordcount:				**77359**

5.3.2. Testing and Analysing the Corpora

The first step of the analysis of the corpora is a method utilised in field of corpus linguistics (Gries 2010). I conducted testing of the documents using the freeware corpus analysis software AntConc (Anthony 2023). I chose this software as it enables me to pinpoint specific data points regarding the accessibility discourse surrounding music education through word frequency and collocation testing. These tests subsequently enabled access to the concordance lines of collocates within each corpus to highlight key data points from documents for qualitative thematic analysis. The definitions of these tests and associated terms are explained in Table 4 below:

Table 4 – Corpus Analysis Terms and Definitions

Test/Term	**Definition**
Word Frequency Test	A test that measures the frequency of a given key word in both the whole corpus and in individual documents within the corpus.
Normalised Frequency Test	The normalised frequency tests the frequency of a word relative to the proportion of the total word count of each document within a corpus. It is useful in this chapter due to the widely variable word count of each document in the corpora (see Tables 2 and 3 above).
Collocation Test	Collocations is 'the characteristic co-occurrence patterns of words', such that the output of a collocation test enables one to observe what words frequently co-occur (collocate) with the input word (in this case, with 'access*') (McEnery, 2019, p. 85). The window for the collocation test can be from one to multiple words. I set the collocation window at a 5-left and 5-right word span of the input word, the standard span used for this test in corpus linguistics (Gries 2010).
Collocate (noun)	A word that co-occurs (collocates) with the given key word; output of a collocation test.
Concordance Lines	As the output of a collocation test, a concordance is when 'a word is given within x words of context' (McEnery, 2019, p.198). In a single output, there may be one or multiple concordance lines that are produced, producing a list of each time the input word a word co-occurs within the given texts. Thus, concordance lines offer a way to compare various collocates of the same input word in the context of the document. For instance, when searching for the word 'access*', multiple concordance lines appeared in the output at which point I was able to observe when the word was used and in what context. In this chapter, it is this contextual data which is used for qualitative thematic analysis.

The frequency testing produced an overview of how often a given key word is used, which indicated overarching trends to explore. Collocation testing is an efficient way of identifying key data points associated with the accessibility of music education, which would be very difficult to perform manually. These collocations act as themes for the basis of a qualitative thematic analysis of the data points. At this stage, I had to choose a specific word or words on which to conduct the testing outlines above. The chose the word ‘access’ because it represents the main topic of the project and would provide me with ample data points due to its frequent use throughout both corpora. The output of which could aid my addressing the first research question. In order to ensure all derivations of ‘access’ were captured in the analysis, searches used ‘access*’. These derivations included ‘access’, ‘accessible’, ‘accessing’, ‘accessed’, and ‘accessibility’. To help ensure a complete picture of the access discourse in the documents, I also chose to test two synonyms of ‘access*’. The first was ‘opportunit*’, which includes the derivations ‘opportunities’ and ‘opportunity’, and the second was ‘availab*’, which included the derivations 'available’ and ‘availability’. These were chosen due to their similar meaning to ‘access’, and the frequent use of these words throughout both corpora. This helped to mediate the chance that key points in the discussion around the access topic were not missed in the overall analysis. Testing ‘access*’ and these synonyms produced a substantial amount of data for analysis, which proved sufficient to address the first research question.

Next, I conducted a collocation test, which enabled me to view the words most likely to co-occur around ‘access*’ and view these occurrences in the context of the text in a given document. This is the crux of why this method is so useful. It illuminates not only of when ‘access*’ is mentioned throughout the corpora, but also the contextual data from the topics with which it is frequently associated. I systematically processed each of these associations, discarding excess collocates such as linking words (e.g. ‘and’ or ‘but’), collocates that occur frequently in titles or header/footer sections, and repetitions of the same data due to overlapping cooccurrence with similar words. From the collocates, I formed themes. To give just a few examples, I observed each time ‘access*’ cooccurred with words such as ‘equality’, or ‘barriers’, or ‘progression’. The concordance lines show the context of how these words are used within the text. From this output, I focused on how key issues surrounding aspects of access were presented throughout by the documents throughout the corpora. I qualitatively analysed these points of data from the text and qualitatively compared how these themes developed across different documents over time. At this stage, I made sure

to examine each of the concordance lines in the context of each document that it relates to. This ensured an understanding of the wider context of each piece of data and thus avoid any mistaken usage or confusion during the analysis process. This process was conducted for both Corpus 1 and Corpus 2, enabling a comparison between the access discourse used by policymakers and the third sector over time. The findings of this analysis are presented in Chapter 6.

5.4. Phase Two: Qualitative Interviews with Peripatetic Music Service Teaching Practitioners

5.4.1. Participants and Recruitment

For Phase Two, participants were recruited for the purposes of gaining qualitative data through semi-structured interviews. The criteria for selection were that the participant must be an active peripatetic music service teaching practitioner in one of the 18 Welsh music services (either LA, charity, co-operative or limited company). The definition of active was broad, with participants having experience in a combination of delivering individual and group musical instrument lessons, whole-class musical instrument tuition, delivering recruitment demonstrations to new students, running musical ensemble rehearsals, writing reports to parents, and a variety of related practical and administrative tasks. Eligible participants may be currently inactive if they have previously taught during the period covered by this study. For example, two participants had recently left the sector within the four months before the interview but had been active teaching peripatetic practitioners in music services for many years previously. Practitioners who only teach privately, independently of a music service, were not eligible for the study as their experiences do not align with the music service focus of the project.

In conducting my qualitative interview research with music service practitioners, I had initially planned to access such practitioners by engaging directly with music services. This would have enabled me to gain data from both peripatetic teaching practitioners and heads of service. From this I could have explored a comparison of perspectives on the issues of access and provision between management and teaching staff. However, following initial enquires in late 2021, most music services were unresponsive, or stated that they did not wish to, or did not have the time, to engage in the research. A common reason given for this was an

unusually busy workload and other administrative complications as music services attempted to recover from the Covid-19 pandemic, which had significantly impacted the sector's ability to operate and deliver music tuition (Daubney and Fautley 2020). Consequently, I was unable to access heads of service as participants, and accessing music service teaching practitioners as participants presented a significant issue as the music services themselves act as gatekeepers. Therefore, I decided to adapt my research to just focus on music service peripatetic instrumental teaching practitioners as participants. I was able to gain access to this group through my position as an 'insider' in the music service sector. I utilised three initial contacts from my former music service as initial participants, and then utilised snowball sampling to attain further participants beyond my initial contacts (Kind et al. 2019).

Using the 'insider' snowballing approach, I successfully recruited and interviewed N=24 participants who teach or have taught in ten different music services across Wales: Bridgend Music Service, Cardiff and Vale Music Service Ltd. (CAVMS), Cardiff County and Vale of Glamorgan Music Service (CCVGMS), Canolfan Gerdd William Mathias, Carmarthenshire Music Service, Gwent Music, Rhondda Cynon Taf Music Service, Neath Port Talbot Music, Swansea Music Service, and Pembrokeshire County Council Music. Multiple participants teach or have taught in two or more music services simultaneously. I aimed to have as wide a range of experiences and circumstances across the country as possible to improve the chance of rich, illustrative data emerging from the analysis. The initial three contacts were former colleagues, while the following 21 were previously unknown to me in a professional capacity. The ethics and considerations around being an 'insider' put into place for interviews is discussed in Section 5.5. The participants are listed in Table 5 below[3]. The participants are listed in the order that interviews took place, alongside the instruments and genres in which they teach, and their approximate years of experience teaching in music services. The instruments and genres are listed as these will later form part of the discussion around cultural attitudes (see Chapter 8).

[3] Note that I have avoided linking participants to their specific music services in this table. This decision was made to protect the anonymity of the participants. The music service workforce is a relatively small community, particularly in more rural regions, and a link between the instrument that is being taught, the music service in which they work, their length of service, and particular comments within the data, may result in individuals being relatively easily identifiable. Thus, in order to mitigate the risk of identification and maintain the guaranteed participant anonymity (see Appendix A), the participants have not been directly linked to any individual music service.

Table 5 – Overview of Participants

Participant Number	Instrument(s) Taught	Genre(s) Taught	Approximate Length of Teaching Career in Music Services at time of Interview
P01	Brass (all types)	Brass Band/Orchestral/Jazz	5 years
P02	Woodwind (all types)	Orchestral	15 years
P03	Brass (all types)	Brass Band/Orchestral	11 years
P04	Brass (all types)/Piano	Orchestral/Jazz	15 years
P05	Strings (all types)	Orchestral	31 years
P06	Percussion (tuned/orchestral/drum kit)	Orchestral/Popular	6 years
P07	Woodwind (all types)	Orchestral	17 years
P08	Strings (all types)	Orchestral	24 years
P09	Brass (all types)	Brass Band/Orchestral	11 years
P10	Woodwind (all types)	Orchestral	5 years
P11	Piano/Singing	Classical/Jazz	4 years
P12	Brass (all types)	Brass Band/Orchestral	23 years
P13	Percussion (drum kit)	Popular/Jazz	8 years
P14	Strings (all types)	Orchestral	20 years
P15	Brass (all types)	Brass Band/Orchestral	15 years
P16	Brass (all types)	Brass Band/Orchestral	10 years
P17	Piano/Guitar	Jazz/Popular	17 years
P18	Brass (all types)	Brass Band/Orchestral/Jazz	7 years
P19	Strings (all types)	Orchestral	15 years
P20	Woodwind (all types)	Orchestral	10 years
P21	Guitar	Popular/Jazz	8 years
P22	Woodwind (all types)	Orchestral/Popular/Jazz	19 years
P23	Woodwind (all types)	Orchestral/Popular/Jazz	22 years
P24	Strings (all types)	Brass Band/Orchestral	4 years

Once recruited, I conducted semi-structured interviews to gather data from the participants (King et al. 2019). Interviews took place either in person, or via the online video software Zoom (2023) between April 2022 and February 2023. The average interview length was 01:02:47. The interview schedule was based on the results from Phase One, existing literature surrounding Welsh music services, and my own experiences as a peripatetic music service teaching practitioner (Creswell and Creswell 2018). The flexible framework of the semi-structured interview format allowed me to explore the topic in detail through open-ended questions. Participants were able to freely elaborate on the topics, allowing rich data to emerge, while I as the interviewer was able to steer and clarify elements of the interview with prompts and probing questions where necessary (King et al. 2019). For example, several interviews revealed interesting data beyond my initial set of questions because I allowed the participants to let them expand upon their initial response. Sometimes, I found a moment of silence was valuable to allow the participants to gather their thoughts without interrupting. In other instances, I probed to ask participants to elaborate on somewhat brief responses by reframing the question, or asking them to clarify meaning, or a specific term or acronym that was specific to the music service in which they teach. All the interviews were audio-recorded (via Dictaphone when in person and Zoom when online) and transcribed verbatim for analysis of the data and stored on the secure Cardiff University online system.

5.4.2. Analysis

The data constituted a total of 138,498 words of transcribed text across the 24 interviews. Following the collection of the interview data, I undertook a three-stage thematic analysis involving (1) descriptive coding, (2) interpretive coding, and (3) discerning overarching themes (King et al. 2019), which I elaborate upon below. I organised the data systematically and efficiently utilising NVivo 12 (2021) analysis software, reducing the risk of data being neglected due to human error, a potential danger due to the large amount of text involved (Bazeley 2007). I made sure however, to not become reliant on the software itself as the method of extracting meaning from the data analysis (Harding 2019). Instead, I used it as an organisational tool to better view and arrange different types of codes (outlined below) and conducted the coding process manually, which ensured that I remained in close contact with the data, thus enabling a more detailed interpretation (Bazeley 2007).

Stage One: Descriptive Coding

The first stage of the thematic analysis consisted of identifying initial codes in the data. Descriptive coding involves identifying points of data from the interview transcripts that have the potential to be helpful in addressing the research objectives (King et al. 2019). In practice, this involved reading through the transcript, and attaching points of data to a specific descriptive code. I created these codes based on the data as I worked through the transcripts, which act as descriptive summaries of repeated talking points and initial themes (King et al. 2019). This has the function of enabling potentially important points to be labelled and grouped, drawing the data from multiple transcripts under the banner of individual codes (Rapley 2011). For example, when participants were giving examples of the cost of instrumental lessons in music services, these were coded descriptively as 'lesson fees' (see Appendix C).

A potential risk of the coding process is balancing the amount of coding, with too many codes making the data unmanageable (Barbour 2008), or conversely not coding enough and potentially missing vital themes further along in the analysis process (Harding 2019). To address these potential issues, I created codes based on a triangulation of my research objectives, my understanding of the context through my personal experiences as an insider (see Section 5.5.1. below), and my examination of the literature (Matthews and Ross 2010). This helped to focus my initial coding, although I did remain open to potential themes emerging that I had not previously considered (Harding 2019). This triangulation also helped in defining codes. While some codes were simple to form, being based on clear meaning from the participant, others involved an element of interpretation, particularly when the meaning may not be obvious (Harding 2019). To further hone my coding, I processed the data three times, looking for instances in which the codes could be streamlined and/or redefined, e.g. where there was significant overlap, or could be defined more clearly, acting as a quality check (King et al. 2019) and helping to keep the data manageable (Barbour 2008). This repetition of the process also allowed for the coding of earlier transcripts for codes that emerged in the later transcripts. My full list of descriptive codes is provided in Appendix C.

Stage Two: Interpretive Coding

In the second stage of the thematic analysis process, I defined interpretive codes. These codes move beyond the descriptive codes of Stage One, which describe the relevant features of the

participants' accounts, and instead focus on an interpretation of meaning (King et al. 2019). I achieved this by grouping descriptive codes into groups, or clusters, that have a commonality of meaning and created an interpretive code that captures this meaning (Rapley 2011). During this stage, I avoided applying specific theoretical concepts (such as those discussed in Chapter 2) to the interpretive codes, as I did not want to risk an inadvertent focus on the elements of data that fit neatly with my theoretical framework (Langdridge 2004). Instead, I aimed to make connections between the descriptive codes that related to the research questions and the broad disciplinary approach (King et al. 2019), i.e. relating to access to music education and practitioners' perceptions and justifications of music education. For example, I recognised the commonality of meaning between the data within the follow descriptive codes from Stage One: 'Lesson Fees', 'Lesson Durations (Cost)', 'Group Lessons', 'Individual Lessons', 'Instrument Costs', 'Travel Costs', 'Equipment Costs', 'Differences in Costs between Music Services', and 'Music Service Instruments'. The data within the codes contributed to discussions around affordability and access, and therefore I clustered these descriptive codes into an interpretive code: 'Affordability of Music Service Provision' (see Appendix C). I continued the quality checking of the descriptive codes throughout this process, ensuring that they were clearly defined. Once I had completed the clustering of descriptive codes into interpretive codes, I repeated the process to double check that the commonalities of meaning were accurately selected and categorised, and adjusted as necessary, again helping to ensure quality control of the coding process (King et al. 2019). Therefore, by the end of Stage Two, all the descriptive codes of Stage One had been clustered into interpretive codes, providing a focus for the data in the context of the research questions. Appendix C demonstrates the descriptive codes that have been clustered to form my interpretive codes, which are listed in full.

Stage Three: Overarching Themes

The final stage of my thematic analysis was the identification of overarching themes that represent the key concepts of the data. These themes were derived from the interpretative coding of Stage Two, the codes being grouped based on commonalities and differences of meaning (Harding 2019). However, Stage Three moves beyond solely using the data to form overarching themes, and also considers the theoretical perspectives explored in Chapter 2, the concerns around the topic of interest (access to music education) identified in the prior literature in Chapters 3 and 4 (King et al. 2019). For example, the interpretive codes

‘Affordability of Music Service Provision’ and ‘Pupil Recruitment and Retention (Socioeconomic)’ clearly demonstrated that economic factors played a major role in pupils accessing music service instrumental education, which was also recognised within the literature explored in Chapter 4, and formed part of the theoretical debate in the form of the impact of cultural capital on cultural engagement (Bourdieu 1984) in Chapter 2. Therefore, I grouped these two interpretive codes to form the overarching theme of ‘Socioeconomic Barriers to Music Service Access’. The full list of overarching themes, and the coding that has informed them, are displayed in Appendix C.

During the formation of these themes, I continued to check the quality of the analysis. For instance, I considered how representative the themes were of the dataset as a whole, seeking to help ensure the validity of the findings. While there is a risk of qualitative research becoming focused on measurement (Harding 2019), some broad forms of quantification can be helpful in identifying consistent thematic patterns in qualitative data (Miles and Huberman 1994). Therefore, I utilised King et al.’s (2019 p.2019) concept of the overarching themes applying ‘at least to a substantial minority of cases’ as a reasonable way to measure how the themes were represented in the data. As it turned out, each of the overarching themes that I formed were evident in multiple points throughout the data in this way (in varying degrees of minority and majority). This helped to reinforce the validity of the findings by giving examples in the analysis of multiple instances of how a theme is evident within the data (see Chapters 7 and 8). The overarching themes formed the basis of the findings in Chapters 7 and 8, informed the contextual discussion in Chapter 9, and provided a basis for my conclusions in Chapter 10.

In summary, across the three stages of thematic analysis, extracts of the raw data from each transcript were sorted into descriptive codes, drawing together data from each participant around shared topics. Secondly, these codes were clustered into interpretive codes, based on my interpretation of their meaning. Lastly, the interpretive codes were grouped together and inform the creation of overarching themes in conjunction with the theoretical perspectives and the contextual issues identified in the literature.

5.5. Ethics

Ethical approval for this project was successfully obtained from the Cardiff University School of Social Science Committee, and all ethical guidelines were adhered to throughout

the project. The documentary analysis of Phase One solely analysed publicly published documents and did not involve participants or any form of third-party contact. As such there were no major ethical concerns, with files from the analysis were stored on the secure Cardiff University network.

In Phase Two, I provided prospective participants with an information pack explaining the nature and scope of the research, alongside an explanation of the requirements for participation, risks and benefits of participation, data protection, and participant confidentiality (Appendix A). Each prospective participant was given a minimum of one working week to decide if they wished to take part. The information pack specified the right to withdraw from the research at any time, without having to give a reason, up to 14 days after the interview took place. This right was verbally reiterated before any data collection took place at the point of interview. I obtained and recorded consent via signed consent forms (Appendix B), and informed consent was maintained by asking participants before and after the point of interview if they were happy for the data to be used in the research. Full contact information (email and phone) was provided should the participant wish to withdraw after the interview. After the 14 days specified in the consent form (see Appendix B), the audio recordings and transcripts of each interview were anonymised using a coded identifier and were stored on the secure Cardiff University network, alongside digitised copies of the consent forms, and contact information. At this point, participants were unable to withdraw from the research. No issues regarding the information pack or the consent form were encountered. All participants agreed to take part in the study both through the consent form and verbally before the interviews began. The coded identifiers are formatted as ‘P’ (for participant), followed by the number that represents the order the interviews took place. For example, participant number one is ‘P01’, participant number two is ‘P02’ and so on. These codes are used when presenting data from the participants in Chapters 7 and 8.

Throughout the interview process, I remained aware of the fact that due to the significant under-funding of music services since 2010, music service peripatetic teaching practitioners in the sector have been placed under pressure, resulting in low morale. Therefore, throughout the interview process, I remained alert to the possibility that discussing issues surrounding music services may cause these teachers emotional and/or psychological distress. I offered the option to pause or cease the interview in the event any participant became distressed and reminded them of their right to withdraw from the process at any time without needing to give a reason. Indeed, one of the participants became upset during the course of the interview

when discussing difficulties surrounding the financial precarity of the teaching profession during the Covid-19 pandemic, and I suggested that we stop the interview if they felt unable to continue. We agreed to pause the interview, and after a break the participant recovered and voluntarily chose to continue.

5.5.1. Insider Research

Having previously worked in the music service sector as a music service teaching practitioner for three years, I fulfilled the same role as the practitioners who participated in this project. While I no longer work in the profession, I approached the research as an 'insider', whereby I as a researcher had experience and detailed prior knowledge of the world of the participant, rather than starting the research project as an outsider, with no previous familiarity with the topic (Mercer 2007). An added complication in the case of this project was that three of the participants were former colleagues, and several others were known to me, and I to them, by professional reputation, if not personally. This was something of an inevitability given the relatively compact nature of the music service teaching community in Wales.

Consequently, the implications of researching as an insider formed a key part of the reflexive process throughout the project. For instance, given my experience of the problems of access having worked in the sector, I was conscious that I might already know, or *think* that I know, the answers to the research questions. Indeed, it would be naïve to assume I could undertake this project from a purely neutral perspective, and that I would not have assumptions of the results based on my own experiences. It was after all, the reason I opted to begin this project. However, I recognise that my experiences are not representative of every peripatetic music service teaching practitioner's experiences, and that the assumptions based on my specific viewpoint within the sector may not necessarily translate to the wider sector. Hence, it is important to examine a wide range of experiences and contexts amongst music service practitioners to reveal a wider picture of access to music services.

It is not the case that my insider experience within the music service sector is automatically a problem. The archaic view that research should *only* be conducted by a neutral outsider to ensure a lack of bias (e.g. Simmel 1950) has been extensively critiqued. Researching as an insider instead offers potential benefits to the process, being more likely to build a successful rapport with participants, while a prior knowledge of the phenomenon being studied may aid the analysis process in understanding and accurately interpreting the meaning and

implications of the data (Brannick and Coghlan 2007; Mercer 2007). For instance, my insider experience also aided me in designing an efficient interview schedule, and in understanding of the concepts being described by the participants, allowing the participants to speak freely with minimal interruption for clarification from myself as an interviewer. The preunderstanding of music service practice and the language used within the sector (such as slang, acronyms, etc.) which enabled me to quickly develop a positive rapport with each participant during the interview process, and to more accurately interpret their terminology.

Being an 'insider' appeared to also engender a degree of trust from the participants, who several noted that they felt more comfortable talking about their role to someone who understands or is 'one of us'. This resulted in some particularly candid discussions in some cases, notably around the personal financial difficulties faced by some music service practitioners due to employment reforms (see Chapter 7). It also resulted in some strongly outspoken opinions from some participants regarding pupils from deprived areas and certain social backgrounds (see Chapter 8) which may not have been readily divulged to an 'outsider'. In the case of a neutral outsider, this trust may not have been present as the participant may worry about misinterpretation from someone who does not fully comprehend the circumstances (Mercer 2007).

While researching as an insider offered some clear advantages, there were also some potential issues which I had to address throughout the process. Being a former peripatetic music service teaching practitioner, I recognised that I had an inherent natural sympathy for the issues faced by the participants, and indeed for parents and pupils from socioeconomically deprived backgrounds that may have been negatively affected by funding reforms. Therefore, a risk was present that I may inadvertently bias the research process in favour of these parties, often described as 'going native' (Creswell and Creswell 2018 p.94). This may have manifested as inadvertently taking sides with the participant's perspectives during the interview, stating leading questions, prompts, statements, and judgemental comments (King et al. 2019). The participants may then have treated such responses as 'conjectural evidence' (Swann et al. 1982) where the participant infers that I as an interviewer have prior knowledge on what is correct, thus biasing their responses. Of course, as mentioned above, it could well be argued that I am already a 'native' in the case of this study, and therefore employ a considered, reflexive approach throughout the process. I ensured that the questions in the interview schedule were framed to not be leading in nature, and during the interviews I made a concerted effort to remain objective and minimise interactions which may inadvertently

lead the participants. Thus, a careful balance had to be struck as part of the interview process. While I made sure to utilise prompts, acknowledgments, and clarification questions where necessary to facilitate an effective conversation (King et al. 2019), I took care to allow participants time to address questions without interference. I also avoided the affirmation of participants' opinions, particularly on delicate or contentious topics, to avoid a perception of bias which may have caused the participants to exaggerate their stories for effect (Mercer 2007). During the subsequent analysis process, I made sure not to disregard any data that did not align with my personal views. These were fairly wide-ranging: from several participants expressing views I would personally disagree with regarding perceptions of social class, to opinions about certain types of music, different pedagogical approaches, and more. However, I have presented the data openly, aiming to create a full picture, and thus mitigating concerns surrounding potential researcher bias in the results (King et al. 2019).

In all, approaching this project as an insider had considerable advantages. My preunderstanding of the music service sector enabled a greater understanding of the data, and helped build a rapport with participants, helping to access sensitive topics. Being aware of the potential issues of being an insider allowed me to check inadvertent bias at each step of the process, helping to increase the reliability of the data and subsequent analysis.

Having introduced the methods for the research, we will now turn to explore the findings. Firstly, we will present the documentary corpus analysis of Phase One in Chapter 6, and secondly, examine the qualitative interview findings of Phase Two in Chapters 7 and 8.

6. The Access Discourse: An Analysis of Key Welsh Government and Third-Party Music Service Documents

In this chapter I conduct a documentary corpus analysis of eight key Welsh Government documents (between 2015 and 2022), and six third party documents (between 2013 and 2022) relating to local authority music services, as outlined in Section 5.2. Firstly, in Section 6.1. I conduct a corpus analysis of 'access*' in the documents of Corpus 1, and undertake a thematic analysis of the themes in Section 6.2. In Sections 6.3. and 6.4. I repeat this process for the synonyms of 'access*' ('opportunit*' and 'availabl*') in Corpus 1. To follow, I conduct a corpus analysis of 'access*' and synonyms in the documents of Corpus 2 in Section 6.5., undertake a thematic analysis in Section 6.6., and summarise the main findings of the chapter in Section 6.7.

6.1. Analysis of Corpus 1 – Policy Documents

6.1.1. Testing Corpus 1

Frequency Testing

To ensure all derivations of 'access' were captured in the analysis, subsequent searches used the term 'access*', which includes the following derivations from the root of the word, as shown in Table 5 with frequency of hits. 'Access' in its root derivation was the most frequent, followed by 'accessible' and other derivations of the word 'access'.

Table 6 – Corpus 1 'Access*' Frequency Test Results

Word	**Frequency (*N*)**
Access	192
Accessible	19
Accessing	11
Accessed	5
Accessibility	2

Figure 1 shows the relative frequency of 'access*' in each document in Corpus 1.

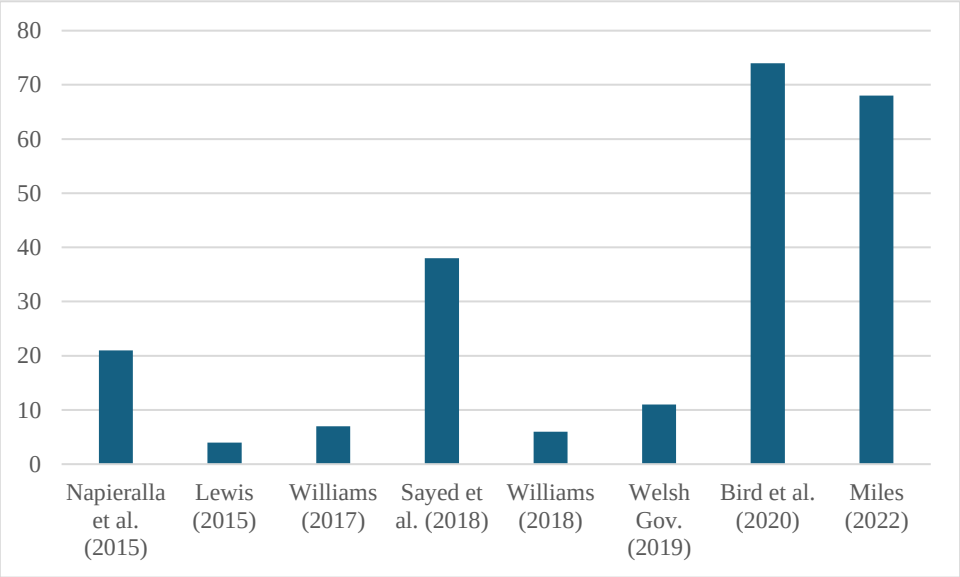

Figure 1 – Frequency of 'Access*' in Corpus 1

From this figure, we can observe that 'access*' is mentioned more frequently in documents Bird et al. (2020) and Miles (2022). This indicates that 'access*' is used considerably more frequently in the discourse within these two later documents than documents published earlier, which suggests a change in the discourse of Government documents over time. However, at this point it was important to consider the normalised frequency of 'access*' within each document, due to the very different word counts of each document within Corpus 1 (see Table 1). The normalised frequency, as shown in Figure 2, allows us to examine the frequency of a word relative to the proportion of the total word count of each document.

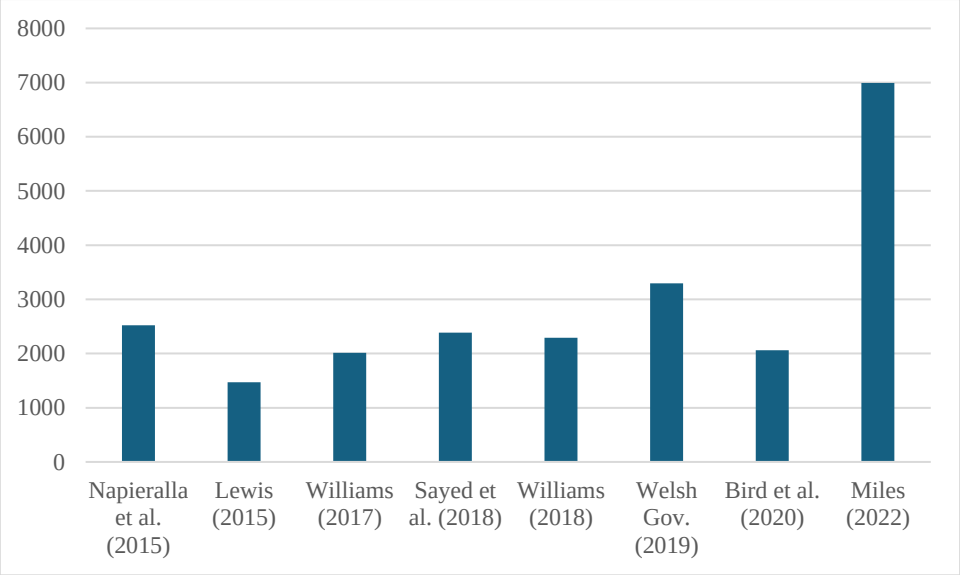

Figure 2 – Normalised Frequency of 'Access*' in Corpus 1

We can observe from the normalised frequency that ‘access*’ is used substantially more often in the NPME (Miles 2022) than the other documents relative to their total word count. From these figures we can see that the frequency of ‘access*’ changes over time, which may therefore indicate that the term ‘access*’ is utilised in a different way within the discourse or is considered in more detail than previous reports over time. The NPME document differs from the others in that it represents a new plan for music education in Wales, as opposed to reporting on the existing system. Therefore, it is important to explore these changes and how they compare with earlier documents. To explore how the word access is used, I employed collocation testing.

Collocation Testing

With ‘access*’ established as the keyword for analysis, and with the above initial examination of the frequency of access indicating an overarching trend of increasing usage in Government documents over time, next I needed to identify key associations of other words with ‘access*’ (collocates) to provide themes for a qualitative analysis of how ‘access*’ is used within the documents over time. To do this, I conducted a collocation test of ‘access*’. The collocation test identifies words that are most likely to co-occur (collocate) within a 5-left and 5-right word span of ‘access*’ throughout Corpus 1. The collocation test produced 28 words that were most likely to co-occur with ‘access*’. I discounted linking words such as ‘to’, ‘the’, ‘and’, ‘for’, etc. in the analysis, and then conducted an initial sweep of the

remaining words and discounted those that provided no relevant data to the subject matter of the chapter, such as those that were used as part of repeated phrases such as titles, or which were closely related to other collocates and thus replicated data. This resulted in a total of nine collocates with rich data for analysis. These results are listed below in Table 6, ranked from most to least likely to collocate with 'access*' in the context of the original 28 words, with their likelihood score, which determines the probability of the key word (access*) cooccurring with the collocate.

Table 7 – Corpus 1 'Access*' Collocation Test Results

Rank	**Collocate**	**Likelihood Score**
1	Equality	131.692
4	Learners	44.040
6	Equitable	37.426
15	Ensuring	20.878
16	Range	20.704
21	Quality	17.677
23	Barriers	16.724
24	Activities	16.405
25	Progression	16.450

Each of these collocations essentially act as the themes to be explored in the qualitative analysis in Section 6.2. below. For each collocation, the concordance lines of each hit were examined. As explained in Table ,4 the concordance lines show the context within the documents of each collocate of 'access*' in its 5-left and 5-right word span. Instances of titles or header sections, closed class words (e.g. pronouns, conjunctions (e.g. 'and'), and determiners (e.g. 'the')), or repetitions of data due to close proximity to similar words were discarded. For each collocate that produced interesting data, considered how policymakers frame and justify access to music education, and whether the discourse changes over time.

6.2. Thematic Analysis of Corpus 1

The key word most likely to be collocated with ‘access*’ in the documents was ‘equality’. Examination of the subsequent concordance lines reveals that the first instance of collocation takes place in the 2018 reports (Sayed et al. 2018, Williams 2018). ‘Equality’ and ‘access*’ are not collocated in reports before 2018, however the similar collocate ‘equitable’ was, albeit briefly. For example, Napieralla et al.’s (2015 p.2) report aimed to consider ‘a view to achieving greater parity across Wales, more equitable provision and access for eFSM learners’. This statement is copied exactly in the follow-up reports by Williams (2017) and the Welsh Government (2019). Yet, in all three instances, the point surrounding equality is not developed further. This is telling. It implies that ‘equality’ was not a significant part of the narrative around access before 2018, which may have been limiting to their approach to the provision of music education in Wales.

However, equality begins to form part of the discussion around access in 2018 and is used in several ways. For instance, ‘access’ and ‘equality’ are used in the context of the ‘affordability’ for pupils:

> Equality of access and affordability for talented young people from poorer backgrounds is a significant concern. This may have a detrimental impact on take-up for the national ensembles. There is danger that this could lead to an elitist music society in Wales. (Sayed et al. 2018, p.41-42)

Here we can see that ‘affordability’ is considered a key factor in pupils accessing music education. The context suggests that pupils from deprived backgrounds will be less likely to attend national ensembles due to costs, which demonstrates a longitudinal thought process of the impact of this scenario over time. It implies that those from wealthier backgrounds will gradually become the sole users of the national ensembles, which could be viewed developing into an ‘elitist music society’. This could be interpreted in several ways. It might represent a fear from policymakers that pupils from deprived areas will be unable to access music. Also, through a reputational lens, Wales’ music education provision may be viewed as unequal in terms of access. As this is a report produced by a ministerial team collaboration, there may be a fear of Welsh education being viewed as unequal both in terms of the voting population, and also a fear of Wales’s international educational reputation being impacted. 'The fear is directed at fewer children being able to access ‘national ensembles’, which have traditionally been internationally renowned, despite representing but a small part of Welsh

music service education. While this association may, on the one hand, advocate for more equal access to national ensemble participation, on the other hand it could suggest that national ensembles are a prized part of the music service over other forms of music making. If it only highlights the pinnacle of what the music can provide, neglecting other forms of music service education. This relates to the idea of 'musical elitism' previously discussed in relation music service education's traditional western classical ideals (see Chapter 3). The linguistic analysis could be said to highlight this elitism as still being prevalent even in more recent reports (2018 onwards), despite their referring more to 'access' as time goes by. The emphasis on the 'top of the pyramid' ensembles, as it were, suggests that the Welsh government prioritise and value elite music making that may only be accessible for those who are wishing to pursue music and/or are particularly gifted in their instrumental performance. In the same turn, it places considerably less value on making music for enjoyment and not necessarily for standard, which is perhaps more accessible to the majority of children who would take part in the music service.

The use of the word 'danger' further supports this feeling of fear, and thus we can interpret it as a call to action to prevent inequality of access. However, while highlighting that there is a 'danger' of inequality, there are contradictions in the extent to which inequality of access is prevalent. For example, Sayed et al. (2018 p.7) states that 'the Welsh Government should ensure the responsible body is provided with any additional funding necessary in order to maintain equality of access on an all Wales level.' The use of the phrase 'maintain equality of access' is interesting, potentially implying that the system of the time was equal and is consistent 'on an all Wales level'. Yet, this discourse is contradicted by earlier reports in Corpus 1, which were commissioned primarily due to there being a perceived issue of access in the first place (Napieralla et al. 2015, Williams 2017). For example, in 2015 Napieralla et al. (p.12) stated that 'the current system is regarded by many as a "postcode lottery", with some areas/schools charging significantly more than others', clearly demonstrating disparities in access based on cost and location. Thus, there appears to be disagreement within the discourse over the extent of access issues throughout Wales, and to what extent the funding at the time was equipped to address them. Furthermore, when exploring 'equitable' in association with 'access*', Sayed et al. (2018 p.15) notes that 'where a regional approach to service delivery exists it would appear that access is more equitable in terms of what is available. However, though cost may still be prohibitive'. This recognises that there are differences between regions in delivery, and that costs are a barrier to access. However, there

is no clear definition of what ‘equitable access’ looks like. Such contradictions, combined with no clear, detailed definition(s) of what is meant by equality of access, results in confused messaging that reveals little about how the Welsh Government truly view equality of access, or what is the ideal goal for accessibility in the long term.

The discussion around maintaining a perceived level of access prompted an examination of the collocate ‘ensuring’, to consider the potential commitments and ethos to establishing a continuous accessible system of music education. ‘Ensuring’ is used in a vague, uncommitted way in association with access. For instance, in a response to the 2015 report, Williams (2017 p.2) stated that ‘ensuring that these services stay accessible to all, regardless of their ability to pay, may seem like a herculean task; but I am sure, that by working together, we can secure them into future and even enhance musical opportunities beyond those currently available.’ Here, we see that the assumption that music services are already ‘accessible to all’ is disputed by the very report to which it is responding, further complicating and confusing the narrative. While the discourse is one that wishes to ‘enhance’ and ‘secure’ access, there is limited support put in place to accomplish this task. For instance, Williams (2017 p.2) continues by stating that ‘I announced a £1 million contribution to begin the process of establishing a National Endowment for Music, which was one of the recommendations of the Music Services Task and Finish Group.’ While this level of funding is very limited and would make little impact (see Chapter 7), the discourse indicates that the process of increasing funding has begun in 2017, even if the priority amidst wider policy matters is low. In 2020, Bird et al. (p.60) suggest that ‘dedicated Welsh Government funding could be made available for specific objectives (e.g. ensuring equality of access for children from less affluent homes) and administered by an existing or new organisation’, indicating that the 2017 funding had little impact on access issues, and highlighting that ‘access*’ remains a consistent, unresolved problem across the time period of the corpus.

The use of ‘equality’ associated with ‘access’ continues from 2018 to become a key theme in the subsequent feasibility study (Bird et al. 2020), and in the National Plan for Music Education (Miles 2022). Equality of access continues to be linked with affordability with Bird et al. (2020 p.72) proposing ‘additional targeted funding for equality of access’. The idea of a national body is not new, having been proposed in 2018 by Sayed et al. (p.17), who argued that ‘the national body should be funded sufficiently and sustainably in order to ensure continuing equality of access across Wales’. Again, there is an implied assumption that there is an existing level of equality of access at this point. However, there is a

contradiction with Sayed et al. (2018 p.17) continuing to note that equality is not practically possible, stating that 'increases in the PDG alone are not therefore likely to provide an adequate solution to the issue of equality of access to music education.' Indeed, PDG funding is not solely dedicated for the funding of musical learning, and may have many other contextual uses for pupils. It would be unreliable, case-dependent support at best. There again appears to be a consistent disagreement over time between 2018 and 2020 concerning how inequalities should be funded and approached, as well as the level to which equality of access already exists within the system.

It is only in the 2022 NPME that this contradiction appears to have been resolved, with a move away from language such as maintaining or continuing equality or to that of 'promoting equality' (Miles 2022 p.2). For example, the report states that the Welsh Government is committed to 'promoting equality by ensuring access for all learners to play, sing, take part, progress and create music, increasing diversity and representation in music' (ibid p.13). The consistent use of the word 'promoting' in the 2022 document implies that there has been a recognition that there *are* inequalities in the Welsh music service system that need addressing, thus diverging from the 2018 and 2020 narratives. This is significant as it is only in 2022 that we see 'a strategic and sustainable approach' outlined to 'ensure a diverse and equitable music education is accessible for our children and young people from ages 3 to 16' (Miles 2022 p.4). Thus, it would appear that the inconsistencies in language have been resolved in this latest plan for the future. The use of the word 'diverse' in relation to music educational offerings is an interesting one, and this will be explored in the following section, which investigates the relationship between the collocate 'learners' and 'access*'

The collocate 'learners' is also frequently associated with 'access*' and produces some interesting discourse development over time. For example, in 2015 there is a focus on provision and access for eFSM learners:

> Availability of musical instrument tuition to disadvantaged learners should be a priority for schools, and this is not simply a matter of prioritizing subsidies solely for those who are eligible for free school meals (eFSM); support for parents on low incomes but whose children are not eFSM needs to be considered also. (Napieralla et al. 2015 p.12)

Here, there is a recognition that eFSM learners and learners from low-income families require support to access music education, and should be targeted for support. It also indicates that eFSM may be a poor proxy measure of identifying those who require support to access

music, who may exist outside such a parameter. However, it also reveals Napieralla et al.'s belief that the onus should be on schools to provide this support, stating that 'in order to protect music services provision, and ensure that it is available at all schools in Wales, it should be accepted that schools/services may have to charge for all or part of tuition costs' (2015 p.12) This is indicative of a localised approach to funding in which local schools make the decisions, which may result in disparate outcomes in terms of access based on the preferences of individual schools' leadership priorities. Not providing top-down, direct funding to support this puts pressure on school budgets may risk limiting access for the aforementioned eFSM and near-eFSM learners. This results in something of a paradox. There is recognition that such learners need support, but there is no additional means being provided to underpin this support, which in turn highlights the need for the support in the first place. Schools are simply instructed to "do better" with what they already have.

Interestingly, the discourse appears to shift when discussing musical activities over time. When examining the collocate 'range' in association with 'access', we can see that in 2015 there was:

> a pressing need for a robust and coherent structure of local, regional and national ensembles and music activities to ensure children and young people are able to access a range of high quality experiences and aspire to excellence. (Napieralla et al. 2015 p.8)

Firstly, we can see that this serves as a call to action to transform the music service sector into a 'coherent' structure, indicating that at the time, the system was disparate in approach, locally, regionally, and nationally. This further supports the point about confused messaging about access within the corpus documents, as discussed above. Secondly, the language refers to a 'range of high quality experiences', yet this is not explained further, being left ambiguous as to what such experiences might mean. For example, it may be referring to high quality existing opportunities within the system, or alternatively it may be hinting at wishing to introduce new experiences. This hints at a traditionalist Arnoldian approach to excellence, with a focus on what is considered to be the best, or highest quality musical experiences. Of course, one person's excellence is another's banality, and this limited view of music may present barriers to those whose musical preferences does not match such cultural capital.

Interestingly, the language associations between 'learners' and 'access*' shifts in 2018 towards accessing a range of musical genres. For instance, Williams (2018 p.6) states that 'I recognise the importance of ensuring that learners have access to all musical genres so they

can learn and be inspired by the music they are interested in.' This is significant as it marks a shift in the language of describing music education, which was previously focused on access issues, rather than the content of the teaching itself. This is a marked difference to the 20th century focus on the western classical tradition in music education (see Chapter 3), and instead moves toward a more encompassing view on music education. This move may help with access issues by encouraging more tolerant cultural attitudes towards certain kinds of music (see Chapter 8). However, the report does go on to reject creating a 'National Action Plan for Music' which would have supported this, in favour of a vague commitment to 'continue working with the Minister for Culture, Tourism and Sport and the WLGA about the areas covered in this recommendation to support less traditional forms of music, including rock and pop ensembles' (Williams 2018 p.6). The language is somewhat archaic, with 'rock and pop ensembles' only encompassing a tiny fraction of the so called 'less traditional forms of music'. Such discourse inadvertently reveals the extent to which the western classical tradition is embedded within music services at the expense of other traditions, which may form a type of cultural barrier to accessing music education due to pupils not being able to learn the music they wish to. Furthermore, this does not provide any firm commitment or plan, and is of course meaningless if pupils do not have access to musical tuition in the first place, somewhat undermining the initial message.

The undermining of the argument is obvious when examining the collocate 'quality' and 'access*'. For instance, Williams (2018 p.1) states 'the Welsh Government shares your ambition for the provision of high-quality, universal access to music education for all learners in Wales'. This again highlights the inconsistency in the reports as to the state of music education at the time. Viewing access to music education as an 'ambition' indicates that it does not already exist, feeding into the above contradictions over the existing accessibility of music education we discussed above. However, 2018 is important as it remains a significant turning point in the discourse towards the benefits of wider musical genres in music education in Wales, which are later fully developed in 2022.

In 2022, we see a shift away from the 2015 focus on 'eFSM' associations with 'learners' and 'access*' towards a more comprehensive approach to access for all. For instance, in the NPME (Miles 2022 p.2), the Welsh Government commits to 'promoting equality by ensuring access for all learners to play, sing, take part, progress and create music'. We can view this statement as a continuation of the 2018 focus on the importance of access to diverse musical genres in learning, yet this time with a concrete commitment to providing such support. Miles

(2022) recognises that it is not only eFSM pupils that might have difficulty accessing funding, and that diversity of musical genres may also impact this. Yet, the concept is underdeveloped with no great level of detail provided (see Chapter 8 for an examination of how musical genres and other cultural factors impact on access to music education). It also signifies a replacement of the aforementioned 2015 localised approach to funding with a top-down strategy with dedicated funding, marking a shift in the priority that music education has taken in wider Welsh Government education policy in support of the new curriculum (Miles 2022).

Indeed, when we explore the collocate 'activities' and 'access*', the 2022 NPME revealed that 'access to activities and experiences that support their curriculum design will help support our children and young people to access opportunities to learn music in and outside schools and settings' (Miles 2022 p.4). This indicates that a wide range of musical experiences is desirable to support the wider curriculum. With musical activities playing a direct role in supporting the wider curriculum, it may be the case that they become mutually sustaining through linked funding, increasing access to music over the long term. However, it is too early in the implementation of the policy to have seen any tangible results.

In addition to curriculum support, the 2022 NPME is the first document in the corpus to view music education in the context of wider benefits for pupils, marking a significant change in the discourse surrounding music education. For example, the plan sees the role of music education as 'supporting development and well-being for children and young people of all ages' (Miles 2022 p.23), which indicates a recognition of the wider well-being and cognitive developmental benefits of music in wider literature, such as Hallam (2010). It also views music through the lens of 'developing the capacity to navigate life's opportunities and challenges', again supporting a wider recognition of the transferable skills which can be acquired through music, as well as 'improving mental health and well-being for all children and young people, particularly those with protected characteristics' (ibid p.23). Here, we see a perception of music as something that can have a direct impact on the health of pupils, marking a discursive shift to a wellbeing discourse compared to earlier documents in Corpus 1.

Lastly, the 2022 NPME states that the Welsh Government will:

> work with local authorities and a wide range of partners to ensure that opportunities to experience the joy of music-making, in and outside of school, are well signposted and integrated into the music service delivery. (Miles 2022 p.23)

The use of the phrase ‘experience the joy of music-making’ is an interesting one, marking a shift from previous documents which frame music education as providing extra-curricular experiences, and instead focusing on the enjoyment of music. This demonstrates a significant discursive change towards a holistic perspective on the benefits of music education. For the first time we see a focus on enabling ‘the capacity to navigate life’, supporting ‘development and well-being’, and ‘improving mental health’. It specifically recognises and promotes the wide range of additional benefits to making music, and places it as an integral support mechanism for the wider curriculum. This is a substantial change in attitude compared to previous documents, underpinned by a notably different discursive ethos towards music education.

Furthermore, the 2022 National Plan is also the only report which collocates ‘barriers’ with ‘access*’:

> From our engagement process, a number of key themes emerged as barriers to accessing music. These were cost of tuition, access to music provision, limited range and diversity of musical instruments and genres, lack of professional learning to support music, and more signposting and networking to opportunities and experiences in music. (Miles 2022 p.4)

That it is the only document to do so is interesting unto itself, suggesting that this is the only report to link the issues highlighted in earlier reports surrounding access with a tangible solution. It also considers ‘limited diversity of musical instruments and genres’ to be a barrier, again highlighting the shift in ethos away from providing ‘experiences’ in 2015, to a more rounded, holistic approach to diversifying music education, which in turn will help to enable access for pupils who value diverse musical genres. Of course, the nature of the report (Miles 2022) as a document to set out new policy may explain this divergence, compared to the previous documents in Corpus 1 which assess issues within a current system. However, Miles (2022) directly draws on these prior reports and their respective recommendations in order to formulate the new policy. Thus, the divergence of views can be viewed as a

deliberate shift in the discourse surrounding access to music education, and not merely a quirk of the document type.

The plan views a 'lack of professional learning to support music' for music service teaching practitioners as a key barrier to music education, which provides an interesting addendum to the issue of access, being collocated with 'quality' across several documents. For example, Williams (2017 p.6) states that 'WLGA and CAGAC will continue to work with all local authority Music Services to ensure that employed staff have access to high quality CPD and essential training.' The language is somewhat vague regarding the state of CPD and training at the time, with 'continue' implying that there is a framework for delivery, yet 'ensure' indicating that that this is not already in place. The Bird et al. 2020 (p.68) feasibility study reveals more detail, stating that through a 'quality framework', it recommends implementing 'national pay and conditions for tutors, including specified CPD' and:

> commissioning services, high standards could be specified in relation to quality control, terms and conditions for music tutors, DBS checks, minimum qualifications, and Education Workforce Council registration. This would implement coordinated Wales-wide services. (Bird et al. 2020 p.69)

This highlights the regional disparity and relative lack of coordination of the structure of music services and subsequently the teaching workforce across Wales. It also highlights that there are no standardised qualifications or training, or indeed pay and conditions for the teaching workforce, in Welsh music services. It may be that this lack of coherent national structure and teacher training limits access to music education for pupils, and it appears that little to no progress had been made between 2017 and 2020, further perpetuating these issues. This discourse around practitioner conditions can be defined as part of a professionalisation discourse surrounding music service practitioners, with policymakers seeking to improve standards. Based on the recommendations from Bird et al. (2020), the 2022 NPME commits to increase 'diversity and representation in music education workforce' and to review conditions:

> to address the workforce's needs and ensure that they are treated equitably and that their contribution to music education is recognised properly, the lead body will carry out a review of the terms and conditions for local authority-hosted music service tutors. The initial review will commence in autumn 2023 and is expected to complete by summer 2024. (Miles 2022 p.8)

There is an underlying issue surrounding access for pupils here. If teaching staff are not working in favourable employment conditions, then music services risk losing experienced staff to other sectors (see Chapter 7), limiting pupil's access to music teaching and intergenerational musical culture. Furthermore, if teaching staff are not properly trained, then musical diversity and quality of teaching may be limited, which has the potential to limit access to pupils based on more subtle musical cultural attitudes (see Chapter 8). While the review has been committed to, Miles (2022) provides no firm commitment to making changes to the teaching workforce's training and conditions, thus leaving the resolution of this potential access issue unresolved at the time of writing. Now that we have qualitatively examined the themes provided by the collocation analysis for 'access*', we can turn to consider the synonyms of 'access*'.

6.3. 'Access*' Synonym Analysis

When considering how access to music education in Wales is described within the corpus, we must also consider potential synonyms for 'access*' to gain a full picture of the language surrounding the issue. Following the word frequency test of Corpus 1 reported in Section 6.1., two major synonyms of 'access*' were identified that fit the context of accessing music education: 'opportunities' and 'available'.

Frequency Testing

As with 'access*', the '*' postfix is attached to these synonyms, making them 'opportunit*' and 'availab*'. This is to ensure all derivations of these synonyms were captured in the analysis. Therefore, I first conducted a frequency search of these synonyms, with the results shown in Table 7 below, ranked in order of most frequent to least frequent:

Table 8 – Corpus 1 'Opportunit*' and 'Availab*' Frequency Test Results

Word	**Frequency (*N*)**
Opportunities	208
Available	111
Opportunity	56
Availability	13

I examined the frequency of ‘opportunit*’ and ‘availab*’ across Corpus 1. Figure 3 shows their frequency of use in each document:

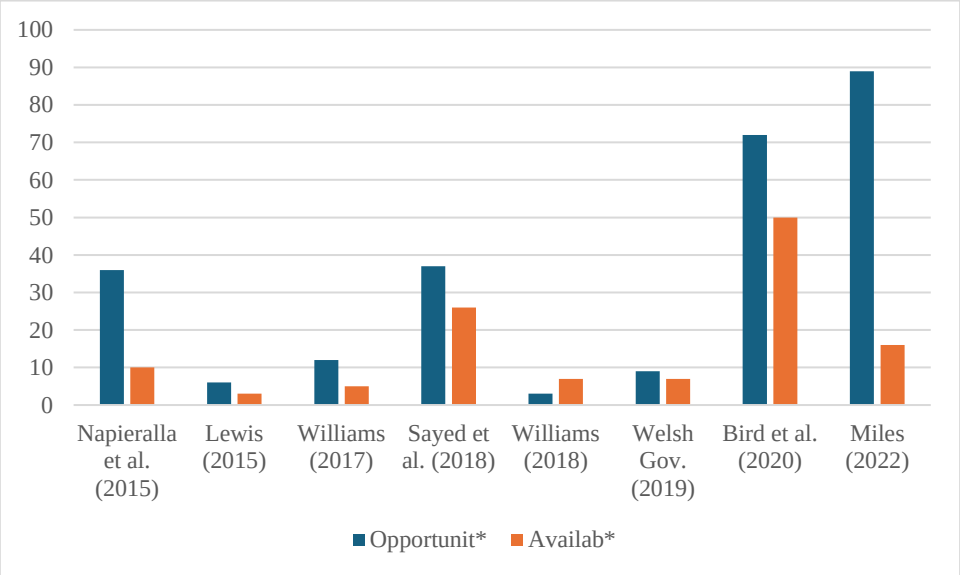

Figure 3 – Frequency of 'Opportunit*' and 'Availab*' in Corpus 1

From this figure, we can broadly observe that ‘opportunit*’ is mentioned noticeably more frequently in Bird et al. (2020) and Miles (2022), while ‘availab*’ is more frequent in Bird et al. (2020). ‘Opportunit*’ is follows a closely similar trend to the frequency test of ‘access*’ in Section 6.1., indicating that the discourse may have changed in 2020 and 2022. The considerable increase in ‘availab*’ frequency in 2020 may also indicate a change in discourse. However, at this point it was important to consider the normalised frequency of ‘opportunit*’ and ‘availab*’ within each document. The normalised frequency allows us to examine the frequency of a word relative to the proportion of the total word count of each document. This is useful in this instance due to the varying word counts between documents in Corpus 1 (see Table 1). The results are posted below in Figure 4 (measured by normalised frequency score):

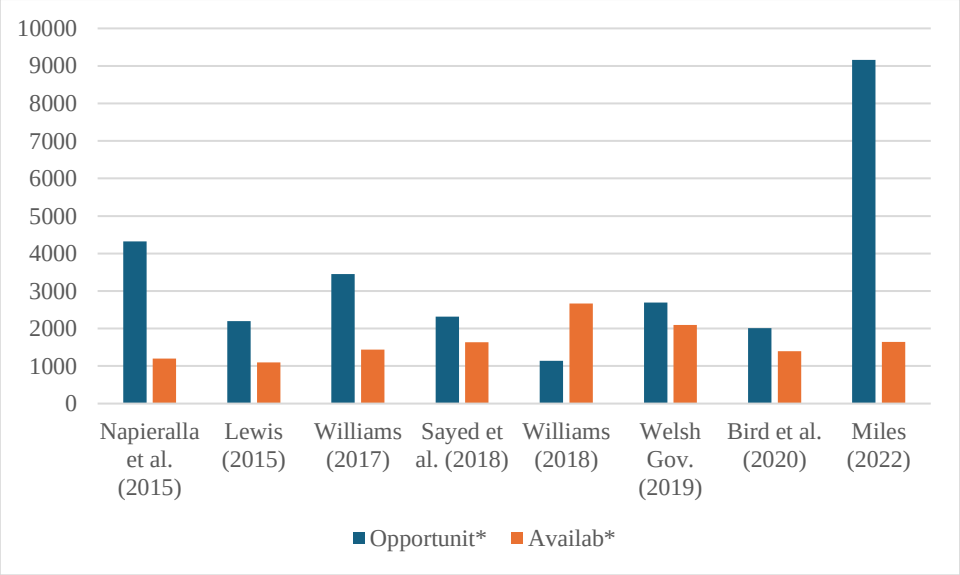

Figure 4 – Normalised Frequency of 'Opportunit*' and 'Availab*' in Corpus 1

The normalised frequency test reveals that ‘opportunit*’ is used more than twice as often in the National Plan for Music Education (Miles 2022) than the other documents in relation to their total word count. This reflects the similar trend in the normalised frequency test of ‘access*’ in Section 6.1., indicating that there is a significant change in discourse around music education at this time. As we have seen in the qualitative analysis in Section 6.2., this proved to be the case in the data, with a shift towards a more holistic perspective on the wider benefits of music education compared to other documents. The normalised frequency result for ‘opportunit*’ indicates that this trend is also evident in this ‘access*’ synonym, potentially triangulating this theory, which will be examined below. However, in comparison, the normalised frequency result for ‘availab*’ does not reveal any significant changes over time, suggesting that the trend revealed by ‘access*’ and ‘opportunit*’ is not universal.

Collocation Testing

To further explore these overarching trends, I conducted collocation tests for both ‘opportunit*’ and ‘availab*’ to identify key associations of other words with ‘access*’ to provide themes for a qualitative analysis. Firstly, I ran a collocation test for ‘opportunit*’. The collocation test provided 26 words that were most likely to collocate with ‘opportunit*’. I discounted linking words such as ‘to’, ‘the’, ‘and’, ‘for’ etc., and then conducted an initial sweep of the remaining words and discounted words that provided no relevant data to the subject matter of the chapter, such as those that were used as part of repeated phrases such as

titles or consistently duplicated ‘policy-speak’ phrases, or that were closely related to other collocates and thus inflated data. This resulted in a total of five collocates with rich data for analysis. These results are listed below in Table 8, ranked from most to least likely to collocate with ‘access*’ in the context of the original 26 words, with their likelihood score:

Table 9 – Corpus 1 ‘Opportunit*’ Collocation Test Results

Rank	Collocate	Likelihood Score
10	Realise	33.356
20	Professional	18.019
22	Pupils	17.525
24	Access	17.187
25	Providing	15.751

Secondly, I ran a collocation test for ‘availab*’, which produced 14 words that were most likely to collocate with ‘availab*’. Again, I discounted linking words and words that provided no relevant data to the subject matter. This left just one word with rich data for analysis (see Table 9 below), indicating that ‘availab*’ is generally used in a way that is unrelated to the accessibility of music education throughout Corpus 1, which may explain why there were no significant trends in the frequency test above.

Table 10 – Corpus 1 ‘Availab*’ Collocation Test Results

Rank	Collocate	Likelihood Score
2	Funding	71.472

As with ‘access*’, each of the collocations revealed by these two tests for ‘opportunit*’ and ‘availabl*’ act as themes to be explored in the qualitative analysis. To view the data, the concordance lines of each hit were examined. As before, instances of no practical use (linking words, repetitions, etc.) were discarded, and for each collocate which produces interesting data, I considered what it tells us about access to music education, and whether the discourse changes over time.

6.4. Thematic Analysis of 'Access*' Synonyms

The analysis of these synonyms reveals data that supports and expands upon several points previously identified in the analysis of 'access*'. While the usable data for the synonym 'availab*' was limited, the collocate 'funding' provides insight into the discourse surrounding funding. For instance, in 2019 the Welsh Government stated that:

> The Welsh Government announced additional grant funding of £1.4 million for local authorities to support music provision in 2018-19. Local authorities can use the funding as they see fit and in accordance with local needs to deliver any one, or a combination of options from a set of criteria. (Welsh Government 2019 p.5)

Here we see in 2019 the Welsh Government providing additional funding for local authorities to allocate 'as they see fit' to music service provision. From this we can observe that Welsh Government policy at this point is disjointed, with Sayed et al. in 2018 arguing the need for consistency in the approach to music services. For example, when examining 'opportunit*', the collocate 'pupils' reveals a desire to 'standardise and improve the music education opportunities for pupils and staff across Wales' (Sayed et al. 2018 p.21). Such self-determined funding decisions by local authorities hardly align with this view. While it could be argued that local authority autonomy may help to address particular local challenges, as we have seen in Chapter 4, such autonomy has resulted in a very disparate approach to music service delivery across Wales, leading to different access issues in different areas. Thus, disagreements in approach such as these may compound existing geographical issues of access for pupils, despite additional funding being allocated.

Furthermore, 'pupils' and 'opportunit*' reflect the trend in 'access*' demonstrating a desire amongst the documents for pupils to engage in a wider range of musical experiences as time progresses. In this instance, this discourse is not present before 2018, indicating a shift in priorities around music education. For example:

> The rock and pop sector provides a range of opportunities for those pupils who have not only gained the traditional skills and knowledge associated with music education but also wish to apply them creatively to other forms of music. In addition to these traditional skills we believe that pupils would benefit greatly from being taught a broader range of skills, outside of classical music, both because it is creatively enriching and because it may help them find employment and opportunities in the broader music industry. (Sayed et al. 2018 p.47)

Here we see a clear desire for music service pupils to engage with music beyond traditional 'classical music'. This is important as it may reduce the likelihood of culture clashes between pupils and music service practitioners, and in giving broader opportunities for pupils to pursue any given cultural capital that they enjoy, access issues will be reduced. We also start to see the beginnings of the more holistic view of music education later evident in Miles (2022), with Sayed et al. describing music as 'creatively enriching', and can teach 'a broader range of skills'. Though this is somewhat limited here and may link into the desire for pupils to find 'employment' in the 'broader music industry'. Thus, we see something of a vocationalist discourse, linking music education to the music industry. However, there is little substantive detail provided regarding how this may be achieved. It may be the case that the government view music education through a political lens, with the aim of being *seen* to address how the Welsh music industry is viewed by the electorate and internationally. The waters appear to be somewhat muddied here, especially with little additional detail provided.

That being said, as explained above, 2022 marks a significant shift in the discourse amongst the documents of Corpus 1, moving away from a vocationalist slant, and focusing more on the wider benefits of music, and towards a more liberal humanist perspective towards music education. For instance, when examining the collocate 'access' with 'opportunit*' Miles (2022) states that:

> Our vision is that, through access to music, children and young people will have access to opportunities to sing, play and take part in music with others, providing valuable opportunities for measured risk-taking, presenting emotions through music, developing resilience and building self-esteem. (Miles 2022 p.23)

This reflects what we observed in our analysis of the key word 'access*', and it focuses very strongly on the health and well-being benefits of music education. Viewing music through this lens may help music to be viewed more positively amongst schools, pupils, and parents, which may help to break down social and cultural barriers to accessing music education. As with 'access*', this marks a substantial change in the discourse, supporting my analysis above.

The analysis is further supported through the discussion around practitioner CPD for staff when examining the collocate 'professional' and 'opportunit*'. For instance, Sayed et al. (2018 p.23) states that 'the Welsh Government is currently reviewing the operation of professional learning opportunities.' This was not a priority within the discourse of earlier

Welsh Government documents, indicating a shift in priorities, recognising the need for CPD in an extra-curricular teaching environment. However, this is not expanded upon, despite there being the potential for this to affect access through a lack of awareness of cultural and social issues (see Chapter 8), and it is not discussed in this context, indicating that it is not viewed as a priority in the discourse. The issue of music service practitioner training remains however, and tracks into 2020, with Bird et al. (p.54) claiming that 'engagement with continuous professional development opportunities should be an entitlement for all teachers working in music education and not a luxury for some.' This demonstrates that CDP for music service practitioners remains disparate across Wales, despite the 2018 review by the Welsh Government. Combined with the disparate nature of provision outlined in Chapter 4, this may significantly affect access to music education due to inconsistencies in delivery potentially leading to musical and social biases and clashes of cultural capital emerging. Indeed, this is a worry for Miles (2022), with the document clearly stating the need for music service practitioner CPD:

> Through professional learning opportunities for the workforce, the lead body will work with partners to prevent bias, inequality, bullying, prejudice or stereotyping based on protected characteristics and support access for children and young people from low-income households. (Miles 2022 p.9)

This demonstrates that such concerns continue to be present in 2022, with the language being more explicit about the potential dangers and biases which may be faced by pupils from music service teaching practitioners themselves. This indicates that such issues are recognised to exist more widely within the music service system in Wales, yet Miles (2022) does not expand on these any further, again indicating that this is not a major consideration in policy discourse. Nevertheless, this certainly indicates a much broader analysis of the issues surrounding music education in 2022, compared to previous documents in Corpus 1, which are considerably more focused on socioeconomic deprivation as an issue of access. Thus, a more holistic approach to accessibility is being considered as time progresses.

That said, socioeconomic factors do play a role within this scope. Miles (2022 p.11) specifically states that it is pupils from 'low-income households'. Given that pupils from low-income households are also likely to face significant economic barriers to music education (see Chapter 4), the combination of economic factors, and the above-mentioned social and cultural barriers, has the potential to create a cocktail of substantial access issues to music education in Wales. It is encouraging to note that Miles (2022 p.19) continues to state that

‘making support and professional learning opportunities available to music services… will play a key role in ensuring a consistent quality of delivery’, indicating that there is an aim to address these social and cultural barriers to accessing music through increasing music service practitioner CPD. This is further supported by examining the collocate ‘providing’ and ‘opportunit*’, with Miles (2022) noting that the Welsh Government should be:

> providing platforms and opportunities for the achievements of children and young people from disadvantaged and under-represented groups, and more broadly Welsh culture and identity, to be celebrated at a national level. (Miles 2022 p.21)

Interestingly, the language here frames music education as a vehicle for promoting ‘Welsh culture and identity’. This again demonstrates a shift in the discourse that is not present earlier and is likely present to fulfil one of the National Plan’s new roles of supporting the wider curriculum. However, it presents a potential contradiction in that the document also wishes to promote a wide range of musical experiences, yet as above, there is insufficient detail provided in the document to gain a clear understanding of how this ethos is rationalised. It may be that there are wider political points to be scored in the discourse surrounding national identity being *seen* to promote the arts. However, the theme of targeting disadvantaged groups continues, demonstrating a consistent narrative towards this issue, and demonstrating an awareness that action must be taken here to enable access for these groups. While disadvantaged groups are discussed in earlier documents, Miles (2022) is the first to make this a firm policy priority, suggesting a shift in perception of the needs of disadvantaged groups in the context of music education. However, again this is not expanded upon in greater detail, and the impacts of disparate music service practitioner CPD remain underrepresented in the discourse. It could, and I argue *should*, be a much more significant part of the discourse and policy considerations surrounding access to music service education in Wales.

6.5. Analysis of Corpus 2 – Third Sector Documents

Having examined the themes provided by the collocations of ‘access*’ and the synonyms ‘opportunit*’ and ‘availab*’ in Corpus 1, we now turn to Corpus 2, which encompasses third party reports on music education in Wales between 2013 and 2022. In this section I replicate the same analyses for Corpus 2 as I conducted for Corpus 1, to provide a comparison of the discourse between Welsh Government and third-party views on access to music education.

6.5.1. Testing Corpus 2

Frequency Testing

Again, 'access' is the key word related to my research questions. As with Corpus 1, in order to ensure all derivations of 'access' were captured in the analysis, subsequent searches used the term 'access*', which includes the following derivations from the root of the word, as seen in the table below:

Table 11 – Corpus 2 'Access*' Frequency Test Results

Word	**Frequency (*N*)**
Access	107
Accessible	18
Accessed	13
Accessibility	3
Accessing	3

I examined the frequency of the use of 'access*' across Corpus 2, with the frequency of use in each document, illustrated in Figure 5.

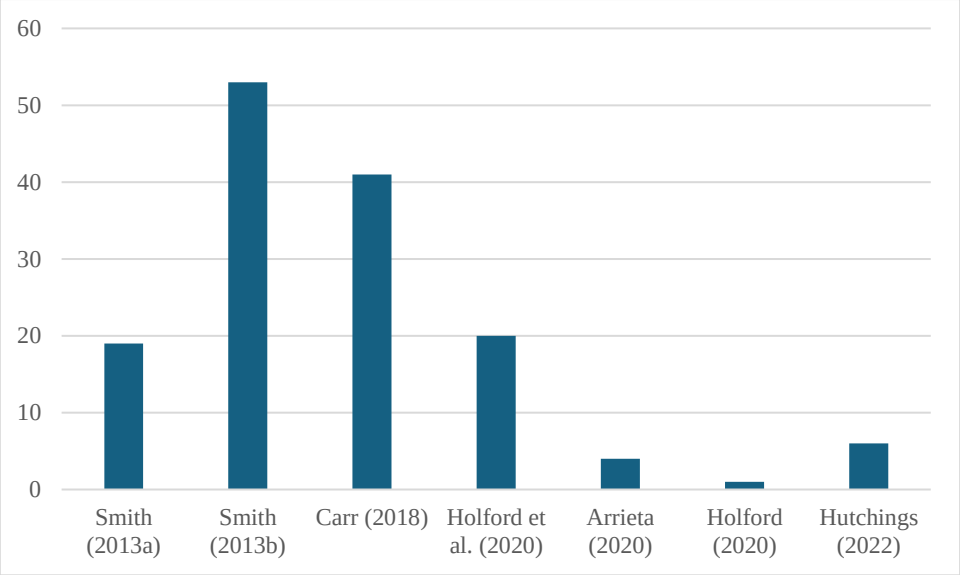

Figure 5 – Frequency of 'Access*' in Corpus 2

An initial examination of this figure suggests that ‘access*’ is discussed far more in the earlier documents than the more recent documents, which may in itself indicate a discursive change to be explored in the narrative, with a potential reduction of focus on ‘access*’ in the discourse over time. However, as with Corpus 1, it is important to consider the variable word counts of each document by assessing the normalised frequency of ‘access*’, presented in Figure 6.

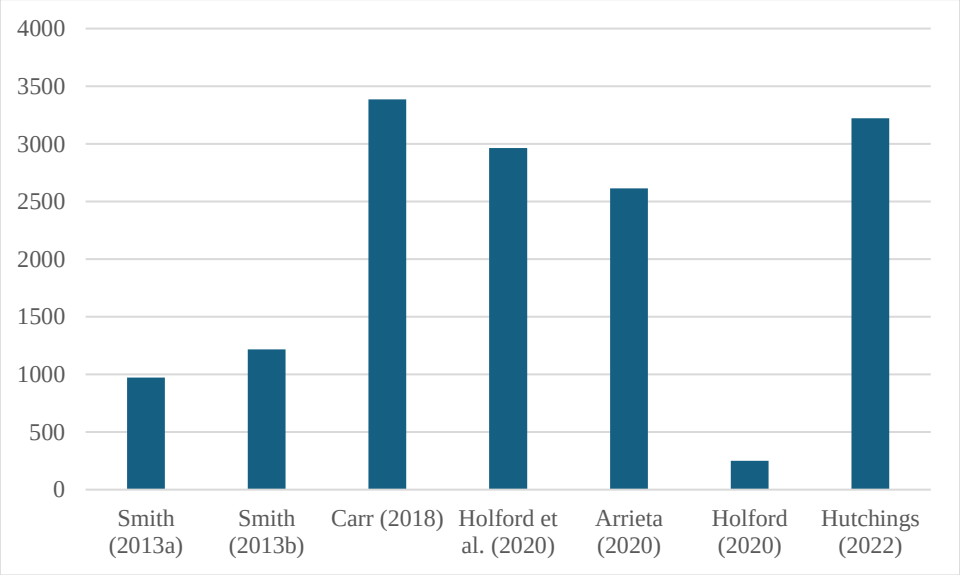

Figure 6 – Normalised Frequency of 'Access*' in Corpus 2

As we can see, this presents a somewhat different picture to the word frequency example, with this figure indicating that 'access*' is more frequently discussed in relation to the word counts from 2018 onward. This indicates that the topic of access is more of a focus in these more recent documents. However, there is not the considerable contrast in frequency observed in Corpus 1 (with Miles 2022), and it appears that 'access*' is considered more broadly across the time span of the documents.

Collocation Testing

In this section I run the same collocation analysis on the key word 'access*' for Corpus 2 as I did for Corpus 1. The purpose of this test is to ascertain how discourse surrounding 'access' and its derivations is used over time in third-party documents about music services in Wales. The collocation test provided eight words that were most likely to collocate with 'access*'. As with Corpus 1 (see Section 6.1.), I discounted linking and words that provided no relevant data. This resulted in a total of five collocates with rich data for analysis. These results are listed below in Table 11, ranked from most to least likely to collocate with 'access*' in the context of the original eight words, with their likelihood score.

Table 12 – Corpus 2 'Access*' Collocation Test Results

Rank	Collocate	Likelihood Score
3	Equality	29.913
4	Affordable	28.961
6	Issues	16.576
7	Digital	16.470
8	Replacing	15.742

Each of these collocations essentially act as themes to be explored in the qualitative analysis. To access the data, the concordance lines of each were examined. As in Section 6, it is from these concordance lines that I drew the qualitative data to be analysed. Analysing these documents raises difficulties in that they represent a range of views from individuals and organisations, meaning that there are a variety of differing agendas at play. For example, Smith (2013a, 2013b) and Carr (2018) represent reports on music service education from an academic viewpoint aimed at policymakers, while Holford et al. (2020), Arrieta (2020), Holford (2020), and Hutchings (2022) all represent research completed by the charity

Anthem. Anthem was set up in 2018 in response to Sayed et al.'s (2018) Welsh Government report. Anthem's aim is supporting youth music by 'funding work that will create change, making connections to widen partnership working, and enabling best practice to flourish' (2023). The charity reports provide analysis of their own activities, but also music service education as a whole. Consequently, there is less of a coherent longitudinal narrative to follow over the timespan of the documents. However, this variety of views also presents a useful gauge as to how music service education is viewed by third parties during the time frame.

A Note on Synonyms in Corpus 2

For Corpus 2 I also conducted tests on the same two synonyms of 'access*' as in Corpus 1, 'opportunit*' and 'availab*'. After removing linking and irrelevant words, 'opportunit*' produced very limited data, and the usable data was largely repetitive of the collocation test on 'access*'. Therefore, any useful data for 'opportunit*' in Corpus 2 has been incorporated into the 'access*' analysis, because the volume and quality of data does not warrant a standalone section. Similarly, a collocation test of 'availab*' produced no relevant data in this instance, and so does not appear in the analysis.

6.6. Thematic Analysis of Corpus 2

Texts in Corpus 2 were published from 2013, two years earlier than the first document of Corpus 1. 2013 marks the first time that the impact of LA music service funding reforms was discussed in a major third-sector publication in Wales. In Corpus 2, the key word most likely to be associated with 'access*' was 'equality', just as in Corpus 1. However, it is clear that in 2013, many of the same themes surrounding affordability and the emergence of elitism were evident. For example:

> Music services were generally felt to be in crisis, with some LAs already withdrawing their support and schools and music services unable to purchase instruments. School orchestras and standards of musicianship amongst students that do come through were declining, as a result of fewer resources and less time dedicated to music in schools. Some felt there was a need for a National Framework for music services and a stronger political will to achieve equality of access and avoid creating an elitist system of provision. (Smith 2013b p.35)

This quote portrays a clear decline in Welsh music service education at this point in time, with a reduction in funding from LAs, a reduction in resources, and a decline in standards of

musicianship amongst pupils. It explicitly states that access to music services is unequal and that a 'National Framework' would be required to address this; it took until 2018 to recommend a national approach in the Welsh Government documents, and until 2022 for the National Plan for Music Education to be introduced. This demonstrates that in 2013, there was no national vision for music services. There was a disparity in provision based on individual regions, with the report continuing to state that 'geographic and financial barriers were a key issue', in terms of pupils 'travelling extensively to receive tuition' and an increase in tuition fees leading to pupils being 'prevented from accessing the arts because of an inability to pay'. This reveals that the economic capital of parents and pupils plays a major role in access, not only in their ability to pay for the increasing lesson costs at this time, but also in their ability to travel for tuition, a further drain on economic capital.

It is from this 2013 report that the language of an 'elitist system of provision' stated above can be said to stem, wherein only pupils able to afford tuition are able to access it. The choice of language is interesting here, revealing a clear fear of elitism emerging, though it could also indicate a call to action, and may be deliberately provocative, and potentially exaggerated, to influence policymakers, particularly in the context of the author demanding 'stronger political will'. While the choice of language may raise questions surrounding the motivations of the document, as observed in Chapter 4, the literature revealed similar divides in access to music service education based on economic capital during this period. It is therefore likely that Smith's 2013 assessment is accurate, if somewhat politically charged. Interestingly, as observed in Corpus 1, the concept of 'elitism' was also used later by Sayed et al. in 2018, implying a continuation of this narrative, or at the very least, the continuation of its "fear factor" usage to attempt to enact change.

Smith (2013a) also identifies additional key points regarding access that emerge much later in Corpus 1. For instance, the report recognised the wider benefits of music education for pupils, stating that the arts 'provide the opportunity, and almost uniquely so, to allow all children to feel 'whole'' (Smith 2013a p.47). Here we see a recognition of the health and wellbeing benefits of music education, foregrounding the wellbeing discourse that does not become the focus in the Welsh Government narrative until 2022 in the National Plan for Music Education (Miles 2022). However, this is not the whole picture. The 2013 report continues to place a much more significant focus on music education as something of a tool to improve wider educationalist outcomes. For example, Smith (2013b p.61) states that 'the current, and necessary, focus on literacy and numeracy is narrowing the focus of our schools

and limiting opportunities for young people to engage in creative practice that can, in itself, help to raise standards'. Essentially, this implies that there is a contradiction in schools focusing on core subjects at the expense of music, when focusing on music could help improve the outcomes of core subjects. Interestingly, Smith implies creativity is solely the preserve of the arts, which are represented almost as an antidote to literacy and numeracy issues in wider education as part of a standards discourse. While this effect is recognised in the wider literature (e.g. Hallam 2010) it, somewhat ironically, limits the scope of the wider benefits of music to academic outcomes, when there are significant social, developmental, and health and well-being benefits to be had. Thus, the 2013 viewpoint can be perceived as a vocationalist framing of music to better wider potential in academic success and future careers in other sectors.

That said, there is also an element of music vocationalism at play in the 2013 discourse. When examining the 'access*' synonym 'opportunit*', it is stated that 'Wales needs to develop a stronger arts reputation and promote career opportunities to attract talent back' (Smith 2013b p.15). Thus, promoting arts careers is also present. However, this quote also hints at Wales having a poor international reputation in the arts community, and that there may be a "brain drain" in music service practitioners, hence the need to 'attract talent back'. This indicates that such concerns in the Welsh arts sector have been present since 2013, and as we shall observe later in Chapter 7, have not necessarily improved since. Yet, with its strong focus on using music to promote academic outcomes, it could be argued that Smith's 2013 report is simply aimed at what policymakers wished to hear, for instance, calling the focus on literacy and numeracy 'necessary' above, and is thus chosen to compel its target audience in an effort to help improve access to music. However, the focus is deliberately on its pseudo-vocationalism, which differs significantly from the NPME (Miles 2022) and utilises a far more holistic approach to the benefits of music education. It has a particular focus on health and wellbeing, aligning with the wider curriculum. Thus, we can see how the thinking surrounding the use of music and its associated benefits differs according to political philosophy over time.

Smith also recognises that the attitudes of music service teaching practitioners can have an impact on access. For example, when examining the collocate 'issues' it is stated that 'the issues surrounding accessibility include not only physical access but also training and preparation for tutors, for example, covering disability equality training' (Smith 2013b p.39). Here it is stated that training for peripatetic music service teaching practitioners is necessary

to provide equal access, also stating that 'if this is not considered from the outset, there is a real risk that disabled children will be excluded'(Smith 2013a p.39) from arts activities. Smith very carefully puts the onus on inclusion on the training of teachers, which is something that again, does not appear until 2022 (in any detail) in the Welsh Government documents of Corpus 1. However, while Smith recognises that the attitudes of teachers may affect the access of 'disabled' pupils, this view is somewhat limited, not encompassing the full range of potential effects on access, which may also include attitudes towards social class and musical cultural tastes (see Chapters 2 and 3).

Thus, we can see that in 2013, Smith identified several key themes affecting access to music education in Wales, albeit at times underdeveloped, significantly earlier than the Welsh Government reports in Corpus 1. This indicates that similar access issues for music education have been prevalent and persistent throughout the timeframe of the corpora, yet the political philosophy through which they are viewed has changed. Music has been framed as a topic in different ways, yet only in 2022 providing the National Plan first posited in 2013.

The relationship between 'equal' and 'access*' continues in 2018, with Carr echoing Smith's (2013) concerns regarding geography and deprivation:

> the rural nature of Wales, and the issues around deprivation in some areas, as well as providing access for children with learning difficulties or disabilities, to be important issues in relation to equal access. (Carr 2018 p.29)

Here, the issues surrounding providing consistent delivery of music service teaching in rural areas is again highlighted as a problem surrounding access, suggesting that this has remained a consistent issue in the five years between the documents, yet with no indication that action had been taken. As we discussed in the Corpus 1 analysis, Napieralla et al. had identified such issues in 2015, yet without significant progress being made in addressing the issue. We can thus say that Welsh Government and third-party reports are identifying some of the same issues with access similar issues between 2013 and 2018, but the language surrounding these issues differs. For example, when examining 'accessible' and 'access*', Carr reveals that an 'accessible and affordable instrumental service' was considered to be 'absolutely essential by all interviewees' (key music service sector stakeholders) and should be 'accessible for all young people in Wales, regardless of their geographic or financial position'. Here we can see that the discourse of access from key sector stakeholders is consistently framing access as 'essential' for pupils.

However, unlike the more nuanced analysis of the range of access issues from Smith (2013a; 2013b), the stakeholders interviewed by Carr (2018) view access solely through a financial lens, with a view that more funding is required to improve access. However, even then, there is a split in ethos between stakeholders. For example, 'some considered instrumental based tuition should be totally free' whereas others were in favour of a 'small charge…for those that could afford it' both to increase the 'sustainability' of music services, and to 'related to perceptions of "value"' (Carr 2018 p.38). The latter view indicates a belief that charging for lessons gives music education more tangible value in the eyes of parents. This belief may stem from a fear that extracurricular music is perceived as less valuable than compulsory subjects. Or indeed, it may speak to a desire amongst music service practitioners for music to have perceived social capital attached to its teaching. Charging for lessons helps parents to subliminally perceive more social capital in the activity. Charging acts as a way for parents to differentiate their child's learning experience from others, and for stakeholders to maintain a continuum of social capital attached to their expertise in the field of music. Thus, a certain irony is present in that a continued desire for the charging of music lessons may perpetuate a habitus in which economic, and therefore social capital, barriers remain in accessing music for parents with less economic capital, completing the fears of 'elitism' stated in both corpora.

The issues surrounding access stem far beyond simple funding, although funding continues to be the focus in the Corpus 2 reports. Unfortunately, Carr does not further expand upon or resolve this division, but the discourse is useful in painting a picture of disunity in the desired approach to music education in 2018 amongst in the sector, which is not revealed in the Welsh Government reports of Corpus 1. Predictably, Carr's proposed solution revolves around funding. When exploring 'replacing' as the collocate of 'access*', it was stated that:

> Wales needs capital investment…which would provide a newly modelled music service with the necessary sustainable finance to make instrumental based musical activities accessible for all, replacing reduced access to music, accusations of elitism and the 'post code lottery' maxim, with a clear statement for the nation, more closely aligned to one of its more famous USPs – 'The Land of Song'. (Carr, 2018 p.40)

Here, Carr sums up their argument in a similar way to that of Smith (2013a) in Corpus 2, and that of Sayed et al. (2018) and Bird et al. (2020) in Corpus 1. Carr calls for a new model of music delivery in Wales to solve access issues. This call indicates a similarity of attitude towards music service provision both in government and by third parties during this period.

Indeed, Carr also draws on similar fears, particularly that of emerging 'elitism', to act as a call to action for policymakers, alongside framing the issue within longstanding cliches of the 'post code lottery' and 'the land of song' for additional effect. However, unlike Smith (2013a), and documents such as Bird et al. (2020) and Miles (2022) in Corpus 1, Carr does not acknowledge the wider benefits of music and impact on access, or other potential access issues such as music service practitioner attitudes and CPD. Instead, Carr's argument is almost solely based on funding – and that this will solve the issue of access. This is a potentially limited viewpoint which may (inadvertently or not) have disregarded other nuances surrounding access as discussed above. Therefore, it is interesting to note that not all the discourse is unanimous between government and third parties, with differing priorities in the analysis and proposed solutions around the issue.

This certainly reflects the independent and differing nature of third parties when considering access to music education. This is particularly evident in the series of reports in Corpus 2 from the charity Anthem post 2020, which are comparatively limited in terms of discussion around access. While 'access*' is frequently linked to 'equality' in Smith (2013a) and Carr (2018), the concordance test revealed that 'equality' does not occur concurrently with 'access*' in any of the Anthem documents (Holford et al. 2020, Arrieta 2020, Holford 2020, Hutchings 2022). This indicates a different priority in analysis of music education in Wales, with the focus not being on equality, but rather that of affordability, with economic capital being a major focus of the documents. Here the key word 'affordable' is most likely to be associated with 'access*'. For instance:

> A recurring theme (among different ages and locations) was the need for affordable and accessible opportunities. Young people spoke about the costs of instruments, software, streaming platforms, travel and using recording studios and how financial barriers could reduce access to music. (Holford et al. 2020 p.3)

Here, access to music education is framed within the context of economic capital, particularly around the costs of physical equipment and activities, as noted as an issue in Chapter 4. However, Holford et al. expand on this by noting digital costs are also a factor. Indeed, the key word 'digital' is closely associated with 'access*' within the Anthem documents, with Holford et al. noting that 'young people living in poverty and those without digital access' were more likely to struggle with access to music education. This is not an association that is made in Smith (2013a), Carr (2018), or in Corpus 1, and is thus a potentially new point to

consider. While it is the case that the scope of the Anthem reports is wider than solely music service education, digital access plays a wider interconnected role in music education. For instance, being able to listen to online performances of music whilst working on that piece aids development. Access to music composition software enables one to experiment with instrumental composition skills that may link into the perceived accessibility of GCSE, A-Level, or high education progression routes for music service pupils. Yet, the available data from Holford et al. (2020) is limited in illustrating a wider picture and how it would link to music service education specifically. However, high rates of child poverty in Wales (e.g. Egan 2020; Beckett 2023) will only compound the issues surrounding digital access to musical learning, and potentially impact upon music service teaching through access to online learning materials, recordings, etc. This is a point that should be considered and developed in future analysis of access to music education in Wales.

It is important to note at this point that the discourse surrounding access at this point in time (post-2020) is strongly focused on economic capital as the main issue for accessing music education, with much less focus on more implicit access issues. An example of this is Holford et al. (2020 p.11) recommending that to make music 'more accessible and affordable' young people should have 'access to discounted instruments', thus perpetuating the focus on finance. However, there are hints within the discourse of attitude-based barriers to music. For example:

> it is vital to improve the music provisions in schools as we have found across the consultation sessions that schools have provided opportunities to many young people but to some young people they have presented barriers. For example, a few young people said that they were unable to learn the instrument they wanted to learn. Others said the way they learn wasn't taken into account e.g. some wanted to learn more music theory and others wanted to do more practical work. (Arrieta 2020 p.1)

Here it is suggested that some young people experience barriers to music education based on not being able to access the type of musical learning that they wish to pursue, both in terms of the type of musical instrument, and the type of musical discipline. Not having the opportunity to explore different instruments and disciplines may implicitly limit access to music education due to different forms of cultural capital clashing with negative results on access (as explored in Chapter 2). This demonstrates that there were barriers to accessing music education at this time for some pupils, and links to the ideas suggesting additional teacher CPD and training from Smith (2013a) and the proposals by Bird et al. (2020) and Miles

(2022) in Corpus 1. Thus, we can say that these more implicit issues surrounding access are being identified and do track over time (albeit in varying forms of discourse), with more focus being given to issues the more recent the publication date of the document. However, the examination of such implicit issues is very limited compared to that of funding and finance, which throughout both Corpora is the primary focus of the discourse surrounding equal access to music education. Therefore, these implicit issues may be being overlooked, and should be given more attention in future analysis.

6.7. Chapter Conclusion

Through the documentary analysis of two corpora of Welsh Government documents and third-party documents, I have found that the accessibility of music education is a major theme throughout both corpora, with a variety of discourses present which change significantly over time. The main focus for both the Welsh Government and third sector documents was that of the economic issues surrounding access, with a noticeable fear that music education will become elitist, or only available to those families with the economic capital to be able to afford to access services. There is also a focus on the maintenance of excellence in the teaching of music, which may perpetuate traditionalist views on teaching, which may be limiting to some pupils who do not share such cultural capital. The focus on the economic factors remains throughout the third-party discourse, yet the Welsh Government discourse changes significantly over time. A particular shift occurs after 2018, after which the impact of the types of music offered to students, and the impact of music service practitioner attitudes, are considered, but not as a major part of the access discourse. These issues are also evident in the later Anthem documents in Corpus 2, but to a lesser extent again. The final significant change in discourse takes place in 2022 in Corpus 1, with the National Plan for Music Education (Miles 2022) revealing a shift towards recognising the holistic benefits of music education, and away from traditionalist excellence and vocationalist narratives, proposing a more consistent national approach. This more open yet consistent approach may aid improving attitudes towards music education and aid accessibility. What is clear however is that the main focus of the documentary discourse is on economic impacts on the accessibility of music education. Social and cultural factors of access outlined in the reports are very limited, and often implicit rather than explicit. Thus, this chapter has revealed a limitation in the discussion of access within the Welsh Government and third sector discourse. Cultural

and social factors (particularly over types of music offered and the attitudes and CPD of music service teaching practitioners) are not adequately considered in comparison to economic factors, and may result in potential access issues for pupils remaining unaddressed in future policy decisions.

7. Music Service Provision and Economic Barriers

This chapter turns to examine the qualitative interview data from peripatetic music service teaching practitioners. As outlined in Chapter 5, I conducted interviews with N=24 teaching practitioners from ten different music services. Each participant is referred to by a coded identifier which is used to present the data. *Italicised* words indicate emphasis from the participant. I explore themes surrounding the changing nature of provision in the music service sector and reveal a range of economic barriers to access. I begin at the macro level in Section 7.1., exploring responses regarding the shifting patterns of Welsh music service funding. In Section 7.2. I examine socioeconomic factors in enabling and preventing access to music services, and the how pupil recruitment and retention is affected. In Section 7.3., I reveal how funding reforms have affected teaching practice, and investigate the impacts of funding reforms on the teaching profession itself in Section 7.4, and discuss how these factors can impact upon the accessibility of music service provision.

7.1. Music Service Funding and Fragmentation

In terms of music service funding, the experiences of the participants mirror the literature (e.g. Smith 2013a, Napierella et al. 2015, Carr 2018, Sayed et al. 2018) in painting a picture of extensive funding reductions in the years between 2010 and 2022, following the cessation of the ring-fenced Music Development Fund (MDF) between 1997 and 2005. Several participants recalled the advantages of the MDF period of time. For example, P17 states that:

> The fund made everything easier, the schools had to use the money from it to engage us to provide music teaching, so it meant every school had music lessons of some kind going on… mostly *free* lessons mind, all paid for by the fund. Halcyon days they were… proper equality in who could do music. (P17)

Here P17 highlights the equal opportunities afforded by the fund across Wales, hinting at the potential of a properly funded music service system. However, the MDF ceased in 2005, with 'local authorities now being responsible for funding their own services' (P14), rather than from a centralised system. This, as P02 states, 'left us at the whim of the council', meaning that LAs could choose whether to continue services. Following the transferal of responsibility for music services to their respective LAs and the gradual nationwide implementation of these funding reductions, the previously reasonably consistent music service began to fragment. P22 explains that:

> Without a central pot of funding keeping things together you started to see LAs start to make cuts and tweaks to what they offered schools, and you gradually started to see services drift apart in terms of quality. Those with good LAs kept a reasonable service going for a bit and kept subsidising lessons… before the austerity days anyway… others became, frankly, terrible, quite quickly. Quality control varied massively, in what was being taught, how *well* it was being taught, available instruments, what ensembles were available… I'll use the cliché phrase because it works, it became a postcode lottery. (P22)

Here, P22 highlights two key points which will be explored in greater detail in later sections. Firstly, the issue of funding in terms of lesson subsidies, which we will examine in the context of pupil's socioeconomic status and ability to afford music service provision. Secondly, the fragmentation of teaching practice and the teaching profession is noted. Here, P22's use of the metaphor of a 'postcode lottery' to describe such fragmentation of provision may have become a 'cliché', but it proves an apt one. The term is recognised and used to describe this phenomenon within the literature (e.g. Carr 2018) Various LAs across Wales offered distinctly disparate levels of music service provision. We shall explore the impact of these local government decisions regarding the funding of music services in the context of accessibility in the following sections.

P22 also hints at the funding reductions caused by 'austerity' measures from 2010, which in the words of P16 'utterly decimated' the Welsh music service system. Interestingly, multiple participants pin music services funding reductions on UK Government policy, or 'Tory cuts' (P10, P19), despite the funding being devolved and the responsibility of the Welsh Government. A number of participants showed animosity towards the Welsh Government and LAs for their roles in reducing music funding. For instance, P18 regards LA reductions as 'immoral', and P05 as 'destroying the musical heritage of their own country'. Either way, this study does not concern itself in any great detail over speculation of political interpretations of the participants regarding policy, rather the tangible results of policy decisions. As has already been highlighted in Section 4.2., multiple music services would see significant funding reductions as a consequence of LA funding reductions, with some 'completing ceasing to exist' (P08) as a result, while others would see massive reductions in pupil numbers following cuts to provision. P05 estimates that 'we had about 25,000 kids learning with us in 2008, by 2018 there were only about 7,000', implying that potentially tens of thousands of pupils ceased learning instruments as a result of funding reductions. We shall examine the impact of these cuts to the sector in greater detail in the following sections and chapters. First, we turn to explore factors surrounding access and socioeconomic status.

7.2. Socioeconomic Factors and Access to Music Services

In this section I will explore the affordability of music service education following the post-2010 funding reforms through an examination of costs for lessons and other activities revealed in the data. I will then explore the impact of these costs in terms of access through data surrounding pupil recruitment and retention, relating this to socioeconomic status.

7.2.1. The Affordability of Music Service Provision

The exact costs faced by parents for music service lessons and additional activities is difficult to establish. Due to the fragmentation of music service following individual LAs gaining autonomy over the sector, there appears to be a wide range of differing costs according to area. The literature (e.g. Carr 2018, CWLCC 2018, Holford 2020) has established that post-2010 there has been a widespread introduction of parental fees in music services throughout Wales. The data in this study confirms this. In this section, I will outline some of the costs that music services have introduced.

For instance, P07 and P20 note that while schools had the funding to subsidise lessons in the past, now parents have to pay '100% of the lesson fees'. P06 give an example of the increase in costs faced by parents:

> When we had the funding some people were paying about £20 or £40 a term, but most were free to be honest. Now the fees just keep climbing for everyone, and we've kind of reached the point where we reckon parents won't pay much more. Like, for a group lesson, a group of three that is, it'll cost the parents £65 a term. *Per kid* that is. If you want a one-on-one lesson that'll be £130 a term for 20 minutes a week, or £190 for 30 minutes. (P06)

Parents are faced with a considerable financial burden should they wish their children to engage in learning a musical instrument. This compounds an already expensive educational pursuit. P20 outlines further costs faced by parents:

> It's not just lessons but loads of other bits… buying or hiring an instrument, ensemble fees… they used to be free in our service, not any more… travel costs, and books and music of course, you could spend loads on that over a few years if you progress fast. (P20)

Here we start to see the depth of the hidden costs involved in starting music instrumental lessons. Some music services provide musical instruments, however others 'have very few

available' (P14), which can often be of 'poor quality' (P02), and thus parents may have little choice but to buy an instrument. P23 highlights this issue:

> We don't provide instruments *per se*, but we do have a collection that we've built up over the years, and it's in a state of chaos as you can see around you at the minute… a *small* number, I mean a dozen brass instruments, maybe 30 violins, a few guitars, a few woodwind instruments that we've built up over the years, and that we will loan to pupils if they ask, but it isn't a long term solution. (P23)

Not all music services are in a position to loan instruments to pupils, again highlighting the fragmentation in of the quality of music service provision. The costs of instruments can be a deciding factor in whether or not pupils pursue music. For instance, P18 notes that a 'decent' trumpet may cost '£400-£500' and comments that parents often 'baulk at the cost' and has 'had people quit' as a result, while P03 comments that larger beginner instruments may cost '£1000' or more. The cost of 'books' (P07) and other learning materials provide an added expense surrounding music service lessons. Furthermore, if a pupil wishes to take part in music services activities, P03 reports that the costs in their music service are:

> £50 for an ensemble course, each term they'll pay £32 for weekly music centre, and more again for any other activities. £10 or £20 for a book or piece of music here and there… that soon escalates, even for families that are more affluent, that could be anything from £400 a term, or more if there's lots of siblings all learning from the same family. It all used to be free too, it's been quite a shock for some parents. (P03)

Here, we have a clear outline of the potential costs involved for music service pupils in Wales, which according to P03's estimate may be around £1200 per pupil in a three-term school year. It should be noted that this is an estimate from one music service, rather than a representative figure encompassing all of Wales, and P09 notes that 'there are *massive* differences in costs, how much the council will cover… how much the parent pays… all across the country'. Reaching a set of representative costs is not possible with this dataset is not possible due to many participants being unaware of the breakdown of costs in their particular music service due to differing payment practices. For example, P03 will 'collect all the money' from the parents themselves, while in P12's music service, payment is 'all dealt with online through the office', with P12 having 'nothing to do with that side of things'. While we consequently may not take the above figure as representative, it does offer insight into the costs faced by parents in that particular music service, but also the potential cost for

families elsewhere in Wales. I shall now examine the impact of these costs in relation to socioeconomic factors and the recruitment and retention of pupils by music services.

7.2.2. Socioeconomic Factors in Recruitment and Retention of Pupils

A major consequence of these costs being placed on parents is that accessibility to music education has been severely reduced as many families are priced out of the system. This issue of affordability was a point raised by multiple participants:

> It's only been a few years but there's been a massive decline in students taking up lessons. "I just can't afford it" is a phrase you get used to hearing. You do demos, get loads of kids interested. They take letters home explaining it to their parents, but most… *all* parents sometimes, come back with "we can't really afford it." (P01)

Similarly, P07 highlights that cost is a major issue in recruiting pupils:

> It's *definitely* the cost what puts a lot of kids off having lessons. As a parent you have to already know about music I reckon, else it seems like an awful lot of cost to them with not much they're getting back. (P07)

A common theme develops amongst many participants that the cost of the lessons is too prohibitive for parents to afford, resulting in fewer students being able to access music education. In the data, participants notice this effect being felt strongly in areas of high socioeconomic deprivation. Multiple participants found it was particularly difficult to recruit new pupils in such areas, with P17 providing an example:

> If a family doesn't have the money, there's no way they're going to be able to get involved in music. For them, it's just not a necessary expense. I know in some areas there's families struggling to put food on the table, so they're not exactly going to shell out hundreds a term are they? (P17)

Thus, in P17's experience we have an example of parents turning down music lessons due to the difficulty of household expenses. This appears to be the case even in well-populated areas, with socioeconomic deprivation being the key factor. P13 notes:

> It was a massive school, probably 1200 pupils or something like that… loads of kids… but I only have a few pupils, the rest just can't afford it, it's the area they're in, there's just no money about (P13)

Even in cases in which pupils do get successfully recruited, retaining pupils in socioeconomically deprived areas is presented as a significant issue by multiple participants. P08 explains that:

> I always find when there's not much money in the area there's always a high turnover of kids learning… perhaps a month will go by and a letter will come in from the parent, inevitably stating that they can't afford another month. (P08)

Such accounts are echoed by others and highlight the difficulty of costs for pupils from such backgrounds. Such accounts are reflected in the literature, such as the 'real anxiety' felt by parents over lesson costs observed by Smith (2013a). There are also examples of the impact of LAs reducing funding in socioeconomically deprived areas on the number of pupils receiving music service tuition. P12 explains that:

> Back when the cuts first came in… 2013 or so I reckon… I left one school for the summer holidays with a good healthy roster, more than twenty kids. But it was a poor town see… when I came back in September and the fees had come in, none could afford to continue, *none!* It was heart-breaking, it really was. (P12)

Evidence such as this demonstrates the tangible impact in which LA funding reforms affected accessibility to music education in socioeconomically deprived areas. Indeed, some participants noted that they go out of their way to provide 'a bit of free extra lesson time' (P03) or 'photocopy them a load of music so they don't have to buy their own' (P10) to help mitigate these effects, often at the expense of the practitioner themselves. A couple even revealed that they had paid for some student's tuition out of their own pockets, with P21 stating that:

> We've helped a number of pupils out over the years… actually paid their tuition fees I mean. If you have some really talented kids in some desperate personal circumstances… well sometimes music is the only good thing they've got going for them, so me and my husband think it's worth it sometimes. You can't help everyone though, it's so hard. (P21)

Similarly, P19 recalls:

> There was one girl, mad keen… she's become a great musician… her family were unemployed, the mum had cancer, couldn't work, and then faced with a massive bill from the service, it was too much… I had this tearful phone call from the mum, and I couldn't bear it, so I bit the bullet and paid it myself. Was it worth it? Abso-fucking-lutely it was. She's doing music at uni now, could teach me a thing or two. (P19)

While such stories may be moving to read, they do go some way to illustrate the extreme circumstances which are faced by some music service practitioners in trying to provide music education due to LA funding reductions. For such pupils, access to musical instrument education would clearly not be financially viable without such individual acts of kindness, further highlighting the lack of financial support from LA music services for those greatest in need of financial support for lessons. From the practitioner's perspective, such actions reveal a strong, intrinsic self-motivation for enabling pupils to succeed within a financially challenging system, with at least an element of teachers strongly invested in the success of their pupils, even to the point of personal financial loss. Yet, as P19 goes on to note 'it shouldn't be for us peris [peripatetic teachers] to have to pay though, but the system is stacked against these kids'. This reveals a belief, echoed by other participants, that there is an inherent 'unfairness' (P04) within the current music service system, which appears to offer 'little financial relief' (P20) for those pupils from socioeconomic backgrounds most in need of support. Thus, without some form of subsidisation, many pupils in the socioeconomically deprived areas Wales are unable to engage with music education other than through statutory curriculum music in the classroom. Indeed, some practitioners recognise such divides as social justice issues with inherent cultural implications, with P24 commenting that:

> It's getting to the point where only a certain class of person can do music, you have to be rich enough to afford it, so the next generation of musicians aren't going to come from working class backgrounds, you're going to see a big class divide in music in the next 10 years, and it's very worrying… not *only* do you get the poor kids not being able to *do* music, but you start to see people thinking that working class kids *can't* do music, because, they're *not doing it*, d'you see what I mean? (P24)

Here, a range wider cultural and class division issues as a consequence of LA funding reductions for music services have been highlighted by P24. It is implied not only that such funding reductions will have an impact on the accessibility of music to those from socioeconomically deprived backgrounds, but that there may be a cultural impact in such pupils being perceived as unwilling or unable to take part in music because of the issues highlighted above. These themes surrounding cultural attitudes towards music are expanded upon by a wide range of participants and warrant a detailed examination, which will take place in the following chapter.

Now that we have detailed the impact of socioeconomic factors in pupils being unable to access music education, I will provide a comparison by examining the other side of the coin,

that of practitioner's experiences of affordability in more affluent areas of Wales. The data from the participants offers a stark contrast in the affordability issues being faced by low-income families in areas of high socioeconomic deprivation, and families in more affluent areas of low socio-economic deprivation. Indeed, it appears that such pupils have been minimally affected by music service funding reductions. P05 comments that:

> it's very easy to pick up pupils' in the better-off areas… the schools in those areas are the majority of my teaching load, with just a couple of schools in worse-off places. It's quite striking the difference really, and most of my colleagues are the same. When you send the kids home with a letter saying "it's this much for a term of lessons", the parents just shrug and go "sure, no problem"… I mean, what's a few hundred quid a term for some people? (P05)

Here P05 outlines a common experience amongst the vast majority of participants (apart from those that work exclusively in socioeconomically deprived areas), that pupils are more numerous in more affluent areas as despite costs being widely introduced, parents are able to 'absorb' (P17) the cost due to their greater economic capital, compared to their less-affluent peers. It is not only the ability to pay for the lessons themselves that is significant, but the ability to afford the associated costs of learning to play a musical instrument, as P11 explains:

> it's the children in the posh schools… well, the *wealthier* schools… well you don't like to assume, but you just know if it's a posh area, better houses, cars, kids look smart, polite, that sort of thing… it's the parents in those schools that are perfectly happy to buy a new instrument for their child when they're starting off. I mean… that's a *big* investment sometimes, especially when you don't even know if your kid is even going to *keep playing* in the long run… the depreciation alone means you lose hundreds, or more, buying new… it's clearly just not an issue for them (P11)

Here we have a common example of affordability from the participants, in which parents with more economic capital are better able to support their children through buying musical instruments for them, even at a potential financial loss if the child does not continue lessons. P03 continues this theme:

> It's not just instruments, the real costs go deeper than that. In these sorts of schools, parents are perfectly happy to buy any book piece of music that is required, seemingly at will. But there are other costs too, things like our music centres on a Saturday and county ensemble courses, if you go to these on the regular then it can be very pricey indeed. It's often the kids from schools in the wealthier parts of the catchment that turn up to these, more than the others, anyway. It then of course really helps their development, and they're the ones more likely to keep going long term. (P03)

P03 highlights that pupils with access to more economic capital are far more likely to be able to deal with the additional costs of learning a musical instrument, are thus more likely to develop more quickly and efficiently, and are more likely to continue learning compared to their less affluent contemporaries. As such, we can see that the introduction of fees has exacerbated the societal divide in access between those from affluent backgrounds and those from deprived backgrounds. We shall examine the cultural factors and implications surrounding this divide in the following analysis chapter. First however, we will examine the impact of LA music service funding reforms on teaching practice, the teaching profession, and consider how access is further affected.

7.3. Teaching Practice

In this section I examine the impact of LA music service funding reforms on teaching practice within music services, revealing a shift towards a 'quantity over quality' approach since funding reductions. I consider how this paradigm shift in practice affects accessibility, and how it combines with previous themes of fragmentation and socioeconomic status within music services.

7.3.2. Teaching Practice under the Music Development Fund

In one form or another, every participant in the study recognised that since the funding reforms from 2010, there has been a noticeable shift in how musical instrument lessons are structured and delivered, compared to when the MDF was in operation between 1997 and 2005 (Carr 2018). P09 discusses teaching practice under the MDF:

> The typical setup was that when a kid signed up for lessons, we'd provide them with an instrument from the service's stock, and they'd get a half-hour lesson, one-on-one, every week when we visit the school, perhaps longer once they reach the higher grades and need more time. Then they had the option to attend a free weekend music centre… Depending on where they lived, depends on which music centre. We had five at that time, each with hundreds of kids every weekend… That would give them the chance to learn how to play in an ensemble. When they got good enough they would be invited to play for a county ensemble, which was again, free to attend. It was such a good system, we produced *loads* of real quality players (P09)

P09's testimony provides a snapshot of how a well-funded music service would operate, providing the 'vital one-on-one time' (P14) required to encourage successful development of

learning a musical instrument, while providing free access to separately run ensembles to encourage group learning. Meanwhile providing 'a great atmosphere and mixing of peer groups' (P17) which additionally aides in social development (Hallam 2010). One might ask how representative P09's description of music service provision was compared to the rest of Wales, being based in one of the largest Southeast Wales music services at the time. P04 offers an explanation:

> The beauty of the Music Development Fund was that it provided ring-fenced funding… meaning schools could *only* use it to buy in music from us, and other services. So… even in smaller services like ours… you know, fairly rural… we were able to offer similar stuff to the big boys, real quality teaching. You'd still get your free lessons, and we'd even run ensembles, just not as many… but then with fewer people living in deepest darkest [rural county] that's to be expected. We would pool resources and kids with other counties to form large ensembles, and we got them playing *really* good. (P04)

As we can observe, the ring-fenced nature of the funding provided by the MDF allowed for even smaller music services to provide free lessons and activities for pupils under their remit. While P04 notes that they could not offer the same extent of services to that of the larger music services, they were still able to offer additional activities, and would combine with other smaller services to provide an equivalent standard of county level ensemble delivery. From this, and similar accounts from P10, P11, and P19, we can infer that while the extent of the additional activities offered by music services across the country may differ, the core offering of free or heavily subsidised individual lessons was a core part of music service provision at the time of the MDF. We can also recognise that practitioners view one-on-one lesson time as 'essential' (P06) and 'vital' (P14) to successfully progressing in learning a musical, which is an important factor of the MDF funding model. However, the cessation of the MDF in 2005 and the introduction of LA autonomy over music service funding was to cause a paradigm shift in teaching practice, which we shall explore in the following section.

7.3.3. Quality verses Quantity: A Paradigm Shift

The introduction of music service funding reforms in the years following 2010 resulted in a significant decrease in funding available to music services and a widespread introduction of parental fees for services (e.g. Sayed et al 2018; Bird et al. 2020). The impact of this change in terms of teaching practice is unveiled in the form of a paradigm shift away from the 'quality' (P04) of individual tuition towards a 'quantity' (P14) approach focus on group

teaching. This was a shift that was noted, in one form or another, by every participant in the study. For instance, P07 notes that:

> The move happened really quick… once the funding went we were told that they couldn't afford to support individual lessons any more unless the child's parents would pay for it direct. The little funding that was going into subsidised lessons focused entirely on small group teaching… so we now do lessons with new starters in groups of three at a time, or more if you're unlucky (P07)

Here P07 highlights the rapid shift to group teaching when funding was reduced in their particular music service. There is also a link here to the aforementioned theme of socioeconomic status, with the highest quality teaching (i.e. individual tuition) only being available to those who can afford it, while those who cannot have to undergo group lessons. Thus, this shift in teaching practice further compounds access and retention issues based on socioeconomic status. There are also multiple instances of a shift to group teaching in the data, occurring in other music services across Wales, with practitioners sometimes faced with 'groups of seven'. The practitioners reveal that groups are often taught in mixed-instrument groups, combined with a reduction in allocated teaching time. Consequently, there are concerns among music service practitioners that they are unable to deliver high-quality teaching in the circumstances they are presented. For example, P01 states:

> You get so many groups nowadays… it's cheaper. But the time you get is *so short,* often just *15* minutes. If you think that's bad, you often get lots of mixed instruments in these groups… I was teaching a group yesterday, French horn, a cornet, and a trombone, all in different keys, clefs, pitches, you name it. It was ridiculous, you can't get anything *meaningful* done in 15 minutes. By the time the instruments are out of the cases, it's time to go again. (P01)

In another music service, P12 reveals they are also expected to teach mixed-standard groups, further compounding the quality of teaching for pupils:

> When you have five [pupils] in a 30-minute slot together, all at various stages of learning, it gets very hard to manage. I had one who was doing Grade 3, another on Grade 2, all lumped in together with three new starters. They can't progress, there's just not the time. (P12)

As we can observe, group lessons have become increasingly prevalent, while the lesson duration received by each pupil within each group is subsequently decreased, being as short as 10 minutes in some cases. The result is a "quantity over quality" approach as music services attempt to deliver lessons to as many pupils as possible with the available budgets.

Yet, such large group lessons with short durations results in a notable drop in the quality of tuition being delivered. As noted above, group lessons are generally difficult for the teacher to manage, especially when the pupils are of varying standards, ages, and play different instruments in different pitches and keys; an experience that is reflected in my time as a music service teacher. As such, the study participants were largely critical of group lessons. P01 notes that 'you don't get the results' over time from pupils in groups compared to individual pupils, while P19 states that:

> If it gets to the point they're not progressing, and they're only seeing a peri for 10 minutes a week as part of a group, no [teacher] is going to have the time to focus on them. And guess what? They never improve, they get frustrated, we [the teachers] get frustrated because we don't have the time, and they lose their enthusiasm. You don't get the chance to build a personal relationship with them in groups, so they don't develop the motivation to learn and improve over time. (P19)

According to the data, the practical and personal relationships fostered between pupils and teachers appear crucial in the success of a pupil's learning an instrument over time. It is, however, much more difficult to form such working relationships in group lessons. The accumulative effect of group lessons and decreased lesson times plays a part in decreasing the overall quality of music service provision. If pupils are unable to progress because of this format of provision, then they are more likely to become disillusioned with learning music and stop lessons. Thus, funding reforms can directly impact on access. Indeed, there is a duality at play here, with pupils from deprived backgrounds who struggle to afford tuition receiving lower quality tuition as a result, while more affluent pupils are able to reap the benefits of the high-quality individual lessons that they are able to afford. There is a clear distinction in the quality of tuition that can be accessed based on the economic circumstances of pupils.

According to the data, this effect is further compounded by a trend of headteachers paying for music services to provide whole-class music tuition, rather than sponsoring individual music lessons. P15 explains that:

> After all the austerity measures, the heads have become eager to buy in whole-class teaching, to get their bang for their buck… you know, get the most kids involved as possible. It's all well and good, but once the whole-class term project is over, we rarely get anyone continue. It's either too expensive, or they just didn't learn enough in the project to make them *really* interested in it… I mean, how can you do any proper teaching when you have a group of 30 kids all making a racket on 30 violins… it's chaos! (P15)

Here P15 posits that an environment amongst headteachers has developed where spending must be justified, and thus whole-class music tuition appears an option that will benefit the most pupils. However, P15 and other participants argue that the whole-class projects have 'little tangible benefit' (P08) in the long term. P23 notes that this shift towards group and whole-class tuition in music services, first introduced as an 'economic necessity' for music services has now become 'cemented in' to national policy under the National Plan for Music Education (MPME) in Wales (Welsh Government 2022). P23 argues that the focus on group learning in the NPME 'will never be any more than a nice project without a route of progression beyond the initial point of contact'; the funding for the NPME will 'only ever be able to fund some first experiences'. Indeed, with the NPME not offering any meaningful route of progression past initial group experiences, the Welsh music service sector essentially finds itself in a position in which there is little chance of progressing on a musical instrument to a high standard without the economic capital to fund individual lessons, further compounding socioeconomic divides in access to music. Even with the changes promised by the NPME, if pupils from deprived economic backgrounds are unable to afford the fees required to progress, then music education will inevitably be limited to those from wealthier backgrounds. While group teaching presents significant access issues, we must also consider how funding reforms have impacted the teaching profession itself, and what implications this may have for the accessibility of music tuition. This will be the focus of the following section.

7.4. The Teaching Profession

In this section, we will examine the issues surrounding the profession of peripatetic teaching practitioners within the Welsh music service sector, addressing issues of precarity surrounding the profession, and how this links to access issues for pupils. The peripatetic teaching practitioner workforce travel between different primary and secondary schools delivering musical instrument or singing lessons both individually and in small groups.

Practitioners will typically have a speciality based in an instrumental group, such as brass, woodwind, strings, percussion, voice, keyboard, etc. Any given practitioner will usually teach multiple types of instruments within their respective speciality group.

7.4.1. Motivation

Most participants expressed an enjoyment of teaching music as a motivation for entering the sector. 'It's a vocation' noted P12, 'it's a job you do for the love of it, for the love of *music,* for the love of passing on your knowledge to the next lot of players. It's a *great* job.' This passion for passing on musical knowledge may manifest in extreme commitment to the pupils involved, such as in the examples in Section 1.2. of P19 and P21 paying for talented pupils' lessons to enable them to continue. Similarly, P05 notes that they 'just love to teach' and P08 that 'it's just so rewarding to see the delight in children's faces when making music, I couldn't see myself doing anything else'. Some participants cited that they experienced high-quality teaching as children in music services themselves and were inspired to pursue the profession. For example, P13 explains that 'everything was free growing up, lessons, ensembles… it created such a great atmosphere, there were loads of us learning and I still have great friends from then. I knew I wanted to be involved somehow when I grew up.' Others see it as a 'responsibility' (P11, P18). P18 explains that 'with all the cuts and that stripping music teaching in the last decade, and the drop in kids doing GCSE and especially A-Level music… it's more important now than ever to keep going, no matter how difficult it is'. The difficulties implied by P18 surrounding the profession will be examined later in this section.

Many practitioners who consider the profession a 'vocation' or 'responsibility' were from socioeconomic backgrounds that historically benefited from funded music service tuition in Wales. For example, P06 states that:

> You know, I came up through the same music service that I teach in now, back in the early 2000s. There's no way my folks could have paid for all the stuff I did… I was constantly busy, be it a lesson in school, theory club, school ensembles, music centre on weekends, county ensembles, playing at a national level… it was a hugely formative experience, made me who I am now, and I want this generation to experience the same… not that they are at the moment. (P06)

This testimony highlights the historic success of music service policy in enabling pupils from socioeconomically deprived backgrounds to experience and learn music, as well as the range of activities offered during the time of MDF funding for Welsh music services. It goes some way to explaining the sincere passion for the sector clearly demonstrated in many of the practitioners' accounts, and the desire to replicate their experiences for future generations speaks to a nostalgia which drives their motivation.

That being said, some practitioners are more pragmatic about their motivations for taking up a teaching career in music services. For instance, they note limited career options resulting from a music university degree, positing that there were few other viable career choices. For example, P02 notes that 'I was probably never going to make it as a professional player so I got a job teaching at [a music service]'. P04 is more explicit: 'Well it's kinda the only thing to really do. I mean, I do a bit of freelance orchestral and big band gigging, but full-time pro jobs are few and far between… so yeah, it was the only practical thing going if I wanted to stay in music really. There's not a lot of choice for graduates to be fair'. Similarly, P15 'fell into' the profession,

> I'd just finished uni, didn't have a fucking clue what I wanted to do with my life, music degrees don't exactly set you up for the real world. A few months later I was doing the odd gig here and there, really struggling to pay the bills. But, I heard a friend of mind was doing ok with [a music service] so just tried my luck. Just so happened they needed a guitar teacher and been here ever since. I thought I'd hate it, but y'know, working with kids turns out to be funny as fuck! It's great fun, no two days the same! (P15)

While it appears that for some teachers, music service teaching has become a de facto career rather than an actively motivated career choice, all participants appear to be motivated to deliver high quality tuition to pupils. However, as we shall examine, systemic issues limit teachers' ability to deliver effective tuition. As we have examined in previous sections, funding cuts have limited contact time and provision within music services. However, in the following section, we will explore how funding cuts have directly impacted the employment status and sustainability of peripatetic teaching practitioners in the music service sector.

7.4.2. Employment Status

All but one of the practitioners in the sample were self-employed teachers being engaged by music services to deliver tuition. As P09 explains ‘we’re essentially on zero-hours contracts. We are allocated work by the [music] service on an ad-hoc basis, and paid a set rate by the hour.’ Whilst this is the norm now, the data reveals that this has not always been the case, and instead is a result of LA funding reforms over the past decade. P05 describes this transition:

> When the original music national plan kicked in in the early 2000s, a large portion of peris were contracted by the councils to work for the music services. Most were paid holiday pay, sick leave, you know, the general things like that you just associate with a job. Some opted to go the self-employed route, as the flexibility of that way of doing things suits some people’s lifestyles. Either way, the choice was there, and it really gave us some security. From about… 2010 onward and all those cuts came in all over the country, there have been less and less contracted peris. Every teacher I know now, bar maybe one or two lucky ones, are all self-employed. The contracted peri is all but gone’ (P05)

Similarly, P03 explains that currently ‘every job that comes up is a zero hours job’, whereas secure contracts used to be ‘prevalent’ (P09) in the past. P15 explained that their music service reduced ‘a full time team of over 50 people’ to ‘a team of 10 full time people’. Here P15 is referring to mandatory redundancy periods instigated by the LA for contracted staff, who would then switch to self-employed contracts. In another music service, P08 reveals that contracted staff numbers have decreased from ‘115’ to ‘seven or eight’. The data indicates that such transitions away from contracted work to zero-hour self-employment has become widespread over the past decade as a direct result of LA funding ‘cuts’ (P01, P05, P09, P12, P15). Thus, music services have effectively become agencies facilitating teaching work (Bird et al. 2020), rather than full time employers. The model of employment has shifted. The precarious nature of the profession following this transition has had a number of impacts on music service peripatetic teaching practitioners, which will be explored in the following section.

7.4.3. Precarity

A key consequence of the shift to self-employment compared to contracted working is that the profession has become precarious, and in some cases unsustainable, for music service

teaching practitioners. Without contracted hours for all but a few, job security is limited to a termly basis, dependant on the number of pupils who sign up for lessons, as P19 illustrates:

> If you're self-employed you're not guaranteed steady work, and it can change, sometimes by term, sometimes by year. If you need a steady wage or have big financial commitments, like kids of your own say, or a mortgage, being a self-employed peri is not a good idea. (P19)

The data also reveals that some LAs have reduced teachers' pay, with one example moving from a 'five tier wage system' (P15) that offered a progression system and rewarded qualifications to a much-reduced minimum base level. The LA justified this move by downgrading the required qualification to a mere Grade 6 instrumental exam, a standard not uncommon among older school pupils. Similarly, P07 explains that:

> we shifted from being fully employed staff, to being made redundant, to being made self-employed… Don't ever make the mistake of thinking that local authorities *care* about peri teachers, just about balancing their budgets. Yes, the hourly pay might have been the same, but think about how much money we lost in holiday pay, sick pay, and all that… it now comes out of our own pockets. Is that what we wanted? It's a hard *no* from me. (P07)

The loss of 'holiday' and 'sick pay' from a shift towards a self-employment model of teaching is echoed as a significant factor in a number accounts (e.g. P01, P05) with participants worrying about the job becoming 'unsustainable' (P09, P14, P15) due to financial difficulties caused by a lack of guaranteed work. P09 also notes that 'we lost our pension fund too', further impacting on the long-term unsustainability of the job. P15 explains that 'some of us have to find extra jobs to make ends meet, especially in the school holidays… I worked three jobs over the summer one year, but you've got to pay the rent somehow.' P20 states that 'most peris I know teach privately into the evenings and on weekends, it should be fun but it's more like I have to, it gets exhausting sometimes. I haven't had a holiday in five years, not since the cuts rolled out', indicating that LA funding reforms have significantly impacted some music service teaching practitioners' financial situation.

A consequence of the precarity faced by music service teaching practitioners has resulted in a number choosing to leave the profession. For instance, P01 explains that:

> I was losing so many more students who I had been teaching for two or three years because they just couldn't afford lessons. It's one of the reasons I chose to leave peri teaching and go and do my PGCE. It'd been on my list of things to

> do for a while, and it came to a point that I couldn't survive financially, I wasn't secure at all, I had to get out. (P01)

Here we see that due to the rise in costs of lessons for parents, there was a significant drop in pupil numbers. Due to being on a zero-hours contract, P01's work was becoming unreliable to the point where it affected their financial viability, and thus left the profession for the more secure work of formal school-based classroom teaching. P10 tells a similar story:

> I was working as a peripatetic music teacher and due to budget cuts my wages were cut and my hours were cut. So, I went from four and a half days a week of work, here, there, and everywhere, because of the cuts, it went down to two and half. And in reality, I thought I was never going to leave my mum's place if I don't ever find something that was full time. (P10)

In this case, it was the music service itself that opted to reduce P10's teaching hours due to funding reductions, and again, P10 felt that they were unable to support themselves financially in such an arrangement. P15 provides an example of one such teacher who has recently left the profession due to job insecurity and dissatisfaction:

> My hours kept getting lowered as time went on. The fact was the schools didn't have the funding to support my work. Your job satisfaction dips as you don't have the hours to focus on the pupils, and that's the core of what being a music teacher is. I weighed up my options and realised I'd never be able to earn a living wage the way things were going. (P15)

Some music service teaching practitioners have directly lost all employment because of funding cuts. In one county for instance the 'council voted to abolish the music service… back in 2018… and just like that… *Pow!* No job!' (P21). In this example, all teaching practitioners at the service were made redundant in 2018 when the service ceased to exist. There has since been a co-operative set up in this region to deliver music instrumental teaching in lieu of the LA music service, but 'it's a fraction of what it was before, it'll take a while to get there… so I'm part time teaching piano, part time on the tills in Tesco's… not *exactly* what I had in mind!' Having to acquire an alternative part time job outside of the sector to remain financially secure is a theme that appears several times in the data. It reveals the intense precarity faced by some in the sector. In Section 1.1., it was posited that pupils face a 'postcode lottery' in terms of provision, and it can also be argued that this is the case for some practitioners in terms of the allocation of work within music services. P14 explains that:

> the schools or area you get allocated to teach in by the service can make or break you. If you get lucky and get a nice wealthy area with a set of schools with established music departments, you're quid's in. If you get the opposite you'll be scraping around to make the rent for months until you can get it going. Sometimes in my music service they rotate peris around different areas to keep things fresh… so they say… all it does is disrupt the kids' learning and damage your wallet… it really makes you on edge. (P14)

Here, we can see the practitioner version of the postcode lottery in effect, with income dependent on where any given practitioner is allocated to teach. Work allocations may be subject to change, making for particularly insecure employment, given the aforementioned reductions in contracted staff in music services, so a wage is not guaranteed, only what can be made of your given situation. Such practices compound the issues of precarity. P09 meanwhile, comments on the effects of the transient nature of the job:

> A while back I was stuck with some really tough schools, I was driving around from this school to that, teaching one kid in that one, maybe a couple in another, then drive half an hour to teach one kid in another… I was barely breaking even sometimes when you take in the cost of petrol. (P09)

Here we can see that it can be hard for some practitioners to make a profit if pupils are spread thinly across a wide area; a particular issue for practitioners in rural areas with a lower population density. Such issues, as P14 alluded to, can lead to poor mental health amongst teaching staff. P06 shares their story:

> It got to the point where it was really wearing me down, I was so anxious all the time, knowing if a chunk of my learners decided to stop playing, I'd be in the shit financial like. It was a hand to mouth existence for a while… Got diagnosed with depression soon after cos of that, and guess what? No sick pay is there..? (P06)

P06 demonstrates the impact on mental health that precarious self-employment in music services can have on some practitioners, which is in turn worsened by a lack of sick pay and other benefits. The Covid-19 pandemic exacerbated issues of precarity within the profession, with several participants noting that they had 'no pupils, so no money' (P03). P02 provides a particularly pertinent example:

> [The music service] left us high and dry, no guaranteed work whatsoever, and loads of talented pupils without teachers or a plan. Plus, they made a load of their contracted staff redundant and switched them to self-employed, but of course they then hadn't been self-employed long enough to be eligible for the government covid relief fund, so literally had to leave the profession to work in supermarkets and that sort of thing *just* to survive! It *beggars' belief* it really does. (P02)

These examples highlight the impact of funding reforms on the teaching profession, with increasing job insecurity causing teachers to rethink their employment situation and, in many cases, leave the profession entirely.

The consequences of 'losing great teachers' (P03) in this way, and with the job insecurity not providing an attractive career prospect for newly qualified graduates, will affect the overall quality of tuition within the system. As P06 observes, 'you're getting almost a lesser quality of musician teaching kids'. P15 notes that 'you obviously want the best teachers coming through, but who could blame them for looking elsewhere at the moment?' Subsequently, the overall quality of tuition music services are able to provide to schools and pupils will inevitably be impacted. Indeed, if music service teaching practitioners continue to leave the profession, there risks a breakdown in music service provision, further limiting accessibility for pupils.

7.5. Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter we have found that the decentralisation of music service funding responsibilities to the respective LAs led to a situation in which significant funding reductions were implemented over the course of a decade in the years post-2010, leading to a damaging fragmentation of the Welsh music service system. Different LAs implemented different levels of funding for music service provision, leading to a postcode lottery in terms of what was offered, but also in terms of who could access music education, particularly in terms of the introduction of substantial parental fees for musical instrument tuition and related activities. The data strongly indicates that pupils from socioeconomically deprived backgrounds were the most likely to be negatively affected in terms of being able to afford lessons. Thus, we essentially have a whole economic bracket of society who are unable to engage with musical learning, exacerbating social divides between their more affluent peers, who are more able to access provision. Of course, socioeconomic factors are only a single

element at play here. The cultural and class-based attitudes surrounding access in this context also plays a role. This will be explored in the following chapter.

In this chapter, we also found that teaching practice has undergone a paradigm shift from a more individualistic approach to an approach focused on the quantity of pupils receiving musical experiences. The data showed that music service practitioners perceived this to be potentially damaging to the quality of teaching and this approach failed to account for progression beyond pupils first experiences. Thus, the long-term accessibility and quality of music service provision may be impacted. It appears that cuts result in provision being reduced in quantity, but the reductions in quality change the nature of provision itself. However, these reductions in quality only affect those who cannot afford to pay for the traditional individual lessons with music services, which remain an option for wealthier pupils. A distinct divide based on economic capital is clearly evident.

It was also found that while this approach was born of economic necessity, it has been cemented into Welsh education policy in the NPME (2022), raising questions about the development and sustainability of Welsh music service teaching practice in future. Lastly, we found that the teaching profession has been significantly impacted by LA funding reductions, leading to a shift away from contracted employment to precarious, less-secure self-employment and a reduction in teaching hours. Subsequently, more teachers are leaving the profession for more secure employment, which may lead to a brain-drain in the system, affecting the quality of provision, as well as affecting accessibility due to a lack of trained, motivated practitioners. In the following chapter, we will turn to examine access in the context of cultural and class-based attitudes towards music education.

8. Justifications of Music Service Provision and Social and Cultural Barriers

In this chapter I continue the interview data analysis, exploring the perceptions and beliefs of peripatetic music service teaching practitioners towards music service education. In Section 8.1., I identify a vocationalist approach to music amongst some music service teaching practitioners. I therefore posit a disjunction between how such teachers view music lessons and how they perceive parents and pupils from differing socioeconomic backgrounds. I proceed to discuss potential causes and implications of this approach. In Section 8.2., I examine a competing liberal humanist perspective amongst other music service teaching practitioners. I then proceed to discuss aspects of musical cultural attitudes and the associated issues surrounding music education, positing a form of "invisible gatekeeping" in which practitioner and systemic cultural attitudes may (overtly or inadvertently) limit access to pupil groups in an additional, more subtle, way to the economic aspects revealed in Chapter 7. I summarise my key points in Section 8.3. and address the questions surrounding such gatekeeping.

8.1. A Vocationalist Perspective on Music Education

A notable theme emerges in that some music service practitioners lean towards a vocationalist discourse surrounding music, viewing music education as a means to produce the 'next generation' of professional musicians. Practitioner attitudes towards this approach differs when social class is considered. To illustrate the vocationalist viewpoint, I begin by examining music service practitioners' perceptions of attitudes towards music in the more affluent areas in which they teach, before moving on to examine perceptions of attitudes towards music in more deprived areas.

As I examined in the previous chapter, pupils from families with greater access to economic capital are notably less likely to be affected by the requirement to pay for lessons, and thus are typically able to access music service provision, should they wish to. However, while pupil recruitment and retention for the learning of instruments is high amongst this demographic, some practitioners perceive the learning of musical instruments as being highly valued. For instance, P05 has extensive experience working in affluent areas, and argues that:

> They [the pupils] are just not that committed, they don't seem to practice as much, in my experience anyway. It's just another thing for them, the money doesn't matter, so their parents aren't on at them to practice at home as much and improve. (P05)

Here, P05 posits that a lack of parental support to work on their instrumental studies impacts the attitude children themselves, who commit to the learning process far less enthusiastically. When considering why this may be the case, P03 posits that this may also be that children from affluent backgrounds have increased access to other hobbies, compared to their less affluent counterparts, commenting that 'in a more affluent area, the children will be involved in a lot of hobbies, therefore, maybe… they don't appreciate [music] as much'. Given access to a wide array of extra-curricular activities, it is suggested that they are less likely to value a long term, 'more challenging' (P08) activity such as learning a musical instrument, particularly without parental support. This perception by some practitioners of pupils and parents not valuing music education in wealthy areas is a common one, and the stem of these attitudes may be traced to a disjunction between how the practitioners view music and how more affluent parents view music, with parents not viewing music as a viable career option. Attempting to achieve this appears to be challenging, with considerable concerns noted. For instance, P10 states that:

> In the wealthy areas you almost get a dismissal of music as a real career. The people in that sort of *class*, if you know what I mean, don't really go for musical jobs because they realise it doesn't pay as much, or enough for them. So, these are people who do it as a hobby, whose parents have the money, who might not take it as seriously… it's an enjoyable thing to do, but not a serious career to work towards. (P10)

Here P10 highlights a widespread view amongst the participants that those pupils from affluent areas are unlikely to pursue music as a career due to it being perceived as a poor way to accrue economic capital compared to other careers. Instead, the practitioners interpret that pupils and parents pursue music as 'nothing more than a hobby' (P06) and is therefore 'not worth pursuing as a long-term career' (P15). The use of the term 'career' is a common one within the data, indicating a strong, and notably vocationalist view amongst the participants that the purpose of music education is to enable a future career in the music industry. A focus on producing the next generation of musicians is the main factor among these practitioners. It should of course be noted that the parental attitudes in this instance are the perceptions of the practitioners themselves; it is an interpretation, rather than a statement of fact. However, the

practitioners' perceptions of parental attitudes provide an interesting point of discussion in exploring cultural attitudes to music education.

The causes for the focused (and somewhat narrow) vocationalist view of the outcomes of music education from music service teaching practitioners is a complex one. After all, in the literature, we explored the many wide-ranging benefits of music education that extend far beyond economic benefits to encompass health and physical development benefits, cognitive development, social development, etc. (e.g. Hallam 2010). Why then does a focused vocationalist approach to music education appear so strongly amongst practitioners? The answer may lie in a fear of decline in music education and thus the music industry. For example, P18 states that:

> You get the feeling that [parents] aren't exactly in favour of their children going into music… I mean can you blame them? It's a flaky enough job at the best of times… No… I often see it when I ask those pupils what they want to do when they grow up, you get the usual "doctor", "scientist", "pilot", that sort of thing… basically what their parents encourage them to go for. When I ask them about music you get things like "I'll probably keep it on as a hobby", or even "mummy says it would be hard to make money" playing their violin or whatever… and in a way it's true of course, but it's not exactly reassuring for the future. Where are the next generation going to come from if not from those having lessons now? (P18)

Here we can observe a clear fear of decline in the music industry because of pupils not wishing to pursue it in favour of more well-paid careers. Part of this fear may stem from a perception of seemingly perpetual decline of the music service system (see Chapter 7), with cuts to arts organisations being widely enacted during the austerity years (Carr 2018). Thus, this fear of further decline may be driving the strong sense of vocationalism in some music service teaching practitioners.

Yet, there is a certain irony at play. As I explored in Chapter 7, since music service funding reforms have been enacted since 2010, pupils from economically advantageous backgrounds are far more likely to be able to access music service teaching. Yet, according to the perceptions of many practitioners, it is this group that less likely to pursue music as a career, while pupils from deprived backgrounds are less likely to be able to have the opportunity to pursue such a career due to lack of access. Even if orchestras were populated primarily with people from economically advantageous backgrounds, it is feared that the next generation is seemingly uninterested, and others will be limited entry by economic barriers. This reducing potential talent pool drives the fear of the future of the music profession. P10 demonstrates

this point, positing that that the future of the musical profession will be 'defined by social class', commenting that:

> Those who can afford to play and study music not going for musical jobs, they're going for the higher paid jobs, and so the art of professional music actually dwindles. Meanwhile, those who would consider professional music as a good, well paid, avenue for them don't get the chance as they can't afford to have the lessons. (P10)

As before, we see a strong focus on music as a career on the part of the practitioner, with a clear fear of the music industry being impacted by those who are able to access music being unable or unwilling to pursue music as a career. This goes some way to explaining the strong vocationalist focus of some practitioners, who could be described attempting to fight a rear-guard action against a perceived decline in the industry. Practitioners view it as their responsibility to limit this decline by encouraging as many pupils as possible to pursue a career in music, and thus rile at a perceived lack of interest from parents who may have different aspirations and motivations for their child pursuing music.

While some music service practitioners are leaning into a vocationalist view of music education, it is clear that they perceive more affluent pupils and parents as holding a view of music education as a 'hobby' (P18). Some practitioners interpret this in a binary way, considering some affluent families to be 'dismissive' (P20) of learning musical instruments, or view it as a 'throwaway activity' (P16). While this may be the case in some instances, a more nuanced interpretation can be posed with regards in parents viewing music education through a liberal humanist lens, in which music is intrinsically good for the child, thus recognising the wider range of benefits that music can bring (Hallam 2010). For instance, several participants noted that despite a 'lack of desire' among affluent families to 'pursue music as a career' (P16), parents remained supportive of their children's musical activities. For example, P15 and P16 note:

> They're all pretty encouraging in my experience, keen for their kids to get better on their instruments and enjoy themselves. (P15)

> I've yet to come across parents that *don't* want their children to improve, I mean, they wouldn't be paying for it otherwise would they? No… they tend to all be positive and involved. I mean… they can obviously see the benefits, it's great for getting the brain going, and the social side of things is a good craic. (P16)

Here we can see a recognition that some parents simply view musical learning as a thing to be enjoyed, in a more liberal humanist way, rather than as a career. This can create dissonance in the relationship between parents, pupils, and practitioners. For instance, several practitioners commented on being 'frustrated' (P10) that children from more affluent backgrounds don't 'take it seriously' (P05) or 'don't practice enough' (P18), whereas the pupils and parents may be perfectly content to simply enjoy the musical process without aiming for a specific goal of future musical employment. This may lead to access issues in that practitioners may focus on pupils and families who align to their own viewpoint, rather than those who do not, which will be explore in more detail in Section 8.4. First however, having considered the vocationalist perspective of music education in relation to more affluent areas, we will now pivot to consider practitioner perceptions in relation to more socioeconomically deprived areas.

When considering music service practitioner attitudes towards music education and perceived attitudes of parents and pupils in more socioeconomically deprived areas, there appears to be a similar vocational focus. As before, we see a focus on music as a career, so in this sense the practitioner views remain consistent. However, practitioners identify several limitations in deprived areas in particular that limit pupils' access to a musical career in future.

Firstly, some practitioners perceive that many pupils from deprived areas do not view music as an accessible career option in terms of cultural gatekeeping. P23 explains that:

> For lots of the kids there [from a deprived area], a career in like an orchestra just feels so out of reach its impossible. They don't see people like them, who've come from places like them, they're not represented. I think that really affects the motivation [for a career in music]. Plus, it just feels like an impossible task to reach without rich parents to back you up along the way. I think lots of them kind of give up on it [a career in music] once they get old enough to understand the huge costs involved in getting there. (P23)

Here, P23 implies that a lack of a visible demographic of people from deprived backgrounds in professional orchestras and thus feels unattainable as a career option. This not only demonstrates the vocationalist lens that some practitioners perceive the function of music education, but the narrow view in which they view the types of jobs, which very much relate to the 'orchestra' and the western classical tradition. The body of pupils are treated as if they are the next generation of professionals, yet it is observed with a sense of fatalism ('an impossible task') about the seemingly insurmountable obstacles to producing this next generation. As such, this mindset can impact upon how teaching is delivered, with

practitioners becoming more focused and determined to develop pupils who align to this view, potentially neglecting others, either deliberately or unintentionally, as a consequence. For instance, P15 notes that:

> It's hard *not* to focus on kids who are really into their instrument, the violin or whatever, and *want* to make it their career, go to music college, then on to an orchestra, or freelance, or a solo career, or whatever. You just have to give these kids more of your time and effort, they're the future after all aren't they? (P15)

Here we can see this point in action, with P15 stating that they put a deliberate focus on pupils who they believe will go on to become professionals in the musical field. It is framed in a way that indicates that they view this as their primary role as a music service practitioner, to produce the next generation of music professionals. However, with this comes an explicit admission that they do not give as much attention to pupils who do not have a musical career as their goal. This was a view held by most of the practitioners who aligned with the vocationalist perspective, in various degrees of implicitness. Firstly, this is problematic as it means that not all pupils are receiving the same quality of tuition based on a perception of the practitioner. Secondly, there is a chance that any pupil may develop and change their minds about future careers over time, and neglecting pupils in this way means that some pupils may not develop to the point in which they decide to pursue music anyway, potentially limiting the core purpose of the vocationalist perspective.

This data also further supports the accessibility issues due to cost discussed in the previous chapter, which in this instance is also implied to go beyond music service education at a school level and affect career choices in adult life. In addition, some participants noted a disparity in racial demographic representation in the music industry impacting on pupils from deprived areas. P09 explains:

> Look, it's an open secret that the music industry is a white man's game. Orchestras are still a very white place even in this day and age, and for these kids from poorer areas, so many of them are from, you know, minority backgrounds. How can they hope to break into it [the music industry] if there's so few there to be role-models for them. I'm sure it puts them off [pursuing a career in music]. (P09)

Here we can see that diverse representation, or lack thereof, is perceived to play a role in pupil aspirations amongst pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds in deprived areas, in which it is suggested that such demographics are more common. Representation in the industry may cause an aspiration gap, limiting those who may wish to pursue such a career.

Indeed, it may even be the case that a lack of diversity in the music service workforce may limit access, with P24 stating that such concerns:

> Us teachers aren't a very diverse lot, where I work anyway. But, we're dealing with black kids, Asian kids… you do get the feeling that if there were more role models, like *visible* role models teaching them then more would get on board. (P24)

Indeed, while the sample of practitioners is relatively small compared to the teaching workforce as a whole, they were all white, and P24 at least certainly paints this to be a social issue of accessibility. Diversity did not play a major role within the interviews as a whole, which may indicate that the above perspectives are isolated, or indeed neglected by music service teaching practitioners as a consideration in their teaching practice. However, the topic of diversity was not placed as a talking point within the interview schedule, so further exploration of the issue did not always occur. This raises questions for future research surrounding whether the demographic of the teaching workforce also plays a role in the uptake and retention of pupils in music services.

In all, there is something of a paradox at play here with more affluent pupils being able to pursue such a career due to being able to access the necessary economic capital to absorb costs, and to have the appropriate social and cultural capital with which to more easily navigate the world of professional music. However, it appears that they typically choose not, or are encouraged not, to pursue it due to the relatively low pay compared to other disciplines (as discussed in the previous section). Meanwhile, pupils from deprived areas who would benefit greatly from such levels of pay cannot pursue it or are encouraged not to as they have not had the chance to accrue the wider cultural and social capital required to successfully navigate the world of professional music due to economic barriers, as well as due a lack of class, racial, and to an extent gender representation acting as a form of cultural gatekeeping.

Thus, there are fewer pupils overall pursuing a traditional orchestral career, which supports the view of music service teaching practitioners pursuing a vocationalist approach to music education as fighting a rear-guard action stimulated by a fear of decline in the music industry. However, this focus has potential issues regarding their perceptions of pupils from deprived backgrounds in terms of potential classist and cultural deprivation attitudes emerging.

For example, there is a fairly common view from some practitioners that they perceive pupils viewing the types of music tuition offered by music services as 'uncool' (e.g. P07, P09, P12), particularly in areas of high socioeconomic deprivation:

> In the poorer areas, playing instruments is seen as uncool sometimes, so I'd like to try and raise the general image of instrumental lessons so it becomes cool again, I think there's this hangover from the 80s that if you have violin lessons that for some reason you must be this massive swot, and it's not the case, you can still be cool and play an instrument. (P12)

Here, the western classical tradition has a long-standing perception of being 'uncool', implying that there is a disjunction between the types of music valued as cultural capital by such pupils differs from that perceived as valuable by practitioners. Indeed, resisting the more traditional (e.g. western classical) forms of musical learning appears to have its own social cachet (Frank 1997). It potentially compounds culture clashes between pupils and practitioners, creating barriers to access based on social and cultural conflict between accepted norms. For example, P14 recalls running a major project in a socioeconomically deprived area:

> At the time it was one of the most deprived schools in South Wales, and I went in that school every week and did some workshops and masterclasses with a couple of *hundred* Year 7 kids. There was this grand finale, this concert, this big thing, and only five turned up, *five* kids. It just goes to show the level of social deprivation and lack of awareness that exists in these communities. The support they must have from home must be so limited. If that kind of project had happened at the private school that I work at, then all of those kids would have been there, because it's just a very different kind of environment… The parents in the private schools would have gone "we've got this concert to go to, you're performing in it" and taken their child there, whereas that support and parental driving force wasn't there for 95% of the pupils in that very deprived school. It was *really* striking. (P14)

It is interesting that this practitioner blames the lack of attendance in the finale of the project on 'social deprivation and lack of awareness'. Again, there appears to be an element of classism at play, almost implying a lack of interest in the project due to their social status, rather than considering a holistic view of the situation and considering the many other factors that may be at play here that may have affected attendance, such as access to travel (e.g. public transport at an atypical time of day), costs surrounding childcare, caring commitments, or healthcare, to name but a few. For the practitioner, the musical event is the priority, but for the families, even if they wished to attend, circumstance may not allow it. Instead, the

practitioner seemingly equates deprivation with a lack of appreciation of music, a viewpoint that borders close to that of a cultural deprivation perspective, wherein people are unable to appreciate certain kinds of music because of their social class. This is a view that has been widely critiqued as flawed, failing to recognise the wider holistic societal factors that impact upon deprived populations (e.g. Tulkin 1972). This is not an isolated view however, with other practitioners also implying that social class and musical appreciation are linked. For instance, P07 states that:

> We find then that their attitude is different anyway, the basic attitude, the parents don't seem to have benefited as well from education as well as they could have done, which filters down. Music's not a part of their own lives, even though the area does have brass bands in it, speaking from my particular discipline, even then unfortunately with lack of education you come across the attitude of "it's not cool to play", it's not seen as the thing to do, and like I say, we've tried at this particular school now for three or four years, and never got past the basics, even after 12 months, they don't take the instrument home, they don't engage with it the same, and unfortunately it is our area that is *notorious* for it. (P07)

Here we have an implied perception of cultural deprivation, with the participant effectively abandoning pupils from a 'notorious' deprived area as they are not engaging with the music service. Interestingly, P07 recognises potential intergenerational issues in accessing education and different types of culture. Yet rather than considering wider societal issues as the root cause, they reason that it is the 'notorious' location. It is as though a blame is being placed on the pupils, and that their social condition is the cause. Such attitudes towards social class present a potentially significant barrier to accessing music education, as if some practitioners disregard certain areas based on classist attitudes, then music participation is likely to decline in such areas, further perpetuating access issues in the future.

Such perceptions of working-class families not supporting music are echoed by P09:

> The amount of times I've given the kid a trumpet, and you know that they might be struggling financially a little bit at home, you know that's the area the school might be in, you know, not in a particularly well off area, and the kid will come back and say "I'm not allowed to play at home, it's too noisy". I've had a couple of instances of the child saying "I have to go outside to practice", because they weren't allowed to practice indoors. I'm like "oh my god! What happens when it rains?", "well I get wet", it's *harsh*! I can't imagine that would happen as much in more affluent areas. (P09)

Here, we see a perception of a lack of support for learning being blamed on being 'not in a particularly well-off area'. As with the above examples from P14 and P07, there is a deficit

discourse, with an association being made between appreciation of music and social class, particular with the stark comparison made with 'more affluent areas'. It is this conflation between attitudes towards music and social class that presents a significant issue. They fail to consider the wide range of social factors that affect pupils in socioeconomically deprived areas which may impact upon musical engagement, such as a lack of space at home in which to practice. Thus, some of these practitioners appear to draw on cultural deprivation attitudes to explain this lack of engagement. Such attitudes may limit accessibility due to creating divisive classist attitudes, and, somewhat ironically, potentially undermining their own mission to produce the next generation of musicians in the process. We shall examine cultural capital in this context below in Section 8.3.

Conversely, there is a competing narrative from other practitioners that pupils in such areas place a great deal of value on music service provision.

> With all the costs it's difficult to get them [pupils from deprived areas] started, but if you can really hold of them, get them hooked, they tend to stick with it better than others. They don't have a lot else, so I think they value what they have and really try hard. (P03)

This implies that pupils from socioeconomically deprived areas value music once successfully engaged, though as the participant states, the decrease in funding and provision for music services and an increase in lessons costs for parents exacerbate issues of value and engagement. Such views are echoed by P19, who argues that:

> I don't see a difference in how much they enjoy it, no matter how well off or not they are… they're either going to enjoy it and stick with it, or they're not. Though… it should be said that you have to show them… the parents I mean… that it's worth it early doors, especially if they're forking out their hard-earned cash to pay for it. If the kid can only toot a few notes after months of paying for lessons, then the parents are soon going to question whether it's worth paying more for it. The richer parents just keep on paying, no matter what. (P19)

Here we see that in the experience of this participant, parents and pupils from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds clearly value music, but those from deprived backgrounds are more likely to want a tangible demonstration of the value of their financial investment, which may affect retention rates for pupils in deprived areas, while more affluent families are more likely to be able to continue lessons regardless of cost.

What remains however is a strong vocationalist perspective towards music education amongst the participants. Whether they perceive pupils in socioeconomically deprived areas

as being uninterested in music, or whether economic issues limit those who are, the fear of decline in the music industry appears to drive such views. In the case of deprived areas, this appears to stem from a disjunction between the types of cultural capital valued by practitioners and that valued by pupils. This may perhaps be in part due to the type of cultural capital that pupils in such areas value *not* being reflected in some music service practitioners teaching approach, while it *is* reflected in other practitioners, leading to subsequent higher engagement. Indeed, the participants who aligned with the vocationalist perspective in this section are from a western classical perspective (see Table 5), which may indicate the source of this disjunction. We shall examine this phenomenon in Section 8.3.

8.2. A Liberal Humanist Perspective on Music Education

As we have so far observed, there is a strong vocationalist position amongst many practitioners. However, amongst a minority of practitioners, there is an alternative perspective, that in which the outcome of musical learning for pupils is not necessarily a career in the music industry, but a sense of engagement, enjoyment, and satisfaction in the process of making music, or making music for music's sake. This can be labelled as a form of liberal humanism. As an example of this approach to musical learning, P21 states that:

> I think some people forget that music should be mainly about enjoyment, you know, about taking joy in using your body to turn this inanimate object into something that makes beautiful sounds. *laughs* I don't think you can underestimate just how *fun* it can be, and how important it is to actually get that across to the kids, you know? (P21)

Here we have clear focus on the 'joy' and 'fun' of making music and highlighting the importance of conveying this perspective to the students. For these practitioners, the enjoyment and associated benefits of music are the core outcomes of the learning experience for pupils, rather than a career as projected through the vocationalist perspective. For example, P13 states that:

> If you want to be realistic about it, most kids aren't going to go on to work in the industry, but they *can* have a hobby for life that teaches discipline, patience… and have a great social life with it, it's such a great laugh… as well as the music making itself, which is, well, great! As a teacher you have the power to set them on this path. (P13)

Here the practitioner recognises that most pupils who learn musical instruments will not go on to work in music. However instead of the frustration and fear of decline observed in the vocationalist camp, there is a responsibility that observed to help pupils to enjoy the process of music making, and benefit from transferable skills and a 'hobby for life' that will help develop social friendships alongside the music making itself. This can be identified as a form of social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984), which may help to advantage pupils later in life beyond the initial act of music making. This aligns with the views identified in parents from more affluent areas in Section 8.1, who may wish to utilise their economic capital for their children to accrue such cultural and social capital in future.

In Section 8.1 we identified a noticeable distinction in attitudes towards pupils and parents from more affluent and more deprived areas amongst practitioners who align with a vocationalist perspective. However, amongst practitioners who align more closely with a liberal humanist perspective, the distinction was far less pronounced, if at all. Again, the focus is on the enjoyment of music making, no matter the social background, as P17 explains:

> It doesn't matter what school I'm in or the student, wealthy, poor, black, white, none of that matters, man. They all enjoy music, one type, or another… we've got to find what makes them tick. That way they can all have a good time. (P17)

As is typical for practitioners from this perspective, the social class of the pupil is not the priority, it is rather to enable an enjoyable experience. This quote raises an interesting point regarding the liberal humanist perspective. Namely that the practitioner acknowledges that different pupils will engage with different kinds of music in different ways and that they should aim to identify these kinds of music to tailor the pupils' experience to maximise their enjoyment. The focus is very much on pupil-led teaching, regardless of other social factors. P11 expands on this point:

> If you find out what [music] the kids enjoy to play, then they're going to stick with it all, turn up to lessons more often, and just enjoy it more. At least that's what I've found anyway. If you force stuff down their throats they don't like then they're *not* going to have a good time, quit sooner, and all that. Why would they stick with it if they don't like it? I wouldn't. One of my pianists was into more of this avant-garde jazz stuff, not normally *my* thing, but that's what she enjoyed, so that's what we did. *She's* still going, a pro now. Enjoyment is *king!* (P11)

Here, we have another strong focus on enjoyment, which the practitioner feels is expounded by enabling pupils to express their musical preference and explore the music that they wish

to, even if it is not what the teacher would initially wish to teach. This echoes the particularly successful pedagogical approach observed in classroom music by Wright (2008), indicating that this can and is being translated to some music service settings. This approach is a direct contrast to the vocationalist perspective for instance, which as we have examined is rooted in the western classical orchestral tradition, and focuses on a set of repeated musical traditions in an effort to produce future music professionals. The example from P17 indicates that doing so makes pupils more likely to continue with music in the long term. Indeed, there may be a certain irony at play here, in that enabling pupils to explore their interests based on their own cultural preferences may in fact be more effective in producing future professional musicians than the vocationalist approach. This is not an isolated example. P24 stated that:

> In *my* experience, if you encourage them [pupils] to explore their preferences in depth then they are *far* more likely to go on to do music as a career. I've had several that have done that. You see so many who give up as soon as they leave school, and you do wonder whether the cycle of exams and playing stuff that's prescribed is why. (P24)

Again, we find a take that underlines enjoyment and implies that a pupil-led experience can be more productive in the longer term. It should be noted however, that although stressing the enjoyment of playing, this participant still seemingly views a career in music as the ideal ultimate outcome. This indicates that there may be an overlap of the vocationalist and humanist perspectives in some instances, who may differ on method, but not necessarily on the final goal. The scope of this overlap is unclear in the data, though music service practitioners of a humanist slant to their view of music education seemed to mention musical careers notably less often than those of a more vocationalist perspective. In this instance, P24's point seemingly directly challenges the more traditional methods of teaching, such as a perpetual 'cycle of exams' and learning established music, instead seeking to avoid a clash of cultural preferences by nurturing the pupil's musical tastes. Indeed, most of the music service practitioners who subscribe to the liberal humanist perspectives that we have explored were fairly relaxed about exams not wishing to 'force kids into it' (P17) if they do not wish to pursue them. After all, 'exams aren't for everyone' (P22). Music exams are discussed further in Section 8.3. below.

Interestingly, most of those participants who aligned with the liberal humanist perspective on music education specialised in the teaching of non-western classical musical instruments. For example, some of these participants focused on 'electric and bass guitar' (P21), 'drums'

(P13), and ‘jazz piano’ (P17). Coming from a non-western classical orchestral tradition, this may indicate why a more non-traditional pedagogical approach is pursued. However, this is not unique, with ‘brass’ (P01) and ‘strings’ (P24) also falling into the liberal category. Furthermore, participants in this category tended to be younger, at earlier stages of their careers. For example, P01, P06, P11, P13, P21, and P24 aligned with the liberal category, and represent the majority of participants who had been working in the music service sector for less than 10 years (see Table 5). This potentially indicates a generational shift in attitudes amongst practitioners.

It is easy to get caught up in viewing liberal humanist and vocational perspectives on music education as a binary with a clear divide. While some participants present a clear divide, there are others that suggest a grey area between the two approaches, as P01 suggests:

> There’s a balance to be struck. I think it’s a case of putting what you [the teacher] like into the lessons and taking on board what the kid likes. That’s how they grow as a musician and explore new sounds, new ideas, new composers, new techniques. The combination of tastes makes for exciting learning. (P01)

Thus, a combination of the pupil’s and teacher’s musical preferences offer a combination of the traditional and the liberal, developing a pupil’s preferred musical tastes while introducing new ideas from the teacher to explore. This results in an enjoyable learning experience which may increase a pupil’s musical longevity, helping to accrue the benefits of the social and cultural capital associated with music, and aid in enjoyment in the longer term. However, it is worth a reminder that as explored in Chapter 7, economic capital plays a major part in access to music education, and a mere focus on enjoyment does not necessarily mean that pupils will be able to afford lessons. That being said, P21 notes that ‘parents need to see the value in their investment for lessons’, and so observing their child to be enjoying themselves may be a key factor in the retention of pupils as they start learning and begin to gain traction on learning a given instrument.

An approach that focuses on pupil enjoyment has the potential to be more beneficial to a wider selection of pupils from a wider range of socioeconomic backgrounds. It appears to negate the apparent frustration over the perceived decline of the music industry that may stimulate the vocationalist perspective, that is seemingly to the detriment of the sector and the pupils involved. It also appears to improve the accessibility of pupils to music service education by supporting pupil musical preferences, meaning that they are more likely to continue learning in the long term. Embracing of a wide array of musical cultures in teaching

is more akin to Williams' view of a common culture gradually becoming more democratic over time, which is aided by mass communications (Williams 1961). However, it should be noted that from this sample, those practitioners who aligned with a liberal humanist approach were in the minority, while those with a vocationalist perspective were in the majority. This indicates that access may still be an issue as a result. These attitudes towards the social function of music education are closely intertwined with cultural attitudes towards music. I will now consider how these respective viewpoints relate to musical cultural attitudes, and how access is impacted as a result.

8.3. Musical Cultural Attitudes

In this section, I examine how participants view musical culture, how this may shape the previously discussed vocational and liberal humanist perspectives, and consider the implications of accessibility to music education. It may be the case that this focus causes a culture clash between the forms of musical cultural capital valued between music service practitioners and pupils and parents. Such clashes may result in forms of what I term "invisible gatekeeping" issues, potentially limiting access for pupils.

8.3.1. Culture Clashes

Among the participants that aligned with a vocationalist approach in Section 8.1., there was a strong preference for the western classical tradition in their teaching methods (see Table 5). For example, P08 states that:

> I like to set pupils up with a solid grounding in the core repertoire, even with beginners you can use easier versions of tunes from Bach and Mozart… Beethoven, Mendelssohn… that sort of thing. (P08)

This implies that a perceived "gold standard" exists in the musical repertoire, drawing on the Arnoldian tradition of 'the best that has been thought and said' (1869 p.viii) as a fulcrum around which it is vital for a pupil to be versed. This is not an isolated perspective, as P02 reveals:

> Lots of books use simplified versions of classical melodies… Ode to Joy, New World Symphony, Magic Flute, stuff from Wagner. You know, things like that. It always seems to work if you get a tune the parents know… it means they get their kids to practice more! (P02)

This implies that parental knowledge of the western classical tradition may be vital for early success when learning an instrument, and that in more affluent areas parents and pupils are better versed, and thus more successfully engaged. This may be due to parents from wealthier backgrounds are being more likely to be versed in what might be termed 'high' musical culture, namely music from the orchestral western classical tradition, stemming from a Bourdieusian intergenerational habitus (being better placed to acquire such cultural capital during their upbringing), and are thus more likely to be more able to support their children in the long term, thus increasing the likelihood of success (Burnard et al. 2015).

However, while focusing strongly on widely established repertoire for teaching cannot be said to be a negative per se, it may be if it isolates certain pupil demographics. As we explored in Section 8.1., this group of participants perceive parents and pupils from deprived backgrounds to be less engaged, as they 'don't *know* music' (P12) implying that some practitioners may infer a lack of musical knowledge on such parents and pupils. This leads to some to posit that 'music's just not a thing they're used to in their own lives' (P07). This can be read as an implicit recognition by practitioners of how class-based habitus works, in this case observing that acquiring the western classical tradition of musical cultural capital does not frequently occur amongst families in deprived areas. Instead, other forms of musical cultural capital are valued, such as 'rock and pop' as observed by P14:

> You do get the impression that the parents' musical taste has an effect on their kids. It might be a bit simplistic to say… but I don't think it's a coincidence that drums and guitar are so popular in poorer areas… I mean they're popular *everywhere,* but particularly so in those areas. If the kids are playing music the parents can get behind and enjoy, then it stands to reason they'll support it. If they've never had the chance to read sheet music before, or seen or heard say… a bassoon, why would they be thrilled their kid is playing it? It's just not their thing. (P14)

Here, P14 implies a different class-based tradition of intergenerational habitus in which parents value different types of music more than others based on their previous experiences of music. Thus, we can see that the western classical music can become a social distinguishing mechanism for practitioners. However, a problem occurs when this social distinction from practitioners translates into potential barriers to access through negative attitudes based on these musical preferences.

> If they don't have that sort of background, it can be *such* hard work. There are some, like, fundamental things with repertoire when you're learning strings, and

> sometimes you get such a pushback. I get that they want to do their thing, learn the music they like, but I just want to take them down the right path, the things they'll need for grade exams. It gets *very* frustrating… we frustrate each other sometimes, I think. It rarely works out long term. (P19)

Here we can see evidence of a culture clash between practitioner and pupil based on musical cultural backgrounds and preferred musical tastes, resulting in a 'frustrating' learning environment as the practitioner and pupil clash over this. Thus, we can see the practitioner acting as a gatekeeper, wishing to 'take them down the right path' (or at least what they perceive to be the correct way of learning, or the right music to learn), but only if that path aligns with their view of what music should be taught, and how this should be delivered. This is further reinforced through their focus on 'grade exams' that can conform to certain musical traditions, which, as it appears in this case, also compounds the clash between practitioner and pupil (we will further explore the topic of music exams below). As such, this can result in pupils choosing not to continue learning ('it rarely works out long term') or potentially feeling forced out due to these clashes. Indeed, it may also result in practitioners being selective with which pupils they choose to interact with, further limiting access for those pupils who do not align with their views. For example, on further exploration of the topic, P19 revealed that they would be 'less likely' to want to engage with pupils such as who did not want to 'follow a musical path'. This demonstrates that this may limit access for some pupils based on musical cultural capital and subsequent attitudes. This attitude appears to align with the vocationalist perspective on the function of music education as explored in Section 8.1. P19's perspective was not an isolated example in the data, with P10 stating that:

> It's hardly worth the effort sometimes in schools in those [deprived] areas. If you just know they're not going to be interested or it'll be a real struggle getting them interested in it, then it's tricky. I've got to the point where I stick to schools that have a reputation, or an established track record of learning it [woodwind]. If they're already into what I have to offer through their parents, friends, or whatever, then life becomes easier for both of us. (P10)

Again, we see evidence of a practitioner choosing to avoid certain schools in favour of schools which may traditionally be more successful in a given discipline, classical woodwind in this case. This acts as its own form of gatekeeping from the practitioner, wherein pupils are not able to access certain kinds of music if the practitioner chooses not to teach at a certain school due to cultural attitudes. Indeed, a recurring theme here is that practitioners who reveal a form of culture clash with pupils are based exclusively in teach instruments that align with the western classical orchestral tradition, and align with a vocationalist perspective (e.g. P05,

P07, P10, P14, P19, P23 – see Table 5). This indicates that practitioners from this cultural background and perspective on music education are more likely to clash with pupils from with other musical cultural preferences.

There is some nuance to this however, as when exploring this issue further with P10 it was revealed that there was also an economic aspect at play. P10 was aiming for schools with established track records because they were able to acquire more pupils, and thus be paid more as they were on a self-employed with their LA music service. However, it is clear that the element of cultural social distinction remains in the practitioner's reasoning, and it may be the case that the changes in music service teaching practitioner working conditions (as explored in Section 7.4.) are compounding issues of access based on music service practitioner cultural attitudes. Indeed, there appears to be a *perception* of cultural deprivation from some music service practitioners towards certain demographics of pupils which may result in pupils who have parents versed in the western classical tradition being more likely to be recruited and retained in the long term than those who do not. This not only limits access but also has the potential to perpetuate class-based intergenerational habitus, limiting access to different cultural capital for those unfamiliar with this type of musical culture, while not adapting to encompass wider musical tastes in their pedagogy. This does not allow for the pupil-led teaching interactions of the more liberal humanist approach to teaching, which as noted in Section 8.2. can result in a more positive learning environment and encourage pupil uptake and retention in the long term. As such, the accessibility of music service education is being implicitly limited, with some practitioners more likely to focus on pupils who align with their cultural perspective, while those who do not may be sidelined. A systemic inequality is at play here.

8.3.2. Music Exams

As mentioned above, it may also be the case that music chosen by exam boards, and by extension musical practitioners, reinforces access issues based on musical attitudes. Music exams are not a compulsory part of music service learning, but are widely used by music service practitioners, with all the participants in this study utilising exams as part of their teaching process. Thus, it plays an important role in both demonstrating how cultural differences come into play, and how culture clashes between music service practitioners and pupils can be expounded.

P05 for example, posits that, 'ABRSM is just *the* board to use, they take things seriously… they use the proper pieces. It's just better for students'. ABRSM (2024) (the Associated Boards of the Royal Schools of Music) was recognised by multiple participants as being an exam board that that focuses on the western classical tradition, and is viewed by P05 and P02 as the best of the exam boards:

> I've always used ABRSM, for strings anyway I reckon it's the go-to exam board. Lots of good classical, romantic, and 20th century rep [repertoire], particularly as you get to the higher grades. It's definitely the most highly regarded exam board. Some of the others, Trinity and the like… I mean… they're *OK*… but not as good. ABRSM is the way if you want to be taken seriously, if you want to advance on to national ensembles and to do music at uni. (P02)

Therefore, it may be the case that music service practitioners gravitate towards music exam boards that support their own perceptions of music and how music education should be delivered. In this case, the practitioner strongly views ABRSM as the 'correct' exam board to use if a career in music is to be pursued, aligning with the vocationalist perspective of the function of music service education. This ardent focus on exam boards that focus on the western classical tradition compounds the culture clashes between practitioners and pupils that we observed above (as revealed by P19 in Section 8.3.1. for instance). Thus, this can further affect recruitment and retention for pupils from backgrounds that do not have an alignment in musical cultural capital. When combined with the financial pressures evident in accessing the music service sector, these cultural clashes and attitudes towards pupils from deprived backgrounds have the potential to further the divide in the accessibility of music to pupils according to socioeconomic status.

Indeed, the data suggests that parents from more affluent areas are 'much more likely to put their kids in for exams' (P23). There are multiple reasons for this. Firstly, as we examined in Chapter 7, the costs involved for entering music exams are considerable. Secondly, parents who 'know the music used in exams' (P07) are more likely to be engaged with the music presented by the exam board, and thus feel more confident in supporting their child through the process. Building on this point, some participants suggest parents view (overtly or inadvertently) exams as a way for their child to accrue cultural and social capital. For instance, P15 states that:

> There are lots of good things about going down the exam route, and those [more affluent] parents know it. It makes you a better player obviously, but you can get UCAS points, and just immersing yourself in the process makes you more dedicated, better at solving puzzles… it helps your schoolwork too. You do have to commit to the process, but these kids typically do. (P15)

Here we see a practitioner noting that parents from more affluent backgrounds recognise the wider benefits of entering music exams, and thus additional capital. These benefits include earning UCAS points, which can aid in access to university, and more abstract benefits such as aiding cognitive development, which align with the benefits we observed in Section 4.4. (e.g. Hallam 2010). However, the phrase 'you do have to commit to the process, but these kids typically do' implies that pupils from more affluent backgrounds typically align with the exam-focused approach presented by the practitioner. Further exploration revealed that P15 viewed this as being 'thanks to their background', i.e. having an appropriate background in western classical cultural capital. As such we see another way in which music exams can help drive divides in access based on cultural attitudes. As observed by P10 above, if practitioners are more likely to gravitate towards (typically more affluent) pupils who align more closely with their perspective on music (typically vocationalist), then those who do not align with them (typically from deprived backgrounds) are more likely to be sidelined, and may be unable to accrue the benefits of musical learning in the same way. This effect perpetuates a divide in access, but one that is based on subtle nuances of attitudes and has not been previously observed in the Welsh LA music service context.

That being said, it is clearly not the case that *all* music service practitioners have this unwavering western classical focus when it comes to music exams. Indeed, some participants noted a focus on pupil choice on music, and favoured exam boards with a more diverse choice of music available. For example, P04, a brass and piano teacher, states that:

> I tend to use Trinty for exams, it gives the kids the chance to pick some music that they want to play… yeah you can play Bach if you want, but you can also play some jazz… or maybe your favourite song from Spotify. They definitely love that, gets them really into it… and you can introduce them to all kinds of stuff. (P04)

This utilisation of pupil voice in the process of preparing for music exams aligns more closely with the desires of the NPME (Miles 2022) we observed in Chapters 4 and 6. This perspective draws on the liberal humanist approach to teaching revealed in Section 8.2., and

presents a more inclusive pedagogy which is not limited by specific cultural preferences. Again, this is not an isolated occurrence, with P06, a percussion teacher similarly noting that:

> The great thing about perc [percussion] is that you can do anything from tuned, to timps [timpani], to kit, there's something for everyone. You get lots of kids who want to be rock or pop drummers, so that's what we do… so I do lots of Rock School exams… I do what they wanna do y'know? It helps keep them going longer. (P06)

Both participants are placing the emphasis on pupil choice, according to what kind of musical culture the pupil is aware of, and enabling them to pursue whichever avenue that they wish to, while introducing them to different kinds of music. Here, we can see how music service practitioner attitudes can break down potentially limiting cultural attitudes by providing choice and not limiting the scope to a single genre. Indeed, amongst practitioners who held similar views, there were no instances that could be interpreted as culture clashes between pupils and music service practitioners. Instead, the opposite was true. These practitioners noted that such an approach 'keeps them interested and engaged' (P13), encouraging successful recruitment and retention of pupils over time.

8.4. Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, we examined two perspectives regarding the social function of music education, and how such attitudes may affect the accessibility of music education for pupils. The first was a strong vocationalist perspective amongst some music service practitioners in which a major focus was to train the next generation of professional musicians, particularly in the context of the western classical tradition, of which there is considerable concern amongst some practitioners. Consequently, some music service practitioners focus on talented pupils at the expense of others. This focus on music type links to cultural barriers to access, discussed below. Conversely, the second perspective demonstrates that some music service practitioners align to a more liberal humanist perspective to the social function of music education. Based on pupil-led teaching styles and enjoyment of music making, the data suggests that such an approach may be more effective in retaining pupils over time and more widely accessible due to pupil preferences being considered in teaching.

Secondly, we explored how these perspectives were reflected in different cultural attitudes towards music amongst music service practitioners and how this affects their teaching practice. We found that in turn this may result in culture clashes between pupils and

practitioners based both on musical preferences, and the desired outcomes of the music education process. This can manifest in such practitioners interpreting that some pupils are disinterested in the types of music that they wish to teach, meaning that they are less likely to focus on such pupils, implicitly limiting access. They may also choose not to try and recruit in schools that have not traditionally been associated with success in certain musical types. Furthermore, these practitioners note that pupils who do not align with their views are less likely to continue learning in the long term.

The practitioners' choice of exams boards to use with pupils may compound these issues, further exasperating culture clashes and attitudes towards pupils of different musical preferences. This was particularly noticeable amongst music service practitioners who aligned with a vocationalist perspective, which typically aligns with the western classical tradition. The desire to create the next generation of musicians as the main outcome of music service education appears to intensify these cultural clashes as these practitioners are actively seeking pupils who align with their musical perspectives, seemingly at the expense of those who do not. In contrast, this did not appear to be an issue for those practitioners who aligned with a liberal humanist perspective to music education. Typically, the approach of utilising pupil voice in their teaching with a strong focus on enjoyment in teaching and learning appears to transcend any musical cultural differences between practitioner and pupil, and thus the access problems do not manifest as with the vocationalists above.

As such, music service teaching practitioners hold significant power of access to music service education, acting as "invisible gatekeepers", either limiting or enabling access depending on the social attitudes and cultural preferences of the individual teaching practitioners. Thus, I argue that socioeconomic barriers to access (albeit an important factor, as we have seen in Chapter 7), are only a part of the overall picture, with social and cultural factors needing to be taken into account when considering accessibility. As we have seen in this chapter, music service teaching practitioners are allowed to recruit and teach in any way that they choose, and many music services have little in the way of CPD, which often only consists of annual safeguarding training. Such flexibility in teaching has its advantages, particularly in adapting to individual pupils' needs, tastes, and desires during teaching, which as we have seen in teachers who subscribe to a more liberal humanistic approach to teaching can have great benefits in pupil recruitment and retention. However, it also allows room for individual biases to emerge which may implicitly affect access. As we have seen in Chapter 6, policymakers have only recently recognised that music service practitioner CPD to avoid

biases in teaching should be considered to prevent ‘inequality, bullying, prejudice or stereotyping based on protected characteristics’ (Miles 2022 p.9). However, this plays only a very minor part in policy discussion, which mainly focuses on macro level socioeconomic barriers to access, and indeed does not necessarily address the impact of cultural clashes (such as through attitudes towards musical types) on access that have become evident in this chapter within the music service system. Given the lack of previous research specifically on the attitudes of music service practitioners in Wales, this presents an important new factor for policymakers to consider and address.

Thus, it can be argued that the freedom of teaching proffered by music services is a flaw in the system unto itself. It may therefore be the case that teaching practice should become more regulated in music services in Wales, with a higher level of continued professional development (CPD), *consistently* delivered across *all* music services. Such consistency across Wales would help reduce regional disparity and promote inter-service collaboration. CPD raising awareness of the impacts of social and cultural accessibility would be vital, as would CPD in teaching a wider range of musical styles and in how to deliver such teaching in the context of different instruments and pupil-led teaching where appropriate. Naturally, some level of freedom in teaching would be necessary to encompass the vast range of possible musical activities and styles, but this CPD would be an important step in reducing the likelihood of accessibility issues arising from culture clashes between pupils and teachers, as identified in this chapter.

9. Discussion

In this chapter, I explore the implications for accessibility to music services, bringing together arguments from the findings in Chapters 6, 7, and 8, and contextualising these findings within the wider literature. I argue that there are three major barriers that negatively impact upon the accessibility of music service education in Wales. Economic barriers based on funding reforms play a major part in limiting access, as does the closely intertwined issues of the social and cultural attitudes of music services practitioners.

9.1. Economic Issues of Access

Economic issues are the most explicit of the limitations of access to music education in Wales. While forming a strong part of the literature and Welsh Government and third-party policy discourse in Chapter 6, the findings in Chapter 7 help to triangulate and expand upon these arguments through a new perspective, that of the peripatetic music service teaching practitioner. In this section, we will explore the issues surrounding accessibility to music service education according to music service funding, the affordability of lessons, and how funding reforms have impacted upon teaching practice and the teaching profession.

9.1.1. Music Service Funding

The findings of this study offer valuable insight into peripatetic teaching practitioner perceptions of music service funding and structural changes. For instance, in Chapter 7, we observed that music service practitioners harbour a strong preference for the funding structure that the MDF offered in providing centralised, ring-fenced funding for schools to utilise exclusively for music service tuition. Indeed, practitioners highlighted the MDF as a high point of Welsh music service tuition and expressed the importance of ring-fenced funding in tackling issues of affordability. A view echoed by key music service stakeholders in research by Carr (2018). However, there was also a recognition that due to the extra-curricular nature of music services, the funding is inextricably linked with political will. If a government views music services as important, they are willing to spend capital on helping to support services and thus better enable access for pupils. For instance, increased government investment in music services through the 1960s and 1970s (Taylor 1979). However, if political favour, or economic pressures, are against music services, centralised investment decreases and music

services are forced to rely on fees to remain viable, as with the increases in music service fees during the 1980s (Cleave and Dust 1989), and the cessation of the MDF in Wales in 2005 (Carr 2018). Indeed, this reflects Welsh cultural policy more widely since devolution, with a focus on institutional arts that bring explicit economic benefits and neglects those subjects that do not but may have more implicit benefits (Smith 2021; Jones 2021). Thus, the music service sector is highly unstable, controlled by external forces, which makes funding to enable subsidised access for pupils highly unreliable (Smith 2013a). This situation speaks more widely to Williams' concern over arts education becoming marginalised due to political focus on core subjects. For instance, those which are viewed as more economically beneficial, limiting the opportunity for the dissemination of, and thus access to, emergent cultural forms (Williams 1966).

Music service practitioners were critical of the music service funding structure since the cessation of the MDF, with it coming under the remit of the relevant LA, but with no dedicated government funding. As such, a fragmentation of provision was noted between different music services in Wales, creating an inherently unequal offering for pupils that depends on the region in which one resides: a "postcode lottery". Such issues became particularly acute following the introduction of austerity measures in 2008, with local authorities making substantial reductions in music service funding from 2010 onward (Holford 2020). In Chapter 7, the music service practitioners noted that some music services ceased to exist as a result, and others lost thousands of pupils due to the decrease in subsidisation of lessons and the introduction of lesson fees. All the practitioners viewed the fragmented system negatively in terms of access and preferred a centralised system of funding to enable access for pupils, as per the MDF. The third-party reports in Chapter 6 broadly agree with this critique, and while the Welsh Government reports are less openly critical, they recognise the negative effects that the fragmentation of funding in this way has had on the ability of music services to deliver equitable provision. Consequently, the Welsh Government has introduced a National Music Service of Wales through its NPME (Miles 2022). However, the data from music service practitioners indicates that the dedicated funding would not be enough to tackle the issue of affordability in Welsh music services and will only be enough to support initial experiences for pupils, and not support them through their ongoing development. This suggests that funding issues will remain a major issue in the coming years, unless additional funding is granted and permanently ring-fenced.

The precarious political nature of music service funding subsequently has a direct impact on several operational factors in the running of music services that affect the accessibility of provision for pupils. These include the more obvious impacts such as the affordability of lessons, but also affects lesser explored factors such as teaching practice and changes to the teaching profession as barriers to access. We will now explore these in turn.

9.1.2. Affordability

Music service funding subsequently has a direct impact on the affordability of music service tuition for pupils (Smith 2013a). Indeed, from the music service practitioner interviews in Chapter 7, the affordability of music service tuition is clearly one of the most significant barriers to pupils being able to access such services. Music service teaching practitioners observed that many pupils were unable to afford to access the learning of musical instruments due to increased lesson fees, which have been gradually introduced across various music services since approximately 2010. This was observed by every participant, revealing that this effect is present within the ten different music services covered by the sample. It is not a blanket effect however, with the fragmentation of the music service systems demonstrating that the introduction of fees emerged at different times and at different amounts according to the music service (Bird et al. 2020). Nevertheless, every participant unanimously agreed that, because of local authority funding reductions to music services since the cessation of the MDF in 2005, the decrease in subsidised tuition and an increase in tuition fees has severely impacted on pupil recruitment and retention, particularly for pupils in socioeconomically deprived areas. Simply put, pupils from deprived backgrounds are being priced-out of music service education compared to their more affluent peers, who are readily able to afford such costs.

It is not a surprise that affordability is highlighted in this way within the interview data. Affordability is also a major focus of both Welsh Government (e.g. Napieralla et al. 2015; Sayed et al. 2018; Bird et al. 2020) and third-party reports (e.g. Smith 2013a; Carr 2018; Holford 2020) on accessibility to music services, as explored in Chapter 8. These reports reflect the concerns felt by music service teaching practitioners, noting the increase in fees as an important barrier to accessibility. While the reports offer a macro-level perspective of the affordability issue, the participant data reveals new factors that have not previously been explored in the literature. For instance, it was shown that affordability issues are not limited

to lesson fees. Additional costs play a significant role in pupils being unable to afford to begin learning musical instruments and continue to do so over time. These additional costs include, but are not limited to, the cost of buying or hiring instruments (where music services are unable to loan them), the cost of sheet music and books, fees for taking part in additional ensembles and activities (such as a county orchestra or other group), the costs of entering music exams, and the travel costs associated with taking part in these additional activities. It is from the practitioner perspective that we can observe that these additional expenses play a significant part in the accessibility of music services education. However, this issue is not yet recognised as a meaningful barrier to access within contemporary policy discourse, and no action is being taken to address these issues for pupils from deprived backgrounds (e.g. Miles 2022).

Smith (2013a) identified a 'real anxiety' among parents and pupils regarding the increasing costs surrounding arts activities. The music service practitioner data demonstrates that this anxiety has not abated. Indeed, the issue appears more acute than ever, with some practitioners stating that for pupils struggling financially, they might give extra lesson time for free, provide books and learning materials from their own pocket, and even in some instances pay for pupils' lesson fees from their own personal finances. While such evidence may not necessarily be generalisable, it does illustrate the extent to which affordability can be a major issue, which is rarely highlighted in the wider literature.

Perhaps more than any other factor in the discussion around accessibility, affordability cuts a clear line between those who can pay fees and those who cannot. Thus, as noted by the music service practitioners, we see music service provision gravitating towards wealthier areas and having less of a presence in areas of higher deprivation. This reflects historical concerns from the 1950s, with Long (1959) noting that music service provision ended up being weighted towards grammar schools, and that the ability of parents to pay fees was intrinsically linked to access. Therefore, a key consequence of the issue of affordability is that it compounds divisions between social classes. For instance, more affluent families can wield their economic capital to enable their children to access musical learning, through which they can gain the social and cultural capital that can come from playing a musical instrument (Burnard et al. 2015).

9.1.3. Teaching Practice

The changes in music service funding have also had an impact on the teaching practice of music service practitioners, which in turn may present barriers to accessing provision for pupils. For instance, in Chapter 7 we observed that funding reductions lead to reduced lesson times for pupils, and an increase in group and whole-class lessons, often at reduced cost to the parents. While this reduced cost may enable pupils to access some music education, it leads to access issues due to reduced contact time, particularly for those who cannot afford it. Those who can afford more lesson time and/or individual lessons are able to reap greater benefit from music education. The practitioners indicated that teaching in groups for shorter overall lesson durations results in less progress being achieved by pupils over time, and they are thus notably more likely to choose to stop learning their instrument out of frustration or boredom as a result. Thus, we can view this issue as one that has an indirect effect on the accessibility of music education.

However, this has not always been the case in music services. For example, in the 1970s there were considerably more opportunities for free or heavily subsidised lessons, with individual lessons being the norm for larger numbers of pupils (Cleave and Dust 1989; Fletcher 1987). Interestingly, key music service stakeholders recalled this period as enabling a 'higher standard' of musical learning compared to the present day because of the more focused individual teaching practice (Carr 2018 p.20). This view was echoed by the music service teaching practitioners in Chapter 7. Referring to the MDF between 1997 and 2005, they noted that it was the subsequent funding pressures that have driven the subsequent changes, which affect pupils from deprived backgrounds the most. Again, we see economic capital playing a major role in accessing music service education, wherein more affluent families can utilise their material wealth to reinforce their class position through access to musical cultural capital, while those with less are unable to reap such advantages (Burnard et al. 2015).

Most of the Welsh Government documents in Chapter 6 do not refer to music service teaching practice to any great extent. However, the 2022 NPME takes a markedly different approach. It has committed to utilising the dedicated funding for the newly formed National Music Service of Wales to enable every child in school in Wales to experience musical learning through whole class tuition projects (Miles 2022). Yet, this approach is in direct disagreement with the views of the practitioners in Chapter 7. They critique the NPME for

not providing an access route out of this ‘first experiences’ whole-class programme, with pupils simply being faced with having to pay for individual or group lessons once the whole-class programme is completed.

This policy represents a curious impasse in accessing music education. In focusing the available funding for the NPME on first experience whole class programmes, the Welsh Government aiming to enable access to music services for all. Here, we can see policy moving away from the economic focus that Williams argues may limit the dissemination of cultural forms in society, helping to move towards a more democratic, common culture, as more children from different social classes are able to interact with forms of residual and emergent cultural forms (Williams 1966; 1984). While initially appearing to address economic issues of access, the focus on first experiences is limiting. The funding does not enable an affordable, accessible route of progression from the first experience into the existing system of individual or small group teaching due to the associated affordability costs such as lesson fees and reduced teaching time. Therefore, the focus on whole-class first experiences may be a false economy which is compounding issues of long-term access to music services. The funding may be better targeted at enabling subsidised access for pupils from deprived backgrounds. While appearing an attempt to democratise musical cultural access, this policy may essentially be reinforcing class distinctions in accessing musical culture (Bourdieu 1984) by pursuing a route that requires economic capital to access after an initial experience. It may be that the limited NPME funding available should be specifically targeted to enable pupils from deprived backgrounds to better afford music service tuition, rather than a blanket approach which also covers pupils from affluent backgrounds who, as we have seen from Chapter 6, are able to already access such tuition thanks to greater economic capital.

9.1.4. The Teaching Profession

Another element linked to access is the effect that funding reductions have had on the working terms and conditions of the teaching profession. In Chapter 7 it was revealed that due to the enactment of local authority music service funding reductions post-2010, there had been a marked decline in the number of contracted teaching roles available, with a shift towards enforced self-employment with precarious zero-hour contracts. Thus, a music service practitioner’s income is directly related to the number of pupils that they teach, and they lose

the employment benefits of a full-time employee (such as paid holiday, paid sick leave, paid maternity leave, pensions etc.). Consequently, there is considerable insecurity within the profession, with some music service practitioners having to work part-time in other jobs to remain financially viable, while others have felt forced to leave the profession for more secure employment elsewhere. The Covid-19 pandemic further compounded this effect, with fewer pupils learning due to practitioners being unable to teach in schools.

Historically, since the 1960s, music service practitioners typically had the option to be contracted as a full-time employee or to work part-time as a self-employed teacher (Welsh Office 1971). Thus, the option was present to choose either role, with one being preferable to the other depending on the flexibility one required in the role. However, full-time employees typically required a teaching diploma whereas part-time employees did not at this time, which resulted in a shortage of eligible practitioners, particularly in rural areas (ibid). Potentially due to such issues, the requirement for a teaching diploma was gradually dropped (Cleave and Dust 1989), but the availability of full-time contracts remained throughout the period of the MDF between 1997 and 2005 (Carr 2018). However, with the funding reforms enacted since then within the sector, we can observe a dramatic decline in the quality of music service practitioner working conditions.

In Chapter 8, we observed that two Welsh Government documents did consider the issue of music service practitioner working terms and conditions, yet this forms only a very minor part of the discourse. A review of conditions was promised to begin in 2022 (Miles 2022). Yet, the practitioners in Chapter 6 paint a very bleak picture that raises significant concerns. With a potential reduction in teachers, I posit that this will affect the accessibility of music education for pupils due to a 'brain drain' – a lack of experienced practitioners within the sector. This may result in a lack of capacity for music services to deliver tuition, resulting in a smaller focus which will inevitably fall on those who are able to pay for lessons (Smith 2013a). Also, due to the self-employment aspect meaning teachers' income is directly related to the number of pupils they teach, and as revealed in Chapter 7, music service practitioners may focus their attentions on schools in areas in which they can gain the most money, which will unavoidably be the most affluent. Driving around to teach one lesson in one school, one lesson in another, is not financially sustainable for peripatetic music service practitioners. Therefore, the reduction in teacher numbers and the gradual increase in precarious terms and conditions will result in pupils from more deprived areas being less likely to be able to access

music service education, thus perpetuating a social class divide in types of music making (Bourdieu 1984).

As such, I posit that the economic capital of the peripatetic music service practitioner workforce is a vital component when considering a holistic view of access to music services. If practitioners are forced to focus on more affluent areas as they are unable to afford to travel to teach small numbers of pupils across multiple areas, then music service tuition will inevitably be drawn away from pupils in more deprived areas, who already face access issues due to affordability issues, as explored above. Alternatively, if practitioners are forced to leave the profession due to it not providing a sufficient level of economic capital, then music services will suffer from a lack of available staff, intensifying the issues of increased group teaching; and from a lack of institutional experience, potentially affecting the quality of provision in the long term. Supporting the role of the peripatetic music service teaching practitioner should be considered as part of the funding allocation by the NPME in future, rather than solely focusing on funding for pupils. An experienced, motivated, and financially secure workforce is vital to sustain a high level of equitable accessibility and sustainability in the music service sector, and the promised NPME review of music service practitioner terms and conditions should focus on enabling this as a priority (Miles 2022).

9.2. Social and Cultural Issues of Access

While economic barriers are relatively explicit, the data has revealed that there are more implicit social and cultural barriers to music service education stemming from peripatetic music service teaching practitioner attitudes surrounding the social function of music education, their perceptions of social class, and their perceptions of how musical culture should be utilised in music education. These present a complex, interwoven picture of potentially very significant access issues that have not been identified with any substance within contemporary policy discourse in Wales. In Section 9.2.1., we will first examine the definition and function of the vocationalist perspective of music education and explore how western classical cultural attitudes form a culture clash between some practitioners and pupils, limiting access to music education. Secondly, in Section 9.2.2. we will explore an alternative liberal humanism perspective, which through diverse musical cultural attitudes and pupil-led pedagogy may offer an alternative approach music service teaching which can improve access.

9.2.1. Vocationalism and Culture Clashes

In Chapter 8, some peripatetic music service teaching practitioners demonstrated a strong vocationalist viewpoint when justifying the social function of music service education. By this, it is meant that we see a strong focus on providing the next generation of professional musicians as the main goal of their teaching. In this instance, a professional career typically involves traditional western classic career paths, such as playing in orchestras. Amongst this school of thought there appears to be considerable concern over a perceived decline of the wider classical music industry over the past decade (e.g. Stuart 2024). As such, they view music service education as necessary to support the future of the industry. Yet, Chapter 8 indicates that there is considerable frustration with the current state of music services' abilities to produce this outcome. For example, some practitioners felt that pupils from more deprived backgrounds were unable to access music education due to the introduction of lesson fees, additional costs, and reduced rates of subsidisation, and thus have little chance of accessing music to the point in which they could consider it as a career. However, economic factors were not the only perceived issue. Some participants expressed the view that affluent pupils who were able to afford tuition were generally uninterested in pursuing music as a career. Thus, the practitioners view this an ever-decreasing pool of talent and are therefore fighting a rearguard action against the decline of western classical music as a profession.

This vocationalism presents an access issue in itself. As the data in Chapter 7 suggests, because of the vocationalist perspective, such practitioners are more likely to focus on particularly gifted pupils, or on those whom show interest in making music their profession. This may result in a situation in which pupils who are interested in music purely as a hobby may be given less attention and are thus more likely to cease learning. Music service practitioner attitudes can therefore affect how a pupil may engage with, and therefore access, music service provision.

The picture of accessibility has additional nuance when we examine the vocationalist perspective, with social and cultural attitudes to consider. For instance, the affordability of provision is not the only reason that vocationalist practitioners tend to lean towards more affluent areas in which to teach. The historical literature indicates that music service provision has had a consistent tendency over time to focus on wealthier areas, even when lessons were financially subsidised, with tuition being more frequently taken up and successful long-term in more affluent areas (e.g. Long 1959; Welsh Office 1971; Sharp

1991). The data in Chapter 8 indicates that this trend has continued and uncovers inherently classist attitudes demonstrated by some music service practitioners. In many instances, the practitioners blamed the lack of uptake from pupils in deprived areas on the attitudes towards music acquired from growing up in deprived areas and families. In arguing that such pupils are unable to appreciate the musical cultural forms being offered to them due to their social and cultural capital, there grows a perception of cultural deprivation directed at pupils from some practitioners. This echoes the cultural deprivation attitudes observed in music education in the 1980s by Vulliamy and Shepherd (1984), indicating a continuation of these views over time in the music service tradition. Indeed, in Carr's (2018) interviews with music service stakeholders, there was a strong sense of nostalgia for this period. Thus, we can observe a limitation on access to music services based on practitioner cultural and social attitudes, manifesting in practitioners spending less time trying to recruit pupils in schools in deprived areas, and thus affecting the accessibility of music education to these pupils.

Attitudes towards musical culture are deeply intertwined within this perspective. To fully understand the causes of these perspectives, we will now examine the cultural justifications of the practitioners who align with vocationalism as their key objective. A key point here is that vocationalist practitioners strongly align with the western classical musical tradition in their teaching, and generally do not wish to engage with other musical forms.

The strong preference for the western classical tradition by some music service practitioners could be said to stem from the Arnoldian tradition of culture, utilising the 'best that has been thought and said' (Arnold 1869 p.viii), given his influence on early formalised education, as explored in Chapter 2. However, while Arnold's ethos intention was to utilise the arts as a liberal humanist reformatory tool through which to improve society (Pratt 2007), he advocated for the use of traditional high cultural forms through which to do so. Thus, in music education, the preferred musical forms of the dominant classes were utilised, that of the western classical tradition, which became the main focus of the newly formalised music services following the 1944 Education Act (Cleave and Dust 1989). However, it is this perception of the western classical tradition being more useful or beneficial than other forms as a result of this Arnoldian influence that presents an issue. If only a certain type of culture is utilised in cultural education, then it may suppress other types of culture, which are not objectively any less valuable.

Williams (1961) argues that all cultural forms have an inherent value, and the strict divisions between the residual cultural norms of the dominant classes and the emergent culture of other classes are gradually being eroded over time and through the proliferation of mass media. According to Williams, musical cultural taste in relation to class is becoming less distinct over time in wider society (Sandywell and Beer 2005; Reynolds 2011). This also appears to be the case in curriculum music education, with the curriculum becoming increasingly diverse over time (Philpott 2022), thus gradually eroding the influence of Arnoldian forms of high culture as the basis of music education. Theoretically, this embracing of emergent musical forms in classroom education will aid in reducing instances of culture clashes between teachers and pupils, increasing inclusivity in music education practices.

However, the data in Chapter 8 indicates that extracurricular music service education can be the exception to Williams' (1961) proposed long revolution effect. Music service pedagogy is comparatively unregulated compared to curriculum music, with each individual practitioner having a high degree of autonomy to teach in the way that they wish, and the content that they wish. Thus, we see the residual dominant culture of the western classical tradition remaining strong within this context. While this is not objectively problematic, it can provide a crucible in which the above issues of practitioner cultural and social attitudes forming barriers to access.

For example, the combination of music service practitioners' vocationalist desire to produce a new generation of professional musicians, the strong bias towards western classical music culture, and the negative class-based assumptions, all leads to culture clashes between some pupils and music service practitioners. A culture clash in music education can be defined as when the cultural preferences of teachers do not align with that of the pupils, resulting in conflict that may result in teachers forming a perception of cultural deficit towards pupils who do not align with their views of culture. This culture clash has historical precedent in music education. Vulliamy and Shepherd (1984, p.248) reveal a clash in perception of music in the classroom between 'serious' classical music and 'popular' music, one being perceived as requiring greater skill than the other, and thus being more important. From there a cultural deprivation narrative emerged, wherein teachers assumed that pupils from lower class backgrounds were unable to appreciate the higher skills required to engage with classical music. While this view has been widely critiqued as classist and incorrect (e.g. Tulkin 1972), the fact that such views exist presents an issue wherein pupils from deprived backgrounds may be neglected in education (Vulliamy 1977).

This echoes in the music service practitioners' accounts in Chapter 8. Culture clashes are evident between practitioners of the vocationalist perspective who focused solely on the western classical musical tradition and pupils interested in other musical outlooks, such as popular music, folk music, etc. As such, some pupils are less likely to wish to engage with a type of cultural capital with which they are unfamiliar. This results in these pupils from popular music backgrounds becoming less motivated to succeed in a similar way to that observed by Wright (2008) in formal classroom settings. From this, some practitioners appear to have developed a cultural deprivation attitude similar to that observed by Keddie (1973), in which they view pupils from certain areas as unwilling, or *unable,* to engage in music education as a result of this disagreement. These biases are problematic in terms of ensuring equality of access to music service education. The culture clash is compounded by the strong western classical vocationalist perspective, as these practitioners are seemingly fighting a rearguard action against a perceived decline of the western classical music profession. Consequently, they double down on their position, focusing on specific demographics who align with their views, namely more affluent pupils and parents who may already share in this cultural capital, and view the learning of musical instruments in the western classical tradition as highly desirable cultural capital and a way of improving social status (Trulsson 2015). Conversely, the music service practitioners are less likely to engage with pupils who do not align with their cultural views and vocationalist aims. However, it is implied in Chapter 8 that while more affluent families utilise music service tuition for the associated cultural and social capital, they do not typically aspire to a future career in the field. This appears to compound the vocationalist viewpoint, with fewer potential future professionals to train, practitioners focus more and more on the few who are interested in a professional musical career. Thus, access may not only be implicitly limited for more affluent pupils *as well as* pupils from more deprived backgrounds, further narrowing the scope for engaging in musical learning.

Thus, we have a self-perpetuating cycle of problems. A vocationalist view in the face of funding reductions leads to a stronger focus on a niche musical genre, which leads to a culture clash with pupils, which can lead to negative class perceptions, which can lead to access issues based on biases, which reduces the number of pupils engaging in musical learning, which leads to a strong vocationalist perspective to make up for the lack of pupils. As such, we can see this perspective as perpetuating a form of social distinction based on cultural and social capital (Bourdieu 1984). Access can be limited according to these factors from practitioners, and are compounded when combined with the need for economic capital

in order to access music education (see Section 9.1.). This perspective reinforces a form of high culture as part of a dominant social class who have access to the economic capital, and the social and cultural capital with which they are able to successfully engage with such practitioners. From then, such pupils can reap the social and cultural benefits of engaging in western classical musical learning, further reinforcing their position in this musical world, and in part across wider society (Trulsson 2015). Conversely pupils without the necessary economic, social, and cultural capital to engage in this kind of learning can be marginalised by such music service teaching practitioners who follow this view (as explored in Chapter 8). Thus, access to this form of musical learning, and the associated benefits of its cultural and social capital, is denied. We can view this effect as a unique form of Bourdieu's (1984) concept of habitus, which has been maintained within the microcosm of relatively unregulated music service teaching. This contrasts with musical tastes in society as a whole, which have become less distinct with the increase in mass communications (Williams 1966).

Another reason why some music service practitioners lean into the vocationalist perspective is that western classical musical learning takes a great deal of time and skill to perfect, and thus practitioners may feel under pressure to produce pupils with the ability to move into the profession (Sagiv and Hall 2015). Indeed, Sagiv and Hall (2015) recognised that a teacher's status as a western classical musician is constantly under examination as relative to the skill level of their students. This is due to western classical performance representing a form of symbolic capital in wider social fields (Wright 2015). Thus, the western classical tradition is viewed by wider society as a highly skilled and desirable genre, yet due to the difficulties of teaching and learning, teachers may be locked in a cycle of reproduction of the expected cultural norms of the tradition. Furthermore, Button (2010) notes that music teachers are strongly influenced by their own experiences in forming their pedagogy and are less inclined to develop new teaching strategies over time because of this. The wider cultural perceptions of how the western classical tradition absorbed by music service practitioners through this intergenerational habitus may therefore influence teaching practice. This view is reinforced by data in Chapter 8 that revealed that practitioners who align with the vocationalist perspective utilise music exams offered by specific exam boards in their pedagogy that reflect this western classical habitus, branding them as offering the 'correct' types of music. The exams themselves represent their own cultural capital for the pupils (Bourdieu 1984), but they may also represent cultural capital for the practitioners, as a demonstration of skill for wider cultural expectations in society (Sagiv and Hall 2015). Thus, they may feel forced into

focusing on these types of exams, which, due to the difficulties of learning the western classical tradition, and the additional economic capital required to enter exams, further narrows the scope of access to some pupils and reinforcing division in society according to social class. The cultural pressure of this ingrained intergenerational habitus, combined with the reduction in pupil numbers due to funding reductions and a perception of pupils not valuing music as a career, may help to explain the vocationalist perspective within some music service teaching practitioners.

All the above issues surrounding the vocationalist perspective can be labelled as "invisible gatekeeping" by some music service practitioners. It can be viewed as "invisible" because the problematic elements are based on the cultural and social attitudes of the practitioners themselves, and it cannot be quantified in a way that economic issues may be, for instance. As with teachers of formalised curriculum-based classroom music (Wirght 2008), music service teaching practitioners hold a significant position of power. They are the key point of contact with pupils and parents in the music service system, and unlike formal classroom music, they have total control of their pedagogical approach and the types of music that is taught. This can result in the practitioners' personal attitudes towards cultural preference and social class wield a significant amount of influence on pupils. If problematic perspectives are present in this regard, such as the cultural deprivation attitudes and negative class perceptions identified in Chapter 8, this presents the potential for the practitioner to negatively affect access, even if such views are implicit rather than explicit. This represents a significant barrier to access in the contemporary Welsh music service system, and one which has been revealed through a focus on the role of peripatetic music service teaching practitioners. Consequently, it is not a view that has been identified within the Welsh Government policy or third-party discourse in Chapter 6. There are hints of the issue, such as Miles (2022) recommending that music service practitioners should have improved CPD to limit any biases according to class, gender, and other protected characteristics. Thus, it may be being recognised that the lack of CPD may lead to issues of access based on practitioner attitudes, but this is only a very small part of the wider discourse, which mainly focuses on economic barriers to access. Based on the findings in Chapter 8, the role that music service practitioner attitudes play in access is a significant one and should form a much more important role in the discourse.

9.2.2. Liberal Humanism and Pupil-Led Pedagogy

It is important to note that while the vocationalist perspective was an important part of the peripatetic music service teaching practitioner data in Chapter 8, it was not the only distinct perspective. In contrast, several practitioners demonstrated a liberal humanistic perspective on the social function of music education. This is characterised by viewing the primary function of music service education to be enjoyment for the pupils taking part, whilst being open to embracing a wide variety of musical genres in teaching within a pupil-led pedagogy. As such, this aligns with Arnold's liberal humanist view of the arts as a way to 'expand the soul, liberalise the mind, dignify the character' (Arnold 1864 p.293), recognising the wider benefits of music education beyond simple economic or career motivations. However, the liberal humanist approach of the practitioners in Chapter 8 can be viewed as a developed version of Arnoldian thinking, which does not project a certain type of established cultural norm to confer such benefits, rather it allows lessons to be led by the pupil regarding the type of music they wish to learn. Practitioners found that keeping an open discourse between pupil and teacher allows them to develop a pupil's preferred musical tastes whilst introducing new ideas to explore. This results in an enjoyable learning experience, which in the practitioners' experience noticeably increases the likelihood that pupils will continue to learn in the long run, thus helping to reinforce the accessibility of music education. This pupil-led pedagogy echoes that observed to be successful in classroom music education by Wright (2008), indicating that such approaches can improve engagement and access in both formal and extracurricular settings.

Instead of the career focus of the vocationalist practitioners, liberal humanist practitioners recognise that most pupils do not want a career in the arts sector, but that they as teachers can support pupils to develop a hobby for life, recognising the wide-ranging benefits of music education. This aligns with the wider literature that recognises that music education can provide cognitive and behavioural benefits, social benefits, develop critical thinking skills, improved mental and physical health, and improve literacy and numeracy skills (e.g. Hallam 2010). Music exams are also less of a focus for these practitioners. They view exams as a method for improving the standard of pupils' performance, but maintain the focus on enjoyment, and recognise that some pupils will simply not want to engage with exams. This lack of pressure on pupils to conform again makes it more likely that they will start learning and continue to learn.

That is not to say, however, that the liberal practitioners do not recognise a career in the arts as a pathway. Indeed, several talked of pupils progressing into the sector as professional musicians, but for them it was the pupil-led focus on enjoyment that enabled this. It was not through the practitioner encouraging it, but it happened because of pupils being treated as per every other pupil in this perspective. The pupils that want a career can do so, while others develop as hobbyists, thus making access far more equal. It is important to note that liberal-aligned practitioners in Chapter 8 almost all taught instruments or styles that were not typically part of the western classical tradition, such as guitar, drums, and various instruments typically associated with the popular, jazz, and folk traditions. This provides an interesting contrast to the vocationalist perspective, which appears to alienate pupils who do not align with a certain attituded towards a western classical cultural approach. It appears that music service practitioners from these popular music backgrounds do not face the same issues of marginalisation as those who pursue formal classroom teaching (John et al. 2024). This is the other side of the coin of the relatively unregulated nature of music service teaching, in that it enables the practitioner to pursue their own pedagogical approach without interference. If the pedagogy is positive and inclusive, it can improve the accessibility of music education (Wright 2008).

When considering the cultural aspects, we are not trying to identify a 'correct' type of musical culture to utilise within music service pedagogy, but to consider how cultural perspectives of music service practitioners may influence pedagogical practice or decisions based on implicit class or cultural assumptions, resulting in a situation in which pupils are being influenced to start or stop learning a musical instrument through music services. The pupil-led liberal humanist perspective appears to offer a far more accessible approach for pupils engaging with music service education. However, the practitioner must have the empathy to set aside their own cultural preferences to successfully engage with pupils in this way (Wright 2002). It goes beyond attitude however, I argue that music service practitioners must have the *training* to conduct this form of pedagogy effectively, through ongoing CPD as proposed in Section 8.4.

The open nature of the liberal humanist approach may also aid in breaking down the class barriers implicitly reinforced by vocationalism. It helps to dismantle the intergenerational habitus of musical culture by helping pupils to accrue the benefits of the social and cultural capital associated with a wide range of musical culture. The pupil-led approach to teaching appears vital to these practitioners in Chapter 8. Wright (2015) supports this, finding that with

a student-led teaching pedagogy, students' habitus was able to adapt through increased pedagogical and musical capital. Whereas the students had previously been disengaged with teacher-led interactions, being able to 'direct their own learning' enabled the students to gradually acquire agency. Wright posits that this enabled them to 'occupy more advantageous positions within the field of music education' (ibid, pp.95-96), through which they were able to acquire more musical capital. Indeed, the students positioned themselves as 'musicians' whereas they previously perceived themselves as 'not musical, nor ever likely to be so' (ibid, p.96). Here we see an example of how the barriers of musical cultural capital imposed by intergenerational habitus can be broken down through student-led pedagogy. It is also interesting the student agency enabled an altered habitus that was able to 'stand tests of durability and transposability as students maintained them over time and were able to operationalise them in other contexts' (ibid, p.96). Thus, we can view this as supporting the view that musical learning can play a role in the breaking down of long-established intergenerational habitus, with the boundaries of social class becoming less clear (Reynolds 2011), but this time through the use of student-led pedagogy, a view that is reflective of the data in Chapter 8.

Interestingly, the liberal humanist perspective closely aligns with the views of the Welsh Government's NPME (Miles 2022). As we observed in Chapter 6, the NPME marks a noticeable shift in the discourse surrounding analysis compared to previous documents. For instance, the plan has shifted towards a policy of first experiences, that will enable all school pupils to 'experience the joy of music making', also recognising the holistic transferable skills and social and health benefits that can help enable pupils throughout their whole life. It also seeks to embrace a wide range of musical styles and cultures as part of this teaching, diversifying the pupil experience. As we can see, the discourse of the NPME has strong similarities to that of the liberal humanistic practitioners in Chapter 8. However, it should be noted that the liberal humanistic practitioners only made up a small portion of the sample, and it is not clear how widespread this view is, compared to, say, vocationalism, in the wider workforce. Given the relative independence of the music service teaching profession to carry out their pedagogy as they wish, the liberal policy of the NPME may not necessarily be successfully adopted without first addressing barriers of cultural and social attitudes amongst some practitioners. Based on the data in Chapter 8 the liberal humanist approach appears to offer the best approach to eliminating, or at least reducing, the implicit cultural and social biases inherent in the vocationalist approach, and thus create more equitable access for all.

While the Welsh Government aligns with this approach in the NPME (Miles 2022), there is more work to be done in training music service practitioners to support and enable this method of teaching. This should be achieved through a national, standardised CPD programme designed to reduce such biases, will offering training on how to teach different genres, and in pupil-led pedagogy.

9.3. Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter we have explored the key issues of access to music services. Firstly, the economic barriers stem from local authority funding reductions. The introduction of fees has made parental economic capital a vital part of accessing music service education, with affordability of lessons being a major barrier that is reflected in the policy and third-party documents of Chapter 6. However, changes in teaching practice because of funding reductions have also impacted access, with the costs resulting in more group lessons for a shorter duration, impacting upon pupil progress, leading to pupils no longer continuing learning. The teaching profession has also been impacted, with a deterioration of peripatetic teaching practitioner terms and conditions also impact on the overall picture of accessibility, with a potential reduction in the teaching workforce and a loss of expertise due to some leaving to find an alternative, more financially secure, careers. The issues of teaching practice and the teaching profession are both elements that have not been a focus of the prior discourse in Chapter 8.

However, there are also other, more implicit, social and cultural attitudes that impact upon access to music services in Wales. These issues have not previously been explored in the context of Welsh music service education, and identifying such issues is the result of the focus of this thesis on peripatetic music service teaching practitioners, a perspective that has hitherto been neglected by the Welsh Government reports reviewed in Chapter 6. Firstly, there is a strong vocational perspective amongst some practitioners, whose aim it is to produce the next generation of western classical professional musicians. However, the desire to reproduce western classical tradition leads to culture clashes with some pupils who have not had the intergenerational cultural and social capital to successfully engage with this tradition. Such clashes can result in cultural deprivation perspectives emerging, meaning some practitioners are less likely to engage with pupils in certain areas as a result, limiting access, and reinforcing class divides. Consequently, such pupils can be effectively

marginalised by these practitioners, limiting their access to engage with this type of music education. While there are hints of such issues in policy documents in Chapter 6, such as improving CPD for practitioners, the data in this thesis reveals that practitioner attitudes can play a crucial role in accessibility. Practitioner attitudes must have greater consideration in policy discourse. Conversely, amongst other practitioners a liberal humanist perspective is evident, with a focus on pupil enjoyment instead of being career-driven as with the vocationalists. Such practitioners employ a pupil-led pedagogy, engaging with the type of musical culture preferred by the pupils, and developing a collaborative approach to musical learning. This ideology is reflected in the NPME (Miles 2022), and appears to break down habitus, and help with ensuring the cultural accessibility of music service teaching, and help with the long term retention of pupils. However, as examined in Chapter 7, the funding allocated is unlikely to be enough to fulfil this vision, with additional, ring-fenced funding being required to ensure access.

Thus, there are two main strands of access issues to music services in Wales, the economic, and the cultural and social. The latter has previously not played a role in the policy discourse and has emerged because of examining the perspectives of music service teaching practitioners in the Welsh context for the first time, and based on the findings in this thesis, should certainly carry more weight in policy discussions. We will now draw a conclusion from these findings and discussions, and address the research questions.

10. Conclusion

In this thesis, I aimed to explore issues surrounding the accessibility of extra-curricular music service education in Wales. Stemming from my personal experiences as a music service teaching practitioner, I could plainly see the economic barriers to access as the costs of lessons increased as a result of LA funding reforms in the face of austerity measures post-2010 (Carr 2018). While concern for these access issues was evident (e.g. Smith 2013a; Carr 2018), I felt that the perspective of the music service teaching practitioner was missing from the macro-level discourse of Welsh Government reports on the issue (e.g. Napieralla et al. 2015; Sayed et al. 2019). I reasoned that the peripatetic music service teaching practitioner played a vital role in ensuring access through a range of more subtle cultural and social factors, being the point of contact between policy and consumer, i.e. parents and pupils. Over the course of this thesis, I have demonstrated that these ideas were accurate, establishing that the attitudes of music service teaching practitioners can play a significant role in accessibility of music service-based education, and that such significance is largely absent from the policy and third-party discourse on the topic. We shall now address these issues through the research questions posed at the beginning of this thesis.

10.1. Addressing the Research Questions

1. *How do policymakers and third-party organisations frame and justify access to music education?*

The documentary analysis of Welsh Government and third-party reports in Chapter 6 revealed that for the most part, access issues were framed through economic barriers to music education. The main cause for concern surrounding access was that music education will only become available to those families with the economic capital to be able to afford to access services. This triangulates with economic access concerns expressed by music service practitioners in Chapter 7. Thus, we can conclude that economic capital remains one of the main factors to accessing music service education in Wales, with the rising costs of lessons and supporting materials and activities proving too much for many families from deprived socioeconomic backgrounds to afford. Tellingly however, there was little discourse to triangulate with the social and cultural barriers identified in practitioner attitudes, as

discussed in Chapter 8. While certain elements were recognised in existing reports and music service teaching practitioner accounts, such as the need to introduce more practitioner CPD to address biases based on protected characteristics, the reasoning behind the conclusions was are very limited, and often implicit rather than explicit. Consequently, in not engaging with peripatetic music service teaching practitioners as a part of their research and decision making, a major barrier to access has been neglected, which may result in potential access issues for pupils remaining unaddressed in future policy decisions.

In terms of justifications of music service education, there has been a notable shift between the 2013 and 2022, as explored in Chapter 6. Earlier discourse from both Welsh Government and third part documents within this timeframe focuses maintaining standards of excellence in the teaching of music. This view may perpetuate traditionalist views on teaching and aligns with the vocationalist views identified from some music service teaching practitioners in Chapter 8. As we examined, these practitioner views may result in implicit access limitations for pupils who do not align with the cultural capital of the practitioner, and indeed, the policy of the time. While the discourse does shift over time to consider how the types of music offered to pupils may impact access, this is a very limited part of the overall considerations of access, which continue to focus on economic factors, as outlined above. There is however a major change in the justification of music education with the introduction of the NPME (Miles 2022). This marks a shift towards recognising the holistic benefits of music education. The focus on the joy of learning music over traditionalist excellence and vocationalist narratives aligns more with an Arnoldian form of the arts as a form of liberal humanism, and as explored among the practitioners who share similar views, can be far more effective in encouraging access to music through the use of pupil voice and agency in learning. The NPME also proposes a more consistent national approach through the creation of the National Music Service of Wales, and by providing ring fenced funding for a range of activities, notably including a first experiences programme for all school pupils to experience learning an instrument. Thus, we can conclude that the shift towards a more liberal humanist justification of music in policy has the potential may result in greater access to music service education in Wales.

2. *How do peripatetic music service teaching practitioners perceive access to, and provision of, music education?*

As with policymakers and third-parties, music service teaching practitioners perceive economic factors to be one of the key barriers to accessing music service education in Wales. As we explored in Chapter 7, practitioners noted that parental fees for tuition being introduced in music services across Wales to offset the reduction in LA funding was a major access barrier. Consequently, the economic capital of parents/carers plays a major role in whether or not a child can access music service education. Practitioners noted a substantial reduction in pupil numbers since the funding reforms had been enacted, particularly in socioeconomically deprived areas. In their view, the cost of lessons also affects the longevity of a pupil's musical learning. Those struggling to afford lessons are less likely to continue in the long run. Additional costs such as buying or renting instruments, purchasing learning materials, fees for attending county ensembles and music centres, and the cost of travel also play a major part in the affordability of the learning process, which has previously been little discussed in the policy discourse. The practitioners noted anxiety amongst parents and pupils over the affordability of learning to play a musical instrument, and there are even instances of practitioners paying for some pupils' lessons and equipment with their own money.

As such, these findings offer an additional perspective to that of the policy discourse, highlighting that economic barriers to access go beyond the cost of lessons, and demonstrate the severity of costs faced by pupils from socioeconomically deprived backgrounds. Economic capital has become a major factor in music education, and there is clearly a social divide emerging between families who can afford to access musical learning, and those who cannot. Those who cannot afford access are therefore unable to benefit from the associated advantages of music, such as the widely recognised educational, cognitive, social, and physical and mental health benefits of learning a musical instrument (Hallam 2010). Conversely those with the economic capital to access music service tuition are better able to wield the social and cultural capital associated with music, thus reinforcing, and indeed advancing, their class position over those who without the economic capital (Bourdieu 1984).

However, the economic impact of LA funding reforms has resulted in other, less explicit barriers to access. Firstly, the practitioners noted that teaching practice has been significantly affected, with a strong shift towards group lessons, and whole-class tuition, and a shortening of lesson time, all due to rising costs of lessons. The practitioners revealed that shorter, group lessons reduce individual contact time, which negatively affects the progress made by pupils in lessons, making them more likely to drop out of learning an instrument due to frustration or disillusionment. Again, it is those families able to afford the costs of longer, individual

lessons that are able to benefit, while pupils from more deprived backgrounds are not. While the NPME (Miles 2022) has introduced more funding for music services, this is limited. The practitioners criticised its focus on whole-class 'first experiences' for pupils for the limited contact time afforded to pupils through this approach, and a lack of funding for routes of progression into individual tuition. Thus, these access issues are not addressed by the NPME.

Furthermore, the terms and conditions of music service teaching practitioners have been notably impacted by funding reforms, with a reduction in secure contracted employment, a move towards self-employment with precarious zero-hour contracts, and a loss of the associated benefits of employment such as sick pay, maternity pay, paid annual leave, pension funds, etc. This sees teachers typically paid according to the number of pupils that they teach. Consequently, despite enjoying teaching, some practitioners feel insecure in their roles, with some having to work additional jobs to make ends meet, and others choosing to pursue different careers with greater financial security. Such issues were compounded by the wider social impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic. This risks a reduction in the numbers of the teaching workforce and a "brain drain" in which institutional knowledge and expertise is lost as experienced staff choose to leave. This in turn risks affecting the accessibility of music service education for pupils with a reduced workforce being forced to maximise their pupil numbers, inevitably focusing on areas that can afford to pay for tuition, with more deprived areas again losing out.

Therefore, we can conclude that the wider impacts of funding reforms places significant economic pressures on both pupils from deprived backgrounds and on music service teaching practitioners in their role. These factors were either unidentified or not considered in detail within the access discourse by policymakers and third parties, justifying the need for the inclusion of music service teaching practitioners in the policy development and decision-making process.

3. *How do peripatetic music service teaching practitioners justify provision and explain outcomes of inequality within Welsh music services?*

From the interviews with peripatetic music service practitioners in Chapter 8, two distinct justifications of the social function of music education emerged that have ramifications for affecting the accessibility of music service provision for pupils. Amongst some music service practitioners, a strong vocationalist perspective was held, wherein the practitioner views it as

their function to produce the next generation of professional musicians. This is driven by the recent music service funding reforms reducing the number of pupils and a perceived decline in the arts in wider society. Importantly, the practitioners who align with this vocational perspective typically teach instruments of the western classical tradition, with a strong view that this perceived 'high' culture should form the basis of their pedagogy, and they utilise music exams that support this view. The western classical tradition can be perceived as being a desirable form of cultural capital by wider society (Trulsson 2015), and the practitioners may feel as under pressure to reproduce these expected cultural norms due to their pupils' success reflecting their own musical prowess (Sagiv and Hall 2015). This is compounded by the funding reforms and the practitioners' perceived decline of the wider classical music industry.

Consequently, there is a strong focus on western classical music in their pedagogy, yet the learning of this tradition is highly challenging, taking many years to become proficient (Burnard et al. 2015). Consequently, there can be a culture clash (Keddie 1973) between these practitioners and pupils who do not share this musical cultural capital. This typically occurs with pupils from deprived backgrounds who have not had access to the cultural and social capital required to successfully engage. From this, some music service practitioners develop a perception of cultural deprivation in which such pupils are viewed as unwilling or unable to engage with western classical musical learning (Vulliamy and Shepherd 1984). This can result in music service practitioners spending less time with deprived pupils, and more time and energy on pupils who do align with their western classical cultural preferences, and who they see as being the next generation of professional musicians. It can also result in negative perceptions based on social class, with some music service practitioners consciously avoiding schools in areas with high levels of deprivation based on an assumption that pupils in such areas will be unwilling to engage in the western classical tradition. The freedom for practitioners to pursue whatever pedagogy they wish, unlike the curriculum of mainstream education, helps to enable such perspectives, potentially compounding these access issues over time. While such attitudes amongst music service practitioners mostly appear neither explicit nor intentionally malicious, it appears that unconscious bias may play an important role in pupil access.

When combined with the aforementioned changes in terms and conditions where music service practitioners typically get paid per pupil, they are more likely to focus on schools in more affluent areas, where the pupils are able to afford tuition and are more likely to engage

with the western classical tradition due to the opportunities afforded by intergenerational habitus (Bourdieu 1984). While the dilution of musical cultural habitus may be observed in wider society due to mass media (Peterson 1992), it appears to remain within these music service teaching practitioners who engage with a vocationalist justifications of music service education. Here we see class divisions being reinforced by implicit music service practitioner attitudes towards musical culture and social class, which is a significant barrier to accessing music service education that has not previously been explored in policy or third-party reports.

An alternative justification of music education that emerged was a liberal humanist perspective of music education amongst some music service practitioners. This is an ethos that places pupil enjoyment as the primary function of music education, recognising the substantial educational, physical, and social benefits that can be gained from musical learning (Hallam 2010) and thus aligning with an Arnoldian (1869) view of the arts as part of education. Crucially, practitioners who align with this perspective typically opt for a pupil-led approach, allowing the pupil to guide the teacher as to their musical preferences, with a collaborative approach to developing appreciation of different types of musical culture. In the view of these practitioners, this approach of aiming for pupil enjoyment in learning can result in pupils being far more likely to engage with and continue their musical learning in the long term, thus increasing the accessibility of music education. Through this approach, distinctions between social classes based on clashes of cultural intergenerational habitus can be broken down, with pupils acquiring agency through their education and acquiring pedagogical and musical capital (Wright 2015). Thus, there are none of the cultural and social barriers to access as observed in the vocationalist perspective on music education, helping to make access more achievable to pupils, and moving more towards the more democratic common culture envisaged by Williams (1961). Interestingly, the NPME in 2022 represents a shift in policy towards this liberal humanist approach, with a focus on enjoyment for pupils and recognising the wider benefits of musical learning (Miles 2022), which may help to encourage this approach in music service provision and improve access from this angle. It should be noted, however, that the practitioners who aligned with the liberal humanist perspective were in the minority in this sample, with the vocationalists in the majority, indicating that there is still significant work to do to address barriers to access based on cultural and social attitudes.

Thus, we can conclude that the cultural and social attitudes of music service teaching practitioners can play a significant part in access to music service education in Wales. This

can be negative or positive. Even if such biases are unconscious, it appears that a strong vocationalist perspective amongst some music service teaching practitioners can result in access issues based on cultural and social perceptions. Crucially, this does not form part of the policy or third-party discourse, so should be considered in the discussion around access going forward. Conversely, the enjoyment focused liberal humanist approach adopted by some music service practitioners, and more recently in policy through the NPME, appears to mediate such issues in teaching practice, encouraging inclusivity for all pupils, regardless of cultural preference or social background.

10.2. Policy Recommendations

Based on the interviews with peripatetic music service teaching practitioners in Chapters 6 and 7, the documentary analysis in Chapter 8, and the wider literature, it is clear that for equitable access to music services to be achieved in Wales, the Welsh Government needs to invest significantly more funding into the sector, on parr with the Music Development Fund of 1997 to 2005. This funding should be ring-fenced at a national level to ensure that individual local authority decisions do not fragment provision nationally.

In the meantime, the existing funding of the National Music Service of Wales as part of the NPME should be re-aligned to support teaching practice. Instead of focusing on providing first experiences to all school pupils across Wales, there should be a focus on introducing funded routes of progression from initial experiences through to individual tuition. Without this route of progression, more affluent pupils will remain more likely to benefit in the long run, as they can afford to move on to have individual lessons, where more progress can be made. Targeted means-tested support to subsidise music service fees for pupils from socioeconomically deprived backgrounds should be enacted to support this progression to help enable equitable access to music services.

Furthermore, when I was considering my options for examining access in the planning stages of the research in this thesis, it became clear on initial enquiries that each LA music service has sometimes very different modes of operation, be that in the delivery of tuition, the type of tuition offered, and record keeping and administration. The sought data on engagement through socioeconomic status was unavailable to access or limited, or not easily comparable between regions (at least within the scope of this project). While some variation is inevitable according to operational needs, a pan-Wales strategy through the NPME would help limit

regional disparity. In particular, a consistent form of record keeping would aid in tracking pupil engagement according to a variety of characteristics, with socioeconomic status being an important factor, as we explored in Chapter 7. This would help to provide a more accurate national picture of accessibility, and offers the opportunity of being able to identify areas in which access is limited, and provide targeted intervention through the NPME fund.

In terms of the teaching profession, the Welsh Government should ensure fair terms and conditions for peripatetic music service teaching practitioners, and work with local authorities to introduce a national standard of pay with an option for contracted employment where possible. Additionally, to address the issues identified in this thesis of negative practitioner social and cultural attitudes, the Welsh Government should implement a national, standardised CPD programme. This should target biases based on social class and aim to eliminate cultural deprivation attitudes. It should focus on developing peripatetic music service teaching practitioners' skills in engaging with a wide range of musical cultures and traditions, no matter the instrument being taught, and include training for developing a pupil-led pedagogy as part of their interaction with pupils. Without a motivated, well-supported workforce, free from social and cultural biases, equity of access for pupils will remain impossible.

10.3. Recommendations for Future Research

As mentioned above in Section 10.2., there is a disparity in LA music service record keeping and administration across Wales. While this was beyond the scope of this study, a future study could attempt to address this by undertaking geographical mapping of pupil engagement according to postcodes and deprivation indicators. This would provide a useful overview of areas that need additional support, or in which additional research could be undertaken to understand the needs of a given region.

Furthermore, due to the nature of qualitative research, we cannot generalise the findings of the interviews to the wider population of music service practitioners (King et al. 2019). Future research should conduct surveys on the social and cultural attitudes of peripatetic music service teaching practitioners to better understand the proliferation of the problematic perspectives identified in this thesis in the wider music service sector. This could be followed up with focus groups with these practitioners on the same topic to help to further develop and understand the survey results, and to further investigate the wider issue of social and cultural

barriers to access. The findings from this research could help to inform the national CPD programme proposed in Section 10.2.

Chapters 7 and 8 have focused on the experiences of an underrepresented group within the music service access discourse, that of music service peripatetic teaching practitioners. However, another key group is conspicuously absent from the discussion surrounding accessibility, the pupils and parents/carers that engage with, and in many cases purchase, music service provision. Examining the perspectives of this group on issues of access would help to better understand *their* understandings of, and needs surrounding, access issues due to costs or other social or cultural factors. For instance, Wright (2002) conducted research based on pupil perceptions of the GCSE music examination that revealed previously unknown insights into the accessibility of the exam, and similar pupil focused research could be implemented for extracurricular music service education. Pupil and parents/carers could be accessed via surveys, focus groups, or qualitative interviews, and the findings would help triangulate the overall access picture between policymakers, music service practitioners, and parents and pupils, and inform future policy decisions. Furthermore, as the NPME calls for pupil voice to be utilised in the development of music service practices, this would be a useful way of assessing how the National Music Service of Wales utilise pupil voice, and the extent to which it is felt to be effective by pupils themselves.

Lastly, a methodological recommendation, namely the use of corpus linguistics methods to conduct documentary analysis. In Chapter 6, corpus linguistic testing of key reports proved to be a highly effective way of identifying key points of data specific to a certain topic within a large corpus of documents and identifying important contextual themes to the main topic. This efficiency in identification of data has two major advantages. Firstly, it improves the reliability of the data collection, as it decreases the chances of data being missed due to researcher error or inadvertent bias (providing of course that the testing is correctly configured for the given topic). Secondly, it is more time efficient for the researcher compared to manually collecting data for a qualitative analysis from a large a corpus of documents. Therefore, for researchers conducting documentary analysis in the field of social science, I would highly recommend considering these corpus linguistic methods.

10.4. Final Thoughts

When I first started the research in this thesis in 2020, the music service sector was reeling from more than a decade of sustained funding reductions by local authorities, and suffering from the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic. Arguably, it was at its lowest ebb since music service education was introduced in the late 1940s, the level of concern being obvious in the literature, yet with little action being taken. Now, with the 2022 NPME and the introduction of the National Music Service of Wales, there appears to be the beginnings of a national structure through which music services can start to recover with dedicated, if currently limited, funding from the Welsh Government. There is good cause for hope. Yet, care must be taken for this to not become a case of "papering over the cracks", as there is still considerable fragmentation of provision across Wales, with the old problem of insufficient funding remaining perpetually present. Furthermore, as this thesis has revealed, there are additional aspects of the access discourse that have not previously been identified or remain considerably under researched, and the issues of practitioner attitudes based on social class and cultural preferences should not be underestimated. Peripatetic music service teaching practitioners are the contact point for pupils and are therefore can be the "invisible gatekeepers" to extracurricular music service education. Tackling these implicit social and cultural barriers alongside the more explicit economic barriers are vital to ensuring equity of access to music service education to all pupils in Wales.

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Appendix A

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Investigating access to Welsh Local Authority music service education based on socioeconomic status

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being undertaken and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others, if you wish.

Thank you for reading this.

1. What is the purpose of this research project?

The last decade has seen a series of funding reforms and reductions to local authority music services in Wales. This research project aims to explore the impact of these reforms on the accessibility of music service tuition for pupils from low-income families.

This research project forms the basis of a Doctor of Philosophy degree at the Cardiff University School of Social Science

2. Why have I been invited to take part?

You have been invited because of your professional experience working within the music service sector in Wales.

3. Do I have to take part?

No, your participation in this research project is entirely voluntary and it is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to take part, we will ask you to sign a consent form. You are welcome to ask questions at any point of the process (see Section 15 below for contact details). If you decide not to take part, you do not have to explain your reasons and it will not affect your employment or legal rights.

You are free to withdraw your consent to participate in the research project at any time up to 14 days after your participation. You do not have to provide a reason for withdrawal, even after signing the consent form. Following these 14 days, the data from your participation will be anonymised, and withdrawal from the project will not be possible. For more information on data anonymisation and retention, see Section 9 and Section 10.

4. What will taking part involve?

You will be required to participate in one interview with Thomas Dunne. This will take place either through a digital video-calling platform (such as Zoom or Skype) or via phone, or in person at a place of mutual agreement, in accordance with Covid-19 advice from the Welsh Government. You will be asked a series of open-ended questions surrounding your experiences of music services. The audio of the interview will be recorded in order to create transcripts for data analysis. The duration of the interview will vary according to the participant, but it is recommended you allocate approximately one hour.

5. Will I be paid for taking part?

No, you will not be paid for taking part. Any data you give will be as a gift and you will not benefit financially at any point from any developments related to this research project.

6. What are the possible benefits of taking part?

While there will be no direct advantages or benefits to you from taking part, your contribution will help us understand the issues surrounding children's access to music education in Wales.

7. What are the possible risks of taking part?

There are minimal risks in taking part in this project. All data identifying you will be completely anonymised, eliminating any risk to professional reputation. In the unlikely event you should you feel uncomfortable or become distressed at any point in the interview process, you are free to take a break or withdraw participation without needing to provide a reason.

8. Will my taking part in this research project be kept confidential?

All information collected from (or about) you during the research project will be kept confidential and any personal information you provide will be managed in accordance with data protection legislation. Please see 'What will happen to my Personal Data?' (below) for further information.

9. What will happen to my Personal Data?

Cardiff University is the Data Controller and is committed to respecting and protecting your personal data in accordance with your expectations and Data Protection legislation. Further information about Data Protection, including:

- your rights

- the legal basis under which Cardiff University processes your personal data for research

- Cardiff University's Data Protection Policy

- how to contact the Cardiff University Data Protection Officer

- how to contact the Information Commissioner's Office

may be found at https://www.cardiff.ac.uk/public-information/policies-and-procedures/data-protection. Printed copies of this documentation and privacy can be provided on request.

Personal information will include your name, email address, and telephone number where required. This data will be stored on the secure Cardiff University network, and used solely for the purposes of facilitating interviews with participants. 14 days after the interview takes place, all the personal data that has been collected from, or about, you in connection with this research project will be anonymised. The exception to anonymization is your consent form, which will be retained for the duration of the project and may be accessed by members of the research team and, where necessary, by members of the University's governance and audit teams or by regulatory authorities.

The research data collected in the interview will also be anonymised 14 days after the interview takes place. You are free to withdraw your consent to your data being used in this research project during this time without needing to provide a reason. After 14 days, all identifiers linking you with the data will be irreversibly removed through the allocation of a randomised research project number. After this point, it will not be possible to withdraw your consent to use of the data. Anonymised data will be kept for a minimum of five years but may be published in support of the research project and/or retained indefinitely, where it is likely to have continuing value for research purposes.

10. What happens to the data at the end of the research project?

At the end of the research project, anonymised data may be used in publications and/or presentations in support of the research project and/or retained indefinitely where it may have value for related future research projects by the current research team, and/or potential future collaborators.

11. What will happen to the results of the research project?

The results of this research project up will be written up as part of a PhD thesis, and it is our intention to publish the results of this research project in academic journals and present findings at conferences in future. Anonymised data from participants may be quoted verbatim, but will not be identified in any report, publication, or presentation.

12. What if there is a problem?

If you wish to complain, or have grounds for concerns about any aspect of the manner in which you have been approached or treated during the course of this research, please contact Thomas Dunne. If your complaint is not managed to your satisfaction, please contact If your complaint is not managed to your satisfaction, please contact the research project supervisors Dr Mark Connolly and Dr Rod Hick (contact details are provided below in Section 15).

If you are harmed by taking part in this research project, there are no special compensation arrangements. If you are harmed due to someone's negligence, you may have grounds for legal action, but you may have to pay for it.

13. Who is organising and funding this research project?

The research is organised by Thomas Dunne and supervised by Dr Mark Connolly and Dr Rod Hick at the Cardiff University School of Social Science. The research is currently funded by the Economic and Social Research Council.

14. Who has reviewed this research project?

This research project has been reviewed by the supervisory team, and reviewed and given a favourable opinion by the Cardiff University School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee. Reference: SREC/36.

15. Further information and contact details

Should you have any questions relating to this research project, you may contact us during normal working hours:]

Principal Contact:

Thomas Dunne

Postgraduate Researcher, Cardiff University School of Social Science

Email: dunnetl@cardiff.ac.uk

Phone: ********** [4]

Research Project Supervisors:

Dr Mark Connolly

Senior Lecturer, Cardiff University School of Social Science

Email: connollym4@cardiff.ac.uk

Dr Rod Hick

Reader, Cardiff University School of Social Science

Email: hickr@cardiff.ac.uk

Thank you for considering to take part in this research project. If you decide to participate, you will be given a copy of the Participant Information Sheet and a signed consent form to keep for your records.

[Version 2.0] [Date 28/10/2021]

[4] Personal mobile telephone number redacted for thesis publication. The full number was included in the document presented to participants.

Appendix B

CONSENT FORM

Title of research project:

Investigating access to Welsh Local Authority music service education based on socioeconomic status

SREC reference and committee:

Cardiff University School of Social Science Committee: Reference SREC/36

Name of Chief/Principal Investigator:

Thomas Dunne

Email: dunnetl@cardiff.ac.uk

Phone: **********[5]

	Please initial box
I confirm that I have read the information sheet dated 28/10/2021 Version 2.0 for the above research project.	

[5] Personal mobile telephone number redacted for thesis publication. The full number was included in the document presented to participants.

I confirm that I have understood the information sheet dated 28/10/2021 Version 2.0 for the above research project and that I have had the opportunity to ask questions and that these have been answered satisfactorily.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary and I am free to withdraw without giving a reason and without any adverse consequences (e.g. to employment or legal rights, if relevant). I understand that 14 days after your participation takes place, the data will be anonymised, and it will not be possible to withdraw this data. I understand that if I withdraw, information about me that has already been obtained may be kept by Cardiff University.	
I understand that data collected during the research project may be looked at by individuals from Cardiff University or from regulatory authorities, where it is relevant to my taking part in the research project. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my data.	
I consent to the processing of my name and contact information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be held in accordance with all applicable data protection legislation and in strict confidence, unless disclosure is required by law or professional obligation.	
I understand who will have access to personal information provided, how the data will be stored and what will happen to the data at the end of the research project.	
I consent to being audio recorded and/or video recorded for the purposes of the research project and I understand how it will be used in the research.	
I understand that anonymised excerpts and/or verbatim quotes from my interview may be used as part of the research publication.	
I understand how the findings and results of the research project will be written up and published.	
I agree to take part in this research project.	

Name of participant (print)	Date	Signature

Thomas Dunne

Name of person taking consent (print) Date Signature

Role of person taking consent

(print)

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN OUR RESEARCH

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS CONSENT FORM TO KEEP

[Version 2.0] [Date 28/10/2021]

Appendix C

The table below demonstrates how the Stage One descriptive codes have been clustered into interpretive codes in Stage Two, which in turn are grouped to inform the overarching themes of Stage Three (King et al. 2019).

Stage One: Descriptive Coding	**Stage Two: Interpretive Coding**	**Stage Three: Overarching Themes**
The Music Development Fund (Funding)	Changes to Funding Models	Music Service Structural Changes
Free/Subsidised Music Lessons		
Local Authority Differences	Fragmentation of Music Service Provision	
Local Authority Funding Cuts (Provision)		
Reasons for Funding Cuts		
Reduction in Pupil Numbers		
Lesson Fees	Affordability of Music Service Provision	Socioeconomic Barriers to Music Service Access
Lesson Durations (Cost)		
Group Lessons		
Individual Lessons		
Instrument Costs		
Travel Costs		
Equipment Costs		
Differences in Costs between Music Services		
Music Service Instruments		
Parental Anxiety (Cost)	Pupil Recruitment and Retention (Socioeconomic)	
Pupils Stopping Lessons (Cost)		
Deprived Areas Pupil Engagement		
Affluent Areas Pupil Engagement		
Practitioners Paying for Pupil Lessons/Equipment		
The Music Development Fund (Teaching Practice)	Quality: Prior Focus on Individual Learning	Changes in Teaching Practice
Individual Lessons		
Lesson Durations (Individual Lessons)		
Pupil Progression (Individual Lessons)		
Pupil Numbers		
Ensembles		
Group Teaching		

Lesson Durations (Group Lessons)	Quantity: Shift Towards Group Learning	
Mixed-Instrument Lessons		
Pupil Progression (Group Lessons)		
Practitioner and Pupil Frustrations		
Quality verses Quantity Debate		
Perceived School Priorities		
Enjoyment of Teaching	Motivations for Teaching	Changes to the Teaching Profession
Passing Music on to Next Generation		
Nostalgia		
Economic Necessity		
Teaching Contracts	Employment Status of Teachers	
Self-Employment		
Practitioner Numbers		
Pay Reductions	Precarity in the Teaching Profession	
Inconsistent Teaching Hours		
Qualification Requirements		
Reduced Employment Benefits		
Local Authority Funding Cuts (Teaching Profession)		
Work Allocation Changes		
Unsustainability		
Teachers Leaving the Profession		
Covid-19 Impact		
Perceived Decline of Music Industry	Vocationalist Perspective on Music Education	Social Justifications for Music Education Limiting and Enabling Access
Perceived Devaluation of Music Education (Affluent Families)		
Perceived Devaluation of Musical Careers (Affluent Families)		
Parental Interaction (Support of Teaching)		
Focusing on Gifted Pupils		
Lack of Minority Representation		
Perceived Devaluation of Music Education (Deprived Families)		
Teacher Perceptions of Musical Understanding and		

Ability Based on Social Background		
Avoiding Deprived Areas		
Perceived High Value Placed on Music Education (Deprived Families)		
Music Education as Enjoyment	Liberal Humanist Perspective on Music Education	
Music Education Holistic Benefits		
Inclusive Attitudes in Teaching		
Pupil-Led Teaching		
Enjoyment Creating Careers		
Enjoyment as Value for Parents and Pupils		
Western Classical Teaching Focus	Culture Clashes	The Influence of Cultural Attitudes on Access
Perceptions of Pupil Musical Knowledge and Attitudes		
Conflicts between Teachers and Pupils		
Pupil Recruitment and Retention Issues (Teacher Attitudes)		
Choosing Teaching Areas based on Musical Perceptions		
Types of Exam Board Used	Music Exams	
Exam Boards and Musical Types		
Exam Boards and Perceived Reputation		
Parental Interaction (Music Exams)		
Pupil Choice		