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Music as pedagogic discourse: an ethnographic case study of one Year 9 class of pupils and their music teacher in a South Wales secondary school.

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**Cardiff School of Education
University of Wales Institute Cardiff
March 2006**

Acknowledgments

I should like to express my sincere gratitude to the following:

My husband Adrian for the encouragement and many cups of coffee and to my children Ben, Naomi and Bea for their patience whilst Mum was 'working on her fudd';

Paul Thomas for giving me the opportunity to complete my initial and Master's Degrees, introducing me to the world of music education, being an inspirational mentor and for believing in me during the past decade;

Dr. Janet Laugharne for her support, encouragement and understanding, for dealing with the paperwork and being an excellent role model;

The senior management and pupils at Aberquaver High School for welcoming me into their school and being so cooperative in my research, special thanks to 9C for allowing me to join them for music and answering all my questions;

Mrs. Metronome for allowing me to join 9C for some inspiring music lessons and for her patience with my many requests for additional information;

Above all, to Professor Brian Davies for steering me with a sure hand through the perils of PhD study, for the fastest marking of drafts known to humankind and for truly inspirational tutorials- a life changing experience.

Abstract

This thesis seeks to examine the nature of pedagogic discourse in Music and its relationship to pupils' inclinations to persevere with it as a subject after Key Stage 3. An ethnographic case-study was conducted in one South Wales secondary school, referred to as Aberquaver High School, focusing on one class of Year 9 pupils, 9C, and their music teacher, Mrs. Metronome. It reflects my experience of entering the study as a music professional and teacher educator and leaving it with a commitment to the necessity to work from appropriate theory, in this case that of Bernstein and, subsidiarily, Bourdieu, through adequate empirical means. In seeking to understand 9C pupils' intentions to carry on with Music at Key Stage 4, a conceptual apparatus was required with reach that carried from consideration of how knowledge and policy in the primary context originates and was shaped or recontextualised through a variety of official and pedagogic agencies so that it became the text, in this case the programme of study that constitutes Key Stage 3 National Curriculum Music, from which schools and teachers, including Aberquaver and Mrs Metronome, read.

Specifically, this study attempts to 'stretch' the boundary between recontextualisation and reproduction, suggesting that there is no sharp line between those who shape subjects and deliver them. Mrs Metronome allowed, as teachers are by schools in our system, to impose her own judgements on her small department's work, brought a professional dynamic to its pedagogy that could not simply be 'read' from officially required Music in Wales. A product of Western Art Music tradition and teacher education, she valued other musics. Constrained by school organisational imperatives, themselves upshots of National Curriculum and assessment requirements, particularly as to time, her long service, personal acumen and subject success had allowed her to accumulate relative resource riches in terms of instruments and ICT facilities. These were the basis for her characteristic rejigging of more conventional group based classroom music, coupled with the ability and desire to imbue each pupil with instrumental skills in a pedagogy strongly centred on music performance and its evaluation. Such an approach still appeared to have differential gender and social class effects in a prevailing peer and wider cultural climate of popular and other non classical musical forms. Despite the variety of musical genres included in her curriculum and her department's resource wealth, for some pupils, particularly boys, it was not sufficiently 'real music', especially for those denied access to 'real' instruments. Though most young people avow the importance of music to their lives, in a prevailing climate of the 'usefulness' and vocational significance of school subjects, its choice as a Key Stage 4 subject, here and elsewhere, tend to be further constrained by the limits of school option choice systems. Nonetheless, Music at Aberquaver still managed to engage disproportionate numbers across the ability range at GCSE in comparison with other Welsh secondaries and achieve good standards. It is argued that these were a function of Mrs Metronome's recontextualised pedagogic discourse and practice.

Policy is a complex series of events and understandings in need of theoretical elaboration rather than evaluation tinged, evidence base that is about rather than for policy change and implementation. The study contains messages for teaching colleagues, school administrators, teacher educators and other conventionally defined official and pedagogic recontextualisers, as well as national policy makers, about what makes better Music that more pupils wish to persevere with for longer. Further research is, however, required to extend the scope of the present study and examine the transferability of the findings to other locations.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACCAC	<i>Awdurdod Cymwysterau Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru</i> Qualifications, Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales
AEMS	Arts Education for a Multi-Cultural Society Project
ASE	Association for Science Education
BERA	British Educational Research Association
CCW	Curriculum Council Wales
CSE	Certificate of Secondary Education
DES	Department of Education and Science
DfE	Department for Education
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
Estyn	Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Education and Training in Wales.
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
HCP	Humanities Curriculum Project
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectorate
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
ID	Instructional Discourse (Bernstein, 1996)
IIM	Identities in Music
MII	Music in Identity
KS3	Key Stage Three of the National Curriculum
KS4	Key Stage Four of the National Curriculum
LEA	Local Education Authority
NATE	National Association for the Teaching of English
NAW	National Assembly Wales
NCC	National Curriculum Council
NWRCDP	North-West Regional Curriculum Development Project

NCMWG	National Curriculum Music Working Group
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education
O Level	General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level
RD	Regulative Discourse (Bernstein, 1996)
ROSLA	Raising of the School Leaving Age
SO	Scottish Office
SMP	School Mathematics Project
TES	Times Educational Supplement
TLRP	The Teaching and Learning Research Project
TPS	Totally Pedagogised Society
WAG	Welsh Assembly Government

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Chapter One

The Problem of Music Education

1.1 Introduction

The 'problem of secondary school music' has been much rehearsed within the music education community in England and Wales for at least 40 years, since the Schools Councils' *Enquiry 1: Young School Leavers* (HMSO, 1968) survey of leavers' attitudes to schooling revealed that parents and pupils saw music as the most useless curriculum subject and perceived it as being generally boring (Gammon, 1996: 107). Subsequent surveys revealed that: 'there seemed to have been very little change in pupil attitudes over the intervening years.' (Ross, 1995: 187) Further recent debate has been precipitated by the report: *Arts Education in Secondary Schools: Effects and Effectiveness* (Harland et. al., 2000: 567-568), a large-scale survey of the status and impact on pupils of the arts in secondary education, which reported that:

'Music, while benefiting from similar status to that of art, (a foundation subject at Key Stage three of the National Curriculum) attracted the highest proportion of "no-impact" responses, registered a more limited range of outcomes compared with art and drama, had very low numbers enrolling for it at Key Stage 4 and, relative to other arts subjects, received lower levels of enjoyment in GCSE courses.'

In addition the report found in respect of music that: '(P)upil enjoyment, relevance, skill development, creativity and expressive dimensions were often absent. Overall music was the most problematic and vulnerable art form.' (p. 568). This was bad news for those who passionately believed in the vital role of music in a liberal education and belied many of the claims vaunting a new, egalitarian and accessible music curriculum made by those who had formulated the National Curriculum for Music (DES, 1992; CCW, 1992a). Recent academic debate in the music education community, as summarised by Finney (2003a: 2), has suggested: 'the adoption of more culturally sensitive ways of engaging young people, taking into account their informal, out of school styles of learning that occupy much of their time and energy.' It has further been suggested (Swanwick, 1999; Green, 2001; Durrant, 2001; York, 2001) that music might fare better if 'unbound from the rigid structures of schooling,

for it to draw on a wider range of resources and styles of delivery.’ (Finney, 2003a: 2)
The subject is clearly, therefore, fighting for its place on the school curriculum.

The main aim of this project was to investigate the pedagogic discourse of music as recontextualised by one music teacher and presented to one year 9 class of her pupils in a secondary school in South Wales. Through a detailed ethnographic study of this class and their music lessons it was hoped to arrive at ‘thick description’ (Geertz, 1973) of the discourse of Music in the case-study school and its modes of transmission, acquisition and evaluation by teacher and pupils. Bernstein’s (1996, 2000) theory of the pedagogic device, was used as a theoretical model for this work. Analysis of additional data obtained from questionnaires and interviews was used to provide ‘elaborated description’ (Luria, 1976) of the perceptions of music and music lessons held by this teacher and her pupils. It was hoped that the data thus produced might shed some light upon the issues currently facing music educators in secondary schools in Wales and the factors affecting their students’ decisions concerning optional study of Music post-fourteen. A subsidiary aim was to locate these issues within the educational, social, political and historical contexts that had shaped them. Finally, it was hoped that elements of a model of good practice in secondary school music might be proposed.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The Schools’ Council Project *Music in the Secondary School Curriculum* led by John Paynter (1982) at the University of York in the 1970s, accompanied by the publication of *Sound and Silence* (Paynter and Aston, 1970), has been generally regarded as having marked the inception of a new approach to school music in the United Kingdom (Gammon, 1996). This approach focused on the aesthetic experience of pupils through active engagement in practical musical activity. It was seminal in the development of the GCSE Music examination syllabus in the 1980s and the National Curriculum for Music in the 1990s, heralded as paving the way for a more egalitarian model of music education in the United Kingdom. Many music educators hoped that the inclusion of Music as a foundation subject up to and including Key Stage 3 of the National Curriculum would result in a broader and more relevant musical education for pupils in maintained schools in England and Wales. This was to be aided by the provision of a sound framework in the shape of the Programmes of Study for the subject. Members of the National Curriculum for Music working group had emphasised the role of music education in developing ‘aesthetic

sensitivity and creative ability in all pupils' through a broad and progressive curriculum (Stephens, 1995: 2). It was further hoped by those involved in formulating the National Curriculum for Music (NCC, 1991: 7) that a broader, more accessible approach to music education, centred on active involvement in the three key musical activities of performing, composing and appraising or listening would enable and encourage many more students to choose to study Music at GCSE level after compulsory music education ceased at the age of fourteen. Moreover, as a result of this new, improved music curriculum in schools it was hoped that state maintained secondary schools would produce an increasingly aesthetically well-educated population which would have a lifelong interest in music.

In reality, very little appears to have changed from the days before the National Curriculum and GCSE. Although some schools achieve uptake of more than 20% of the cohort (OFSTED, 1998), across the whole of England and Wales in the academic year 2002 to 2003, only 8% of pupils sat GCSE examinations in Music (NAW, 2003; DfES, 2003). These figures closely mirror the combined figures for those taking the previous O-Level/Certificate of Secondary Education examinations in Music prior to the 1980s. When compared with the 34% of pupils taking Art and 17% taking Drama as GCSE subjects in Wales, this places Music in a marginal and possibly precarious position in the secondary school curriculum.

Within the context of the high hopes held for Music at the beginning of the National Curriculum and the General Certificate of Secondary Education examination system, these findings confirm the forebodings held by many music educators about its continuing viability as a foundation subject within the National Curriculum and, therefore, within state secondary education. At the International Research in Music Education conference at Exeter University in 2001, an eminent researcher concluded that '(I)t is at least conceivable to hypothesise that classroom music, as currently conceptualised and organised, is an inappropriate vehicle for mass music education in 21st century Britain' (Sloboda, 2001). The question that arises, then, is why music education has been so unsuccessful in appealing to young people in this country and why so few pupils are choosing to study it at Key Stage 4.

Existing research has suggested a number of possible answers to this question. Bray (2000: 88) referred to the need to 'address the issue of just how appropriate the [GCSE] examination really is for those students who have not received extra instrumental and vocal tuition.' Undoubtedly, lack of instrumental

tuition has a part to play in discouraging some pupils from taking KS4 Music. As Philpott, (2001:156) observed:

'contact with extra-curricular tuition significantly enhances achievement at all levels. Extra tuition on a musical instrument helps pupils achieve the highest grades in the statutory curriculum to the detriment of pupils who have not participated, and this extra tuition has usually been bought by parents. This is an important issue of economic equality of opportunity which needs some attention, i.e. the ability to 'pay and play' impinges upon musical achievement in the statutory domain.'

In mid-2004 the DfE introduced, as part of its *Music Manifesto*, an initiative in England to provide free instrumental tuition to all children, (TES, July 2004) though with no sign as yet of a similar initiative for Wales. At present, possibly because of the necessity (or belief in the necessity) of instrumental or vocal skill, Music still appears to have a difficult or elitist label among children (Philpott, 2001).

A number of interesting factors are also pointed to by the statement in Harland's report (Harland, 2000: 568) that: '(P)upil enjoyment, relevance, skill development, creativity and expressive dimensions were often absent. Overall music was the most problematic and vulnerable art form.' Enjoyment and relevance may lie at the very root of the problem, Janet Mills (1996), Her Majesty's Chief Inspector for Music, claiming a positive correlation between the quality of KS3 teaching and GCSE numbers such that, with increased attention to its quality and relevance, examination uptake could be raised. At the same time Hennessy (2001: 243) has reminded us that '(Q)uality and relevance are of course value judgements and are therefore subject to individual, cultural and local interpretation.'

It is my contention that a fundamental problem may be the idiom through which children are predominantly being taught Music. Although the National Curriculum specifies that music education should be based around music from 'a variety of cultures, times and places' (Stephens, 1992: 3) the majority of school music curricula are in fact based extensively around the Western Art Music tradition. The skills that pupils are encouraged to acquire are aimed almost exclusively at allowing them to participate in musical performances of repertoire drawn from the Western Art Music canon or to compose in its styles. Little more than lip service is paid in many curricula to world musics or popular music. Spruce (1999) described the statutory curriculum as embodying the value system of the Western 'bourgeois

aesthetic'. Within this system complex classical music, reliant upon transmission by written notation, is seen as the pinnacle of pupils' aspirations. This leads to a recontextualisation by music teachers of the statutory curriculum at local, school level which focuses on the skills inherent in the classical tradition where ability to read staff notation and possession of technical skill on an orchestral instrument are prerequisites to success. Non-instrumentalists are therefore immediately at a disadvantage. Hargreaves and Fullan (1992: ix) asserted that:

'the teacher is the ultimate key to educational change [...] the composition of national and provincial curricula, and the development of bench-mark assessments - all of these are of little value if they do not take the teacher into account. Teachers don't merely deliver the curriculum. They develop it, refine it and interpret it too.'

In school music this may mean that, notwithstanding the wider intentions of official curriculum-makers, pupils are taught to acquire skills based on methodologies drawn largely from either the conservatoire method of instrumental tuition or Orff's *Schulwerk* tradition of tuned percussion instruction. These may well be neither relevant to pupils' musical interests nor likely to motivate and enthuse them in their study of music so that 'the musical enthusiasms and aspirations of many young people are not addressed by the current curriculum' (Sloboda, 2003: 243). In such circumstances it is not surprising if pupils do not see themselves as stakeholders in school music education. In Philpott's (2001: 168) terms this could be ascribed in large part to the discrimination afforded within the music curriculum where larger scale political and social forces are at work engendering inequality of access to instrumental tuition. As he succinctly put it: 'wealth = access'.

This situation cannot be regarded as teachers' fault. The majority of music educators are still graduates of traditional music degree programmes, trained within the Western Art Music genre. There are many who set out to become performers within the classical genre and end up becoming teachers by default. As Sloboda (1995:189/90) put it: '(S)cratch a Beatle-bobbing, Blur-crazed, all-singing, all-dancing, new-wave music teacher and you find the same old disappointed, high-brow musician manqué we have always known and loved to hate'. Later research by Sloboda (2003: 244), however, did lay blame at teachers' doors, finding that 'many school music educators have little respect for, or understanding of, the musical lives

of those they teach' and 'that the transition from primary to secondary school is a key "parting-of the ways" between young people and their music teachers'.

Who music teachers are and the position of the recontextualised canon in music curricula have tended, then, to be issues that have dominated professional and academic debate in this area. They need thinking through using conceptual approaches, such as those of Bernstein (1996) which highlight the interrelated nature of curricular structures, their means of transmission or pedagogy, evaluation and forms of relation and identity which they evoke and engender both within teachers and pupils and between them. It is around these issues that the present research turns. But they, in turn, must be located in perfectly ordinary but not necessarily well-understood contexts of school organisation and resource, which include staffing, timetabling, grouping and subject choice, whose logics may stand some way from the values of the liberal curriculum, as well as set against issues of changing popular culture and young people's views of learning.

Concerning the latter, Green's (2001) research into styles of learning adopted by popular musicians has much to tell us about modalities of learning favoured by young people when relating to their own musical culture. The 'informal music learning processes' (Green, 2001:60) by which popular musicians acquire musical and technical skills, involving 'purposive' and 'distracted' listening and copying, group learning and peer teaching and learning may well be more effective modes of instruction in music than didactic approaches favoured in many music classrooms. Similarly, acquisition of technical knowledge by trial and error or what sounds right may be a more helpful learning style. It appears from Green's research that these effective learning techniques are rarely found in classrooms even when teachers delivering lessons are popular musicians. This asks a question about the styles of learning ratified by the music education community and particularly those transmitted to student music teachers as 'good practice'. It is possible that music education has tried to adopt the classroom pedagogic and organisational strategies of other subjects to its detriment. Perhaps music teachers need to examine the styles of learning best suited to the unique nature of music.

Furthermore Green (*ibid.*) has remarked on the fact that enjoyment is to be seen as an important factor in motivating musicians to practise, as are identifying with and liking music; popular musicians she had interviewed had broad and eclectic tastes and expressed no disparagement of classical music but rather an admiration of it.

This presents a striking contrast to the views quoted by Sloboda (2003: 244), where 'many school music educators have little respect for, or understanding of, the musical lives of those they teach'. If, as Green's research suggests, effective learning in popular music involves informal learning styles coupled with enjoyment, identification with the music being learnt and a sense of relevance of the learning to the learner's interests, we might seek to emulate these strategies in the secondary school music room. Certainly their absence could easily explain pupils' lack of enjoyment of secondary school music. (Harland, 2000: 567-8)

If we look at most pupils' musical enculturation i.e. the musical background in which they have grown up, the majority of influences will be from popular music traditions. Yet this music is often represented as a mere fraction of the curriculum. (Bray, 2000). What would happen if we put pupils' own musics at the forefront of our teaching? What is the basis and what are the consequences of our imposition on pupils as educators of a Western Art Music tradition when they are already engaged with other music with which they strongly identify? Should we be looking at less formal teaching strategies in music classrooms where pupils may be capable of using some of the self and peer teaching and learning strategies which Green identified? Would learning music by listening and copying be more successful than attempts at teaching elementary letter named or notated examples of it in which pupils have no particular cultural stake? As Hennessy (2001: 238-239) contended:

'We may learn a great deal by accident and very little by design [...] Music is learned and understood in the act of making music [...] rather than in only what we can notate, describe or explain.'

There are also issues to be raised concerning the instruments that we give pupils to play in school music lessons and the extent to which they can identify with them. Swanwick (1979) has already suggested that what counts to pupils as real music is dependent to a large extent on what counts as a real instrument. The pattern of music making predominant at Key Stage 3 in many secondary schools across Wales, featuring emphasis on group work using tuned and untuned percussion instruments with the occasional addition of an electronic keyboard, could have considerable effects upon pupils' perceptions of the relevance and authenticity of their music in school.

Questions are also being increasingly forcefully asked as to whether the listening repertoire which we use in class should be related much more strongly to

the music that pupils listen to out of school. Put at its bluntest, are we teaching pupils to listen to music or forcing on them the musical culture of a group of people who are mainly music graduates from a Western Art Music tradition? (Hennessy, 2001; Spruce, 1999; Sloboda, 2001) This in turn raises questions about the backgrounds from which music teachers are drawn. Is a degree in Western Art Music the best preparation for becoming a school music teacher? Hennessy (2001: 239) referred to the tension experienced by school music teachers when trying to integrate their own conservatoire model training with generalist, whole-class approaches required in our schools. Moreover, Spruce (1999) suggested that teachers' attitudes predispose them to encouraging pupil instrumentalists to study Music at GCSE and A level, believing these pupils to be most likely to succeed.

All of these questions need to be framed within the much bigger social, economic and political picture of what determines the shape of school subjects, including music in the curriculum. For perfectly understandable reasons teachers ask very few 'big picture' questions about the forces that govern decisions in education. They are largely cast in the role of reproducers of knowledge forms already recontextualised by state and specialised professional agencies for them. They are typically deeply divided about the sort of people we want our education system to produce and the type of education most likely to achieve their aims. It is commonly accepted in educational analysis that the workplace has dictated the shape of our education system from the commencement of mass education in the mid- nineteenth century, with its explicit aim of providing a better educated workforce to man the 'satanic mills' of the Industrial Age, to the more complex curricular structures that now claim to engender the competences requisite to the prospective identities of individuals entering our flexibilised workforces. Hargreaves (1982), while acknowledging the philanthropic and humanist motives behind compulsory attendance and schooling, depicted early British state education as a vehicle for social control and preservation of the existing class system. Adams (2001: 183) pointed to the work of those, such as Pestalozzi, Dewey and Piaget in developing 'the culture of individualism' within our education system which eventually succeeded in transforming much of late twentieth century schooling, particularly at the pre-secondary level although, as Bernstein and others have suggested, in the name, rather than the true interests of, lower class pupils.

Much of the evidence at which I have tentatively hinted in the preceding pages would seem to indicate that Music has somehow been both part of and left

behind by many of these movements. Our subject is one in which social class, gender and ethnicity are still major factors in success in state education. As a report published by the Performing Rights Society with PricewaterhouseCoopers and Mori into instrumental provision in schools in England between 1993 and 1998 witnessed: 'the growing reliance on fees to parents raise the issues of access for children of poorer families'. Philpott (2001: 164) expressed concern that:

'the economic issue exacerbates the problem of 'poor' children from 'poor' families getting relatively 'poor' results. The economic issue serves to perpetuate music as an elitist and to some extent exclusive subject.'

Key Stage 4 music in schools is still dominated by female pupils at more than 60% of the cohort (DES, 2003; NAW 2003). Experts, such as Blacking (1987), Swanwick (1988) and Vulliamy and Lee (1982), among others, produced, from the 1970s onwards, many works suggesting approaches to teaching 'ethnic' music in schools. The effectiveness of these approaches in encouraging pupils of 'other' ethnicities to study Music post-fourteen has yet to be researched, however.

1.3 Research Questions

It would be dishonest to claim that the project followed a linear pattern in terms of its trajectory from inception, design and implementation to analysis and reporting. As with many projects of this nature, the research questions evolved during the course of the research, as my understanding of the theoretical and methodological complexities involved in my particular topic and approach deepened. The research originated from concerns over the situation in which music currently found itself as a curriculum subject, particularly negative reports of the KS3 Music consistently produced by pupils, poor rates of recruitment to the subject post-fourteen and discussion within the academic music community as to whether music would fare better outside the school curriculum. The original intention, therefore, was to explore the factors that affected the uptake of music at Key Stage 4 in secondary schools and entailed the following sub-questions:

- i) To what extent does access to instrumental tuition outside the KS3 classroom affect pupils' perceptions of their own ability to succeed at KS4 Music?

- ii) How does this impact on their decision concerning whether to study music at KS4?
- iii) Does pupil enjoyment of the KS3 Music curriculum have an effect on the decision to study music at KS4? Do pupils respond to the relevance of the curriculum to their personal-musical interests when making KS4 option choices? Does the quality of music provision at KS3 affect uptake of KS4 Music? Does the mode of transmission of musical learning at KS3 affect pupils' perceptions of the subject?
- vii) Does this then affect their inclination to study the subject post-fourteen?
- viii) How does the musical background of the teacher impact on the curriculum and therefore on the pupils?
- ix) Is there gender difference in pupils' attitudes to KS4 Music?
- x) Does the range of instruments provided for pupils to play in class affect their perceptions of the subject and willingness to study it at KS4?
- xi) Do pupils have suggestions about how to improve the appeal of music in the classroom?

The project passed through several stages of refinement and refocusing and I have decided to chart these honestly throughout the following chapters. In particular, the evolution of the theoretical framework for the study altered the perspective from which I viewed the research as understanding of Bernstein's theory concerning the pedagogic device permeated my understanding of both the ethnographic work and my understanding of the issues I was seeking to investigate. It is for these reasons that the research questions presented at the beginning of Chapter Eight are somewhat different from those found above but I hope it will become apparent why this is so and that it will appear consistent with the development of the work as the project progressed.

1.4 Re-defining the problem

I started with a very general question: 'What is wrong with music education?' I had a very strong feeling, having at that time just left the secondary school music room and carried out some preliminary research on the subject for my Masters' degree, that Music in many of our schools was in a state of crisis. This was supported by my initial reading around the field, (Ross, 1995; Harland, 2000; Sloboda, 2001). I was aware that the uptake for Key Stage 4 Music was stagnant at around 7-8% and that authors, such as Sloboda (ibid) were questioning the viability

of the delivery of Music in its present form within the school curriculum. I began to suspect that the problem lay in the nature of the Key Stage 3 Music curriculum being delivered in many schools. Macdonald, Hargreaves and Miell (2003) have recently written about the concept of 'musical identities' and anyone who has spent much time with teenagers will acknowledge the strength of their attachment to particular kinds of music. For many of them 'popular music', for want of a better term, constitutes what Hargreaves, Marshall and North (2003: 156) referred to as a 'badge of identity'. In other words, pupils' social and cultural allegiances are often exhibited through their membership of a particular group of music enthusiasts, for example hip-hoppers, rappers, club-dance fans, metallica fans and so forth. The same authors also refer to the fact that much research evidence points to Music in secondary schools being out of touch with pupils' interests.

Initially, I considered a model for the project which took as its basis the hypothesis that 'the current musical curriculum does not serve the musical interests of its target audience'. I then began to explore locations in which this hypothesis could be tested. In discussion with my supervision team, I began to develop a two by two research model (Stake, 2000) involving a multiple case study approach in a variety of schools. These schools would be located in differing social and economic backgrounds, the departments selected on the basis of my knowledge of school music departments gained as a supervising tutor of Initial Teacher Training secondary music students. They would be contrasting in the senses that some of them would have benefited from stable staffing and had recent Estyn inspections indicating that they provided satisfactory or better music education while, in others, the evidence in the public domain would suggest that things were less satisfactory. I proposed to use a combination of lesson observations, questionnaires and interviews with teachers, pupils and school management to obtain as complete a picture of each context as possible. I based this approach primarily on the methods adopted by the Harland Report (2000) and, to this end, I formulated an initial questionnaire to pilot in one of the schools in which I was considering conducting my research.

1.5 Refocusing the research

I visited this school for the first time in June 2003. It was one of those that fitted the selection criteria for my multiple case study and was, therefore, one that I was considering using for fieldwork. I had permission from the headteacher to pilot the questionnaire with a Year 9 group and to interview the head of the Music

Department. Having conducted this visit and reviewed the information that it afforded I did some further reading and became concerned on two accounts. The first of my concerns centred on the hypothesis I had set out to test which began to look much less clear cut than I had initially surmised. Secondly, I became aware during my initial visit to this particular school that something quite exceptional appeared to be happening in the delivery of Music and that a 'different' and exciting approach to the delivery of the music curriculum was producing very high standards of musical work from pupils at Key Stage 3. It also appeared that up to 25% of pupils in year 9 were opting to study Music at KS4. This was particularly significant in that the school was not located in a particularly affluent area and there were not large numbers of pupils in the school able to benefit from additional instrumental or vocal tuition outside the school music curriculum. It appeared to me that this combination of factors was worthy of closer and detailed investigation. I also became concerned that my initial methodological design was replicating methods which some music researchers referred to as providing only 'snapshot' evidence. As Hennessy (2001: 244) had observed: 'The nature of inspections gives rise to large amounts of 'snapshot' evidence which may well distort our knowledge of what is going on both in terms of quality, quantity and effectiveness.' I began to think that this was true not only of inspections but of many large-scale research projects, such as Harland's report (ibid). It became apparent that a more in-depth approach might yield more interesting results, those referred to by Geertz (1973) as resting on 'thick description' which painted as complete a picture as possible of the situations and people observed through detailed and in-depth observation.

I also became aware of the work on pupil voice in education being conducted at Cambridge University through the Teaching and Learning Research Project. (Finney, 2003; Ruddock and Flutter, 2004; Burnard, 2004) One strand of that very large scale research project was examining the role of pupil voice in school improvement. Researchers have acknowledged that past research into education has rarely documented the views of its consumers. This paralleled work being carried out in medicine and law in the United States (Cook-Sather, 2002) attempting to involve consumers of the service provided in developing and improving the quality and appropriateness of the service they receive. The Cambridge work seemed to demonstrate the virtue of this, not only for educational research but for all types of research where we attempt to describe the complex system of relationships, attitudes and practices, such as constitute classroom life. It is hard to see how this can be achieved satisfactorily as an individual unless one both adopts an ethnographic

approach, examining a context over a period of time, in a great deal of detail and with theoretic appropriateness. Finney's work was particularly interesting as a model for my present endeavour as it involved an extended study of one teacher and a class of pupils resulting in thick description of the teacher's pedagogy and its effects on a class of his Year 8 pupils. I was particularly struck by Finney's (2003:2) analysis of Pitts' (2001) comments on the challenges facing music education:

'Pitts (2001) points out that the challenge facing music education is how to arrive at a common understanding of what a music education might mean. Amongst the various players - the pupil, the teacher and the policy maker, so that music education can become effective for all. In particular, there appears to be little reliance on the 'local intelligence' of pupils and teachers in school in articulating their perceptions. We know very little about what pupils think of their music teachers, of the ways in which they think music might be taught in school and what meanings they give to their school music lessons. There is a dearth of investigation into the lived experiences of young people and their music teachers within music educational settings with a paucity of music educational theory generated by pupils and teachers in tandem. Researchers have been slow to collaborate with either of these key players.'

Finney (2003a: 3) claimed that his response was to:

'immerse myself in the cultural life of one music class of secondary school pupils aged 12-13 years in their second year of secondary schooling. I wanted to learn about the pupils' and teachers' attitudes, motivations, ways of knowing and perceptions of the learning and teaching of music...of their weekly encounter with music.'

I began to think that such an approach adopted with Year 9 pupils in the period approaching their option choice subject decisions for Key Stage 4 might similarly help us to understand the nature of music as pedagogic discourse and also tell us a great deal about the factors influencing pupils' decisions concerning whether or not to continue to study Music. This appeared to be an area in which I could make an original contribution.

Subsequently, I became aware of sociological perspectives on pupil voice raised by Osborn, Broadfoot, McNess, Ravn, Planel, and Triggs (2003: 9) in a comparative study of secondary learners and educational systems in the United Kingdom, France and Denmark, where they note a primary concern for:

'the need to understand what it is that motivates and empowers an individual to take advantage of the learning opportunities available to them; to shift the focus of research concern away from the *provision* of educational

opportunities, from the factors that influence the *ability* to learn and towards those that impact upon the *desire* to learn.'

The idea of using pupil and teacher voice as commentary on perceptions of the Key Stage 3 music curriculum in terms of pedagogy, transmission, acquisition and evaluation and the effects of these factors on pupils' decisions to continue to study Music after its compulsory provision ended at age 14, appeared to present an interesting and, to some extent, original perspective on these issues. It also appeared possible that, by focusing on one school and one group of pupils and their teacher, I could attempt to take into account the 'social situatedness of learning' (Hughes, 2004) Studies by Hodgkinson and Bloomer (2000) have referred to a return to a Vygotskian perspective of learning which sees human beings as the products of their environments or 'socially-constituted beings' (Bakhurst, 2003: 269). Work by Lave and Wenger (1991) has also looked at similar issues in respect to communities of practice. Hodgkinson and Bloomer (ibid) express concern about a 'dislocation' that may occur where studies neglect the 'potential of culturally and temporally informed understandings of individual students' dispositions to learning.' (Hughes, 2004) It, therefore, appeared to me that an ethnographic, longitudinal study affording the opportunity to become more fully acquainted with a discrete group of subjects, socially situated in their daily learning environment, might provide some interesting data with which to work.

This was the process by which I arrived at the present model for this study. I immersed myself in the life of one school and one class of Year 9 pupils attempting to obtain as comprehensive a picture as possible of their musical lives at home and in school. I observed, questionnaired and interviewed pupils and their teacher over the period from October to May in the academic year 2003-2004. From this data I have produced a detailed case study of these pupils' and their teacher's perceptions of the Key Stage 3 music curriculum and attempted to draw conclusions from the evidence about factors that affected pupils' disposition to learn Music at school after the end of its statutory provision at age fourteen.

1.6 Choosing the school

I requested permission to carry out this ethnographic study in the school within which I had piloted the questionnaire basing its selection on a number of factors.

1. Pupil input to research instruments.

When piloting the questionnaire in the school, I had asked pupils to comment on its design and to give me their input as to the paths such research might follow and the tools most suited to finding out 'the real picture' concerning school music. Some of the pupils had offered thoughtful and helpful comment on these issues and I considered that, in the light of my reading on research involving pupil voice, this prior involvement of pupils in the design of the research instruments was a useful part of the project and one which I should follow through.

2. The nature of the case.

I considered this school's Music Department to be a good location for my research in that it was one that I knew to provide a very good standard of music education for its pupils, as judged by inspectorate and music advisory feedback. Having abandoned my original idea of comparing departments that differed in terms of the publicly acknowledged quality of the Music that they offered and the socio-economic background of their pupils, I have already explained that aspects of this department's work intrigued me. Furthermore, it appeared that investigating a context where 'things went well' would facilitate understanding of pupil choice untrammelled by curriculum weakness, poor pedagogy or behavioural difficulty. If one is attempting to write a grammar it helps to do so from legible script. I had visited the school a few times as tutor to student music teachers but I did not have a close personal association with the Head of Music. I considered this to be an advantage in giving some measure of objectivity to my perspective.

3. Logistics

The school was within a twenty minute drive of my workplace and was receptive to the research. Both of these were important factors given that I was conducting my fieldwork around a full-time lecturing position. The proximity of the school meant that it was possible for me to spend a morning each week with the pupils and teacher and still arrive at work in time to commence afternoon lectures. It also allowed me to make short visits at other times during the week to talk to the music teacher in a free period or interview members of the senior management team.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

In seeking a methodological and conceptual framework within which to locate this study, it became evident to me that there was no single 'correct' approach to

qualitative research and no one focal theory that could do all the work of encompassing the prospective data. The literature on qualitative research is increasing at an exponential rate and with each new publication comes a new 'take' on the processes and philosophies of qualitative inquiry. It also appeared that, by the very nature of an ethnographic approach to case study, it was not always possible to know in advance of conducting fieldwork which theories would become relevant to the study as the data unfolded. I would have felt 'safer' going into the project if I had a securely mapped conceptual framework within which to operate - a club in which I could declare membership. However, as Brown and Dowling (1998: 91) comfortingly advised:

'it is rarely the case that the beginning researcher can expect to begin their empirical work having already fully formulated their theoretical position. [...] Conceptual structure and data are, more commonly, generated together in a dialogue between the developing theoretical and empirical domains.'

This approach, while less comfortable during the data gathering process, allows one the flexibility to explore issues as they arise and to adapt one's methods to the apparent needs of the issues. Brown and Dowling (ibid.) also pointed out that it was essential to engage in 'elaborated description' of the theories in relation to the data at the analysis stage in order to justify the relationship between theory and data. This recognised the problems encountered in analysis in constituting and applying recognition principles through which theoretical concepts may be applied to information so as to reconstitute it as data. This provided me with a sufficient starting point from which to commence the research. I had, in addition, established a broad conceptual position from which to operate. I knew in advance that the study was located within a postmodernist, constructionist, ethnographic mode of interrogation. I shall briefly elaborate on this conceptual position here, although the theoretical framework for the work as it evolved in full will be described in detail in Chapter Four.

A new generation of researchers has rejected the dominance of positivist and postpositivist traditions with their emphasis, even within the postpositivist qualitative paradigm, on scientific approaches to data collection and analysis. Guba (1990: 22) gave us a succinct description of the differences between the positivist and postpositivist approaches to research: '(I)n the positivist version it is contended that there is a reality out there to be studied, captured, and understood, whereas the postpositivists argue that reality can never be fully apprehended, only approximated'. Postpositivist researchers, therefore, rely on a number of methods of investigation in

an attempt to capture as much of reality within the context under study as possible. (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000) Domination of research by positivist traditions led many researchers to attempt to produce qualitative research projects within a positivist paradigm as a method of obtaining validation for their findings by the research community, for example Becker, Geer, Hughes and Strauss (1961) presented participant observation findings in terms of quasi-statistics as well as the thematic format that generally characterised symbolic interactionist work. (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000) Postmodern researchers see these methods as telling one type of story but not necessarily the only story. They seek methods that provide rich descriptions, full of detail which does not necessarily support generalisations but may, through deep understanding of a single or small number of cases, lead to illumination of an issue. They seek to capture individuals' points of view and examine the constraints of everyday life within the research context (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). I see the present research as sitting within this postmodern framework in that I am attempting by close and detailed research involving a number of methods to secure a rich description of the case study school, its pupils, teachers and management in relation to the problem I have identified. I am also aware, however, that writers such as Brown and Dowling (ibid.) advise against a complete rejection of quantitative methods within qualitative research. Indeed, there will always be some data which it is useful to quantify to illuminate theory during analysis. I proposed, therefore, within a predominantly qualitative paradigm, to use simple quantitative methods where appropriate to assist understanding of the case. I was also aware of more root and branch objections to a definitive quantitative and qualitative distinction. Even if it is that we set out to privilege meaning and context, once objectified and removed from its interactional site it is subject to 'positivistic' transformation. Jarvie's (1972) questions remain obdurate: is it possible to say something true about me that I do not understand? And does its truth inhere in my acceptance of it? One of the features of postmodern approaches to research is that they do not incline to, or even abjure, scientifically defended generalisations based statistically on small amounts of data but this does not absolve them of positivism. It may be that my findings will not support generalisations about wider parameters of the problems instanced in the case study site but knowing in great detail about this one case *may* shed light on others and may provide intuitive support or scepticism for wider propositions.

Social constructionism is an umbrella-like term used to encompass a number of theories that place emphasis on the nature of communal life. The term can be traced back to at least the first four decades of the twentieth century and the work of

the Chicago School of sociologists inspired by W. I. Thomas but formally entered the sociological vocabulary with *The Social Construction of Reality* (Berger and Luckmann, 1966), a work dealing with the sociology of knowledge, predominantly by attempting to synthesise the ideas of Emile Durkheim and George Herbert Mead. The seminal idea in this work could be said to be the dicta that society is a human product and an objective reality in which man is a social product. This movement brought into sociology methods, such as the case study and participant observation, already widely used in anthropology. The Chicago School's work can be read in conjunction with phenomenological work, such as that of Alfred Schutz examining the nature of consciousness and the everyday world, deriving from the late 19th and early 20th century philosopher Husserl, which subsequently inspired ethnomethodologists, such as Garfinkel and Cicourel. These approaches emphasised the active creation of society by human beings, underlining that we invent our social worlds rather than inheriting them ready created. The social worlds we inhabit are constructed of 'nets' of interpretations woven by groups and individuals in need of constant remaking and repair. (Marshall, 1998)

In the sociology of education a variety of late twentieth century voices, in Britain best known as a particularly motley group combining elements of Marxist and phenomenological beliefs, styling themselves 'New Directions' (Young, 1971) suggested that educational knowledge was also socially constructed. Their work drew upon, albeit insufficiently annotated, original contributions from pioneers, such as Pierre Bourdieu (1967 and onward) and Basil Bernstein (1969 and onward) both of whom drew very complexly on and synthesised a wide range of earlier thinkers and neither of whom could be labelled simply social constructionists. Bernstein's later work (1990, 1996, 2001) developed an increasingly complex theoretical model designed to examine the phenomenon he termed the 'pedagogic device'. This model sought to allow multi-level analysis of sophisticated descriptions of the social construction of knowledge from the micro level (the school) to the macro level (knowledge and policy production).

Psychologists have also developed varieties of constructivism, the term often initially related to the work of Jean Piaget who referred to ways in which cognitive processes that shape our knowledge of the world undergo stage-like development through interaction with our environments. Latter-day interest in the ideas of Lev Vygotsky in the English speaking world has underlined the essentially cultural nature of cognition. In essence, therefore, constructionist epistemologies seek to question

the givens of situations and to examine their social and historical derivation. This seems appropriate to my case study within the field of music education. I find it hard to imagine how one can research teenagers' connections with music without considering their enculturation. It was, therefore, an essential requirement of this research that I attempted to locate my findings within the socially and historically constructed worlds of experience of the teacher and pupils with whom I was researching.

Ethnographic research approaches can be seen to have developed from anthropology. Colonial anthropology placed the researcher in a situation with which they were unfamiliar and tasked them with understanding and describing it. The researcher, typically a Western academic, was immersed in the culture of the 'exotic' people being studied, often learning their language and living among them for an extended period. Data was collected through detailed observation through which a description of the functioning of the society could be produced. In this model, it was prerequisite that the culture being studied was at a distance from the home culture of the researcher. Post-colonial sensitivity about the authority of the outsider to produce accounts of other, indigenous cultures, however, lessened the appeal of this practice, in conjunction with the increasing dearth of unknown cultures to explore. Ethnographers, therefore, had to bring their studies closer to home. This led to a number of examinations of our own lives and the contexts within which we live. As Brown and Dowling (2001: 43) saw it, the challenge in this post-colonial ethnography is to 'strip away our assumptions and everyday understandings to render the world around us "anthropologically strange"'. In undertaking this kind of project there are issues of recontextualisation of which one must be aware. The process of selection and rejection of data begins immediately upon commencement of the research. The very acts of choosing a location for research, which group of subjects to study and deciding which people will be asked to provide information involves choices upon the part of researchers. Once information is obtained processes of analytic selection and rejection will begin to which researchers bring their own subconscious, interpretive frameworks. One must be aware that it is possible to turn this kind of research into a platform for proselytising personal prejudices. It is, therefore, as important to investigate and elaborate upon data which runs contrary to previously held hypotheses or emerging theories as to examine that which supports these claims. The integrity of the methodology in collection and interpretation of the data must be ensured by being open to external scrutiny. Moreover, there are issues of subjectivity and objectivity. Although it is laudable to present as honestly as possible the views of

one's research subjects on a given phenomenon, one also has to question the subjectivity of each participant's account. Researchers constantly refocus different participants' accounts of a phenomenon through the lens of their own observations to try to arrive at decontextualised explanations of phenomena observed.

A further element which requires care is the effect of observers on the observed. The presence of observers immediately changes the situation under observation. Brown and Dowling (2001: 47) referred to this as the 'epistemological paradox'. This has an impact on ethnographic researchers at whichever end of the non-participant/participant scale they seek to locate themselves. Writers question whether it is possible for researchers to be either a complete participant or a complete non-participant observer. Advice seems to suggest that the best one can do is to be as aware as possible of the effects of one's presence on the situation being observed and the impact this has on the integrity of the data. One also needs to be conscious of the image one presents as an observer. Research needs to be designed in such a way as to minimise such effects that may compromise the study, one approach to which is to habituate participants to the presence of the observer before data collection actually begins. Such an approach appeared to me to be best for examining the complex issues surrounding the problem in music education that I had identified. Not only did an ethnographic approach allow me to construct a view of the reality of musical life for pupils and teachers in the school but it also allowed opportunities to obtain a great deal of data allowing 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of the situations that I wished to observe.

1.8 Methodology

Following such logic the decision was taken to present the study as a story or in-depth case study of one school and its Music in the hope that it might shed light on problems facing music educators in secondary schools more generally. As appropriate I have incorporated the interpretive frameworks of others and explored issues as they arose. The data presented is primarily qualitative, presenting the story of the school and its background both educationally and socially and particularly examining its traditions of music education and the discernible factors that shape the musical lives of pupils and their music teacher. These issues are focussed upon particularly closely with regard to a Year 9 class of pupils with whom I spent a great deal of time during the school year 2003-4. In so doing, I also reflect upon the

political, social and historical factors that have provided the background to the current practices in music education and review relevant educational research and publications germane to the aims of the study.

To obtain sufficient data to enable the research to adequately describe as many factors affecting Music within the school as possible it was necessary to conduct inquiries at every level of the school's organisation, from the macro to the micro, though I was mainly involved in surveying, interviewing and observing both pupils and their teacher in Music classes. Assessment of the academic ability of pupils within the school in general was obtained from GCSE examination statistics. Assessments of pupils' achievements in Music within the school were taken from the end of Key Stage 3 assessments. Historical uptake figures for GCSE Music within the school as a percentage of total GCSE entries were obtained from exam entry statistics. To provide an indication of the social background within which the school was located, the number of pupils receiving free school meals was ascertained. Within much research this is taken as a standard indicator of economic and social background. This was amplified by interview data from the deputy head teacher and the most recent report from school inspection by Estyn, the Welsh schools' inspectorate.

In addition local factors affecting the provision of Music within the school were examined. Senior management within the school provided information on the timetabled allocation for Music and resource allocation to the Music Department. The views of senior managers were also sought on Music as a curriculum subject and its place within the school. The arrangements for grouping pupils within the school within year groups, forms and subjects, particularly Music, were examined. Staffing within the music department was ascertained, as was the level of provision of extra-curricular music activities. In particular, the provision for peripatetic instrumental tuition within the school was researched, including the range of instrumental tuition provided, numbers of pupils participating in lessons and funding arrangements.

My principal tools of data collection were lesson observations, interviews and questionnaires but I hoped that using a variety of data collection methods and sites would amplify the depth of the data collected and add to its validity. Observations were conducted using a range of methods from semi-structured schedules to less formal field notes. I adopted various roles within the classroom: as non-participant observer viewing lessons at a little distance; as observer conducting a dialogue with

a small number of pupils about their thoughts as the lesson proceeded; and as a participant observer playing instruments alongside them. These varied perspectives gave me a range of insights into pedagogic practice and pupil response. I interviewed a large number of individual members of the class during the year. These interviews were conducted using semi-structured schedules and, at a later date, I interviewed pairs and two focus groups of pupils through a more conversational modality. Again, this allowed me to view information from a variety of perspectives. Interviews with the music teacher and senior management were mostly conducted using semi-structured schedules, although these were also amplified through more conversational data collection at later points. Questionnaires which pupils had helped me to devise the previous year were also administered to pupils.

Data was analysed using Network Analysis (Bernstein, 1996; Brown and Dowling, 1998) and an analytic schema drawn from the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter Four. I chose not to use statistical or text analysis computer software packages, as I considered a manual method of data analysis to allow more freedom when examining cross-fertilisation between the many sources of rich data I obtained. The principal theory drawn upon both in framing the investigation and data collection and analysis is that of Bernstein (1996), allowing description of 'the pedagogic device'. All of these matters will be the focus of detailed explication in Chapter Four which is prefaced in the next two chapters by outline and analysis of the national background of music education and within it the uptake of school Music at Key Stage 4.

Chapter Two

Background of music education in England and Wales

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to place the present study of music education, located in one Welsh secondary school, within the context of developments in music education in England and Wales to date. Music has had a difficult career as a curriculum subject in these countries, as in so many others and has often fought for its survival. As we shall see in this chapter, music educators are well accustomed to justifying the place of their subject within the statutory curriculum. Much media attention has recently focused, some would say misguidedly, on the extra-musical benefits of pupils' musical education as arguments for the value of the subject within the curriculum. Research has been interpreted and misinterpreted as showing that involvement in music can: develop spatial-temporal reasoning skills (Rauscher, Shaw and Ky, 1993; 1995, Rauscher, 1997); enhance cognitive development (Altenmüller and Gruhn, 1997); promote transferable skills, which may raise academic achievement (Harland, Kinder, Lord, Stott, Schagen, Haynes, Cusworth, White, and Paola, 1998; Weber, Spychiger and Patry 1993; Zulauf, 1993); enhance self-concept (Reynolds, 1995; Trusty and Oliva, 1994) and encourage social skills (Spychiger *et al.*, 1995).

These claims have not been received without dissent (Overy, 1998; Rauscher, Shaw and Ky, 1998; Sharp, 1998) and not least because of the premise on which citation of some of this research has been based: as an attempt to enhance the status of music in education by attaching to it extra-musical benefits. Such discussions fail as arguments for the importance of music in education because they ignore the fundamental questions that have faced educators, particularly music educators, since at least the time of Plato: why is music so fundamental to human existence and in what ways should this be reflected in our education of the young? For Plato (1901: 376) music was an essential element of the education of the guardians of society –those appointed to watch over the morality of their peers: '[Socrates] And what shall be their education? Can we find a better than the traditional sort? - and this has two divisions, gymnastics for the body, and music for the soul.'

The role of music has since been a subject of heated debate within the education community and has exercised the minds of many educational philosophers.

In the 1970s, Keith Swanwick and John Paynter presented what has been taken to represent a revolutionary, alternative paradigm for the possible nature of music education. Swanwick (1999: 2) more recently revoiced his philosophy thus:

'I want to argue that music persists in all cultures and finds a role in many educational systems not because it services other activities, nor because it is a kind of sensuous pleasure, but because it is a symbolic form. It is a mode of *discourse* as old as the human race, a medium in which ideas about ourselves and others are articulated in sonorous shapes.'

Arguably, Swanwick (1968 and onward) has been the most influential 20th century writer for music education in the United Kingdom and has had an influence on the thinking of music educators worldwide. His work, together with that of Paynter (1982), formed the basis of much of the philosophy behind the National Curriculum for music and the GCSE Music examination. His philosophical deliberations on the nature of musical experience helped to clarify thinking about the goals to be strived for in the arts in schools. One of his earlier publications (Swanwick, 1979: 25) defined the role of music in the following terms:

'music and the arts [...] are concerned with the *space between* the individual and the community, between tradition and innovation [...] they are events standing between ourselves and our consciousness of everything which is not ourselves [...] Music and the arts are concerned with 'pure responsiveness' rejoiced and delighted in consciously sought'

This was expanded upon and confirmed in his later work (Swanwick, 1988: 57) where the view was presented that music education should be concerned with 'the aesthetic raising of consciousness'. He acknowledged that the theoretical underpinning of much of this work was Langer's (1941) theory that music is 'a way of knowing the life of feeling' (Elliot 1995: 28). Elliot (1995: 29), however, attacked this philosophy of 'music education as aesthetic education' on the grounds that 'it neglects to consider the nature and importance of music making'. For Elliott, Swanwick's argument was flawed because it failed to consider distinctions between different spheres of musical activity, such as performing, improvising, composing and conducting. Elliott (1995: 33) argued that 'musical performing ought to be a central educational and musical end for all students' and that:

'becoming a creative music maker involves a special kind of learning process that students can both engage in and learn how to deploy themselves [...] all forms of music making involve a multi dimensional form of thinking that is also a unique source of one of the most important kinds of knowledge human beings can gain.'

Elliott's eschewed the raising of aesthetic consciousness as a goal of music education unless it is accompanied by the development of specific musical skills whereas, for Swanwick, skills acquisition, as we shall see later in this chapter, occupied a subservient role to that of the aesthetic response.

Recent work by Green (2001, 2005) and Finney (2003a, 2003b) concerning the ways in which young people's musical experiences outside the school and their ideas about music may be used to transform the school music curriculum, appeared bridge this philosophical divide. Green (2001, 2005) has suggested that formal music education may have much to learn from observing and modelling the informal learning and teaching practices that occur when young people work together, out of school, in popular music settings, such as rock and pop groups. It appears to me that such music making bridges the gap between skills development and creativity, allowing the two to develop alongside one another and, perhaps, most crucially, to do so in ways which are culturally relevant to the young people concerned. Finney (2003a: 8) in working with a class of Year 8 pupils to initiate a dialogue about their music education, found that:

'Sing-dance-listen is the common out of school music curriculum [...] It is normal to listen to music for two hours or more each day and this is the most common activity engaged with when first arriving home at the end of the school day, a time of solitude, a time for Rachel to be "dancing and singing in the mirror". None of the class receives formal instrumental or vocal training. All but one would like to have lessons. Most would like to learn the drums or guitar. Drumming is their greatest desire.'

This concurs with a previous study (Wright and Thomas, 2003) conducted on the views of music education of 120 Year 8 pupils in schools in South Wales. These pupils also had strong desire to learn instruments, particularly drums and guitar and also devoted several hours at the end of the school day to the 'sing-dance-listen' out of school curriculum. This indicates a strong pupil voice for the type of curricular development Green advocated. It is also interesting to note the relationships for pupils between singing and listening and moving to the music which Finney (2003b)

developed in his subsequent work with a small group of the pupils from his 2003a study group. He worked with two disaffected pupils from the study class, allowing them to become curriculum leaders and devise and teach their classmates a series of music lessons with transformative results for themselves and their classmates. Both pupils notably chose to work with movement to music, one teaching the class majorette skills and the other break dancing. This leads one to question whether the isolation of music from movement has been altogether natural or helpful in the current National Curriculum.

Sociologists of music education have examined the role of music within education from a slightly different stance. They have looked at the role of music in social construction; the ways in which it can 'get into' or help shape identity, social action and subjectivity. In this respect De Nora's (2000) work on music in everyday life and Willis (1978) were illuminating. Willis researched a group of 'Bike Boys' in terms of how they used music to articulate their identity and catalyse action. In this context, music was used as a life tool. Willis described how people find relationships between musical and extra musical phenomena. 'Music 'is like' some other thing i.e. conduct during an evening and vice versa some thing is like music' (De Nora, 2003: 170), raising the idea that music can, instead of reflecting society, actually play a part in forming it, shaping actions or behaviours. Music may be part of our learning equipment, the part that allows us to 'experience socially constructed modes of subjectivity', 'music serves as a socialising medium'. 'Music may come to provide parameters against which some aspect of social being takes shape' (ibid.). There are parallels here with Plato's views on the role of music in education as shaping the action of the young by keeping them to 'law and measure'.

Views as to the nature of music and its role in education are, then, multifaceted and far from straightforward. In the context of this study, broader questions of music's importance to humanity and its role in education are cast pessimistically by Sloboda (2001) and Green, (2001). Sloboda (2001:1) discovered that:

'(i) many school music educators have little respect for or understanding of the musical lives of those they teach; (ii) that the musical enthusiasms and aspirations of many young people are not addressed by the current curriculum; (iii) that the transition from primary to secondary school is a key 'parting-of-the-ways' between young people and their music teachers; and (iv) that music retains a key and central role in the lives of most people who see themselves as 'not musical', and that emotional self-management is at the

heart of this role.' Classroom music, as currently conceptualised and organised, may be an inappropriate vehicle for mass music education in 21st-century Britain.'

Green (2001) described the 'ebbing tide' of musical involvement or amateur music making in society. These concerns are mirrored in the tiny proportion of pupils (less than 8% of the eligible cohort) over the age of fourteen studying music in school. Practical musical activity in the West could be viewed as a dying art, though music education could remedy this situation. Green (2001) referred to a number of reasons for this sorry state of affairs including the highly specialised nature of musical production necessary to recreate the types of music listened to out of school and fear and embarrassment experienced by many when faced with the thought of performing music to others, given the pervasive culture of excellence privileged by the media. It could be argued that music in schools needs to make a 'sea change' in public opinion, in conjunction with media phenomena, such as *The X Factor* and *Pop Idol* to show that ordinary people can make good music. According to Green (2001) society needed to make a cultural shift away from the idea that the only measure, or goal, of success in music is to achieve fame and wealth and believed it possible that music education could do much to assist with this. Certainly any examination of the music curriculum in England and Wales needed to consider these issues.

2.2 Music education in England and Wales before the National Curriculum

Music in the English and Welsh state maintained school system has already undergone, arguably more than any other curriculum subject, a radical transformation in both curriculum content and teaching approaches since the inception of the National Curriculum in the 1990s. Prior to this, the subject spent a considerable time 'wandering in the wilderness' in an attempt to find itself as a curriculum discipline. As we shall see later, this was in part due to the unorthodox fashion in which it entered the statutory curriculum in the first place.

The development of a national system of schooling in England and Wales only occurred in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Until this period, a very basic level of elementary schooling for the poor was provided by the church, charity schools or private schools which charged parents for very varied quality of schooling. Secondary schooling was only available at a small number of grammar schools and fee-paying public schools, which catered not for the public but for those who could

afford to pay for their children to be educated (Fulcher and Scott, 2003). There were only two very exclusive English universities at the time: Oxford and Cambridge, primarily aimed at educating the sons of the gentry to enter the clergy. The education system in Scotland, on the other hand, was considerably more developed and more accessible to all irrespective of class. This system provided publicly funded local schools run by graduate schoolmasters able to teach to university entrance level and five universities to which a considerable number of working class pupils obtained access: 'About a quarter of the students at Glasgow university at the end of the eighteenth century were of working class origin' (Royle, 1987: 373). It was not until the 1870 Education Act that a free and compulsory elementary education system for all children in England and Wales began to be developed and the twentieth century had dawned before the 1902 Education Act (though almost two decades earlier in Wales) instigated the creation of a state secondary schooling system, although it was not until the 1944 Act that free secondary schooling was made available for all. (Fulcher and Scott, 2003)

Attitudes to the teaching of music during this transformational period from 1900 to 1944 appear to have been varied. Spencer, writing in 1911, took the view that: 'just as the arts occupy the leisure part of life, so should they occupy the leisure part of education'. Others however took a different view of the role of music in schools. Much-needed research into the history of music education in England and Wales has been undertaken by Cox (1993, 2001) who accessed material not readily available in the form of press coverage of music education and related literature taken at twenty-five year intervals over a 75-year period. Cox (2001: 10) reported that in the period from 1923-24: 'the justifications for the teaching of music ranged from the idealist to the pragmatic', demonstrating the idealist approach as exemplified in a book entitled *Spirit and Music* (Hunt, 1922): Hunt believed that music should be valued as a subject, not merely as a part of life, a means of earning a living or of relaxation, but also more importantly as 'a manifestation of the divine spirit'. Hunt (*ibid*) also believed that music in schools could be socially regenerative, providing: 'windows opening onto new vistas of life.' (Cox, *op cit.*: 51) The pragmatic approach, in contrast, was exemplified by Cox (p. 52) in the writing of Walter Carroll (1924), music advisor for Manchester:

'He outlined eight aims for elementary schoolchildren up to the age of 14. These included the cultivation of a love of music for its own sake; good breathing habits; a sweet voice with forward tone and no breaks or registers;

a sensitive ear for pitch and rhythm, a facility in reading simple tunes from staff notation; a large number of good songs; an appreciation of music through rhythm, melody and harmony; and knowledge of music literature through hearing standard works performed well.'

Cox amplified upon this view of music in schools, dominated by vocal work and appreciation of the classical canon, with reference to Walford Davies' (1923: 194) observation of the importance of pupils being able to generate musical ideas, for 'melody is our real mother-tongue'; pupils be allowed to attempt simple compositional activities involving vocal melody, building that might allow them to inhabit 'the little creative heaven of sound'.

A third strand in the development of music education at this time may be identified as being the growth of the music appreciation movement. This was manifested in a growing programme of children's concerts provided by orchestras so as to allow pupils to experience the master works of the Western Art Music canon at first hand. The increasing availability of the wireless and gramophone over this period also allowed pupils to experience music performance at home and in school as never before.

At the same time, Cox's (2001:10) research identified that the lives of music teachers in the 1920s differed very greatly from school to school. While some schools, such as Mary Datchelor School in Camberwell, London, were receiving special grants and becoming centres of musical excellence that could offer special training to pupils showing a gift for music, music teachers in others were struggling to deliver this new style of music education:

'In an article entitled 'Appreciation in an Elementary School', E.R. Lewis (*Music Teacher*, August 1924) informs us that of the three classes in his school, two numbered 65 pupils each, while the third had 40 pupils. Each group was assigned two half-hour periods weekly for music. Much of the time was taken up with vocal training in tonic sol-fa and staff notations. This work was regarded as difficult by both teachers and pupils. Appreciation was therefore a welcome innovation, but it had to be approached circumspectly.'

Much of the professional debate at this period appeared to centre on the training of school music teachers. Cox (2001:12) referred to the voiced:

'need for a new diploma (*School Music Review*, June 1923) which would ensure that teachers, who otherwise had had little musical experience apart from that gained in training college, could both improve and update themselves in order to cope successfully with the host of new developments in the teaching of music which were on the horizon.'

The aftermath of the 1944 Education Act led to very uneven implementation of bi- and tripartite education modes of grammar, and secondary modern, sometimes with technical, schools and in 1947 the school leaving age was raised from fourteen to fifteen, all posing fresh challenges for music teachers in schools. Cox (2001: 12) brought to attention the title of a significant article by Radcliffe (1948), *Education through Music*. In it Radcliffe expressed concerns about the 'institutionalisation of music' (Cox, 2001) and raised an issue still at the forefront of many music educators' minds today, namely the consequences of teaching music divorced from its social background: 'while school education is handled as a thing apart, as it all too often is, while it is undertaken in a social vacuum, it can strike children only as unreal and completely non-vital.' (Radcliffe, 1948: 165) Cox (2001: 13) distilled from this article two important issues: firstly that the process of education is as important as the content and that, therefore, music teachers' concepts of education are 'at least as important as his or her musical experiences', and secondly, that the objectives of music in schools were 'ill-defined and ill-considered', that 'sight had been lost of education in the focus on technique.'

A number of exciting new movements did develop in music education during the post-war years. One was the Percussion Band movement pioneered by Louie de Russette, among others, in primary schools. (Cox, 2000) De Russette was one of the earliest proponents of a creative approach to music education and claimed that a curriculum centred on musical imitation stifled children's creative abilities in music and had negative effects on the development of personality. She declared that: 'we shall not become a musical nation until music is treated as a creative art in the Primary school' (De Russette, 1948: 62).

The prevailing mood within the profession however was still in favour of a more traditional approach. Hunt (1948 cited in Cox, 2000) listed the four major aims of the music educator in schools as being:

'to ensure musical literacy; to afford practical experience of music and music making; to promote a knowledge of and liking for the best music; ultimately to

bring about a cultivated and urbane outlook on life, as a result of musical training.'

Interestingly, there was no explanation of the term 'the best music'. It was taken as a given that this was Western Art Music.

Instrumental teaching predominantly focussed on teaching the sight-reading taken to be so important to access the Western music canon became more widely available during this period, as did the provision of youth orchestras providing new opportunities for music making of a certain type by fortunate young people. (Snell, 1948, cited in Cox, 2000).. Classroom instruments also gained in importance and began to rival the dominance of vocal work in the curriculum. In addition, the musical appreciation movement was still developing with projects, such as the film *Instruments of the Orchestra* being produced specifically for classroom use (Cox, 2001).

During this post-war period, the training of music teachers was still an important focus of professional debate. Routes into the profession were multiple and varied following the introduction of emergency training of teachers in the post-war years. Cox (2001:13-14) uncovered a fascinating insight into the life of a music teacher at this time, as portrayed by Gordon Reynolds in an article in *Music in Education* (May-June 1948: 40).

'Reynolds had intended to be a church organist but as a result of his work in the Forces found himself organising choral groups and music clubs. Consequently, he took a school music diploma, and became the sole music master in a school. Every class, he tells us, was allocated 40 minutes per week, and the teaching extended from tonic sol-fa, to the School Certificate, the Higher School Certificate and Scholarship work [...] He bemoaned having to teach the ABC stage, pupils had little experience in primary school. But for Reynolds the greatest joy was the choral work: 'don't expect to grow rich or fat, but you would be dull indeed if you were not at least occasionally spiritually warmed by your endeavours'.'

It was probably accurate to surmise that, for the majority of secondary school music teachers during this period, the main satisfaction in their professional lives came from their extra-curricular work. Certainly, the publication of the Schools Councils' report *Young School Leavers* (1968) indicated that curricular music teaching in secondary schools was having little positive impact on many of its recipients. The ex-pupils surveyed in this study viewed their school music as having been useless and boring. In the previous year the Council had established a Music Committee which now

began to look for solutions to the problem of secondary school music. Its first report (Schools' Council, 1971) concluded that music teachers needed to develop new approaches to teaching their subject.

A number of changes in education in England and Wales made the need to find a more relevant and motivating way of teaching music in secondary schools urgent. The raising of the school leaving age from fifteen to sixteen in 1972, reinforcing some of the effects of the Labour government's 1964 education policy which required Local Education Authorities (LEAs) to submit plans for re-organising secondary education along comprehensive lines and led to very uneven and often partial replacing of selection with common secondary schooling, came haltingly into effect. Although the British and Welsh education systems could be said never to have become truly comprehensive, as both overtly and *de facto* selective schools still existed and were able to 'cream off' many of the ablest pupils, while virtually all comprehensive schools still acted selectively in streaming, banding or setting their pupils (Fulcher and Scott, 2003), life changed for many teachers. They now had a far more diverse clientele, many forcedly to stay in school for an extra year in comparison to their predecessors. The repercussions were felt in classrooms everywhere, possibly nowhere more strongly so than in the music room. Cox (2000) reported that these problems are reflected in a letter from one music teacher to the *Music Teacher* magazine (August, 1974: 17):

'I am a slave to the Top Twenty - every Sunday. During my lessons, the tape recorder lies visible on my desk - blatant bribery, a fifteen minute reward after one hour of flogging one dead horse after another [...] I have found all Hell let loose when fifth year boys (ROSLA's first products) found a way into the music room and banged and blew everything available [...] 'Listening skills' - who listens? [...] there is an all pervading restlessness; desks and chairs are constantly on the move as ungainly bodies shift uneasily. As teachers we are reduced almost entirely to dependence on personality values...'

With many classroom music teachers experiencing similar difficulties, music teaching was far from simple during this period. One possible solution to the problem was proposed by the music panel of the North-West Regional Curriculum Development Project (NWRCDP). This large-scale project supported by the Schools' Council featured a new collaboration in educational research between teachers, researchers and Local Education Authorities (LEAs). Its report *Creative Music and the Young School Leaver* (NWRCDP, 1974) described ways in which creative musical work could be undertaken using classroom instruments. Further

collaborative research included the Schools' Council project *Music in the Secondary School Curriculum* (Paynter, 1970) which led to Swanwick's (1979) seminal work, *A basis for music education*. This text introduced a radical new approach to the teaching of classroom music, advocating that pupils should learn about music through active engagement with it. Swanwick's (1979; 45) C (L) A(S) P model, defining 'the parameters of musical experience', gave music educators a clear outline of the areas of musical activity within which children should be engaging as follows:

C	<i>Composition</i>	formulating a musical idea, making a musical object
(L)	<i>Literature Studies</i>	the literature of and the literature about music
A	<i>Audition</i>	responsive listening as (though not necessarily in) an audience.
(S)	<i>Skill Acquisition</i>	aural, instrumental, notational.
P	<i>Performance</i>	communicating music as a 'presence'.

The model placed skills acquisition and literature studies in subservient positions to the central musical activities of performing composing and audition. Swanwick, (1979, 46) described C (L) A(S) P as providing 'a model for education', outlining a 'framework for generating potential musical experiences' by working within the parameters of two basic concepts: 'that teachers are trying for specific experiences, but across a wide range of activities'. Experiencing music through a holistic programme of composing, audition or appraising and performing, with skills acquisition and literature in their new, subsidiary roles instead of at the forefront of the curriculum, was to revolutionise the curriculum.

Central to the philosophy of music education during the 1970s was the term 'aesthetic'. Swanwick laboured to produce a compelling argument for the place of music in the school curriculum and at its heart was an attempt to arrive at an understanding of the nature of musical experience and musical activity. As Swanwick (1999: 22) put it:

'Many of us have been hard at work trying to establish a credible and serviceable philosophy of music education and have laboured to tease out the psychological and sociological characteristics of musical experience in order to evolve sound working principles for the classroom and the studio.'

One of the first steps in this process was a clearer understanding of the nature of musical activity. Swanwick (1974) identified three processes central to musical experience involving: the selection of sounds from the vast range available to the musician; placing the sounds in relation to each other; and deliberately intending that there should be music. None of this could happen unless there was an 'aesthetic response' (Swanwick, 1979: 13), the term used to describe the ability to respond to music as a way of feeling. For Swanwick, aesthetic experience lay at the core of musical experience and without it music was meaningless: 'music without aesthetic qualities is like a fire without heat.' (*ibid*)

Not all music educators were in accord, however, with this response-based approach to the teaching of music in schools. George Odam (1974) expressed concern at the choices that lay ahead for school music teachers. Odam espoused the cause of notation in the curriculum and advocated the teaching of staff notation to pupils in schools. In this connection he saw the publication by William Salaman of a series of works allowing a systematic approach to the development of classroom orchestra as being a useful tool in the process. Notwithstanding these and other concerns, the work of Paynter and Swanwick was highly influential throughout the 1980s (Adelman and Kemp, 1992). As Swanwick and Tillman's (1986) paper *The Sequence of Musical Development: a Study of Children's Compositions* gave valuable insight into an area becoming of increasing importance in the school curriculum, in many schools it became centred around composition and elicitation of 'aesthetic response' seen by Swanwick as essential to aesthetic development. Skills acquisition tended to be regarded as an inevitable but subsidiary by-product of this aesthetic engagement.

At the same time interest was growing in the use of popular and 'ethnic' musics in the classroom. The suggestion that popular music should form part of the secondary school music curriculum had been proposed by Swanwick some time before in his 1969 book *Popular Music and the Teacher* and had been growing in popularity, supported by the publication of *Pop, Rock and Ethnic Music in Schools* (Vulliamy and Lee, 1982). During the 1970s and 80s, however a fierce argument developed between Swanwick and fellow academics Vulliamy and Shepherd (Vulliamy, 1977; Vulliamy and Shepherd, 1984; Swanwick, 1984). All the combatants shared the view that popular music had an important role to play in schools. However Cox and Hennessy (2003:33) describe the dissent as centring around the issues of the social and cultural ownership of music: 'What was contentious was the degree to

which music was believed to be socially determined and culturally embedded.' The process of the introduction of ethnic musics in schools appears to have been less contentious during this period. The *Arts Education for a Multi-Cultural Society Project* (AEMS) (Blacking, 1987) sought to discover what a music curriculum for multicultural Britain might look like. Other academics also made progress in introducing Indian (Farrell, 1986) and West African (Kwami 1986, 1991) musics in schools. By the 1990s, music had become a practically based subject in most schools and the curriculum at its best encompassed a wide range of musics representative of the global sound world. (Gammon, 1999b)

The 1988 Education Reform Act heralded major changes in the education system in Britain, including the formation of a national curriculum, within which Music was to be a foundation subject. The object of the National Curriculum was

'to provide a unified national system that, it is said, raises standards and guarantees a minimum educational entitlement to all children. It also has a key role in promoting market forces in education' (Gammon, 1999a:131)

The original plan had been that all 10 foundation subjects were to be taught to pupils until the age of 16. It emerged in the Parents' Charter (1991), however, without preceding ministerial announcement, that Art and Music would cease to be compulsory after the age of 14. 'This confirmed what was well known already, the lesser status of these subjects and that:

'As an example of educational innovation the introduction of the National Curriculum can be viewed as an unmitigated disaster, characterised by U-turns, policy-making on the hoof, mutual distrust and alienation between teachers and the government, quango decision-making and a breathtaking pace of change where the next innovation was presented before there had been time to absorb and evaluate the previous ones.' (Gammon, *ibid*)

Gammon further referred to this period in education as 'a process of permanent revolution', suggesting that this state of turmoil:

'served well a government with a radical agenda and a deep distrust of the professions. It involved disregarding and distressing professionals, the destruction of institutions and the centralisation of power whilst at the same time the denial of such centralisation through the rhetoric of increased choice and the improvement of standards.'

A Music Working Group was formed which drew up initial proposals for the National Curriculum for Music. Among its members were teachers, principals of music conservatoires, a university professor of music and a popular music composer. The draft proposals drew together perceived best practice in music education over the years and took as a model for the curriculum Swanwick's (1979) performing, composing, appraising basis already incorporated into GCSE and which now formed the Attainment Targets for Music. Music was to be a practical subject and a broad and varied repertoire should be taught to pupils. Gammon (1999b, 1) reported that the proposals:

'reflected the best practice of music teachers as it had developed since the 1970s. [...] they made a number of references to different musical styles including Bhangra beat, pop-flamenco, penillion singing, Gamelan, and Scottish Gaelic psalm singing (DES, Welsh Office, 1991a, pp.26, 51, 40, 41). In mentioning these musical styles they were reflecting an increased diversity in practice in schools, with steel bands and samba bands being equipped and organised and some LEAs even providing lessons on such instruments as the tabla, the Indian harmonium and the Northumbrian bagpipes.'

This original model for the music curriculum was well received by the music profession generally. In England, '83% of those who responded to consultation were in favour' (Gammon 1999a: 132) and in Wales the draft proposals were accepted immediately in their entirety by the Curriculum Council for Wales.

The proposals did not, however, meet with uniform approval. There were sustained and punishing attacks from neo-conservatives, including high profile media assaults from Roger Scruton and Anthony O'Hear who had been critical of many aspects of education in the UK for some time and 'had the ear of the government' (Gammon 1999: 135). They formed the Music Curriculum Association to fight the Working Group's proposals which they found repellent on two grounds: firstly, that they saw them as wanting to restrict the music curriculum to pop music, thereby not broadening pupils' musical horizons; and secondly that they saw the proposals as ignoring the duty of education to pass on to children the cultural heritage which they saw as embodied in the Western classical tradition. They saw the proposals as deriving from all that was worst about child-centred education which Scruton (1991: no page) described as downgrading 'every subject until it fitted the capacities of the child rather than raising the child to the level dictated by the subject.' He went on to describe the GCSE as providing 'as many ways as possible to describe childish ignorance as a form of knowledge.' He further asserted that 'a child can prove his

grasp of composition by crooning into a tape recorder.' However the most unspeakable sin of the Working Group's proposals seems to have been that

'In its 117 page document you will find only one mention of a classical composer – Mozart - and scarcely a reference to the tradition of Western music, although pop, reggae, flamenco, mamba, salsa and a dozen other ephemera are constantly paraded for consideration.' (Scruton, 1991, no page)

O'Hear wrote to the press in similar vein:

'On this curriculum, pupils will be able to study music for 10 years without gaining a sound knowledge of either the history or the techniques of Western classical music, which is surely one of the greatest achievements of our civilisation.' (O'Hear 1991: no page)

Pascall (1992), chairman of the National Curriculum Council (to which he was seconded from BP, having been erstwhile political advisor to Mrs. Thatcher) (Gammon, 1999, 138) reinforced this view, stating that:

'Any domination of popular and temporary cultural movements in our approach to the curriculum will only serve to separate our children from their inheritance which has shaped society today'. (Pascall, 1992: no page, cited in Gammon, 1993: 138).

Subsequently, in 1992, the National Curriculum Council (NCC) for England

'issued a (second) consultation document which had lots of polite things to say about the good work of the Working Group, but the effect of which was to undermine totally the way the subject was currently constituted.' (Gammon, 1999a, 133).

This document appeared to ignore many of the Working Group's proposals:

'Instead of the practically-based subject envisaged by the Working Group, the NCC wanted a subject which downplayed the practical element, emphasising 'Knowing and Understanding' and involving a great deal of knowledge of music history and what is inexplicably called 'theory' in music education [...] The NCC's document dropped references to different world musics and replaced them with numerous references to composers from Western art music.' (Gammon, 1999a: 132)

The document caused uproar. The conductor Simon Rattle, composer Pierre Boulez and the Incorporated Society of Musicians came to the defence of the Music Working

Group's original proposals. Rattle accused the Secretary of State for Education Kenneth Clarke of causing:

'the biggest disaster in music in my lifetime' and of 'putting an extraordinary burden on teachers to teach too early things that are not necessary. What they need to do is provide children with the means to make music and explore music of all kinds.' (TES, 1992)

Rattle (1992a) admitted that 'the Working Group made a fatal political mistake in that they didn't mention more composers.' Interestingly Sir John Manduell (1992), a member of the Working Group, stated that 'We were quite clear that we wanted a strong emphasis on the Western classical tradition, but never felt it was helped by identifying a list of composers.' Indeed, Gammon (1999a: 133) asserted that accusations of abandoning Western classical tradition in proposals for the new curriculum were totally unjust as the working group

'consisted for the most part of establishment figures steeped in the Western tradition, and many aspects of the programmes of study they proposed could only be taught through examples drawn from the Western classical tradition.'

It is relevant to future discussion to note here that these were the proposals accepted in totality by the Curriculum Council for Wales.

The 1992 version of the National Curriculum for Music has since been replaced by two revisions, in 1995 and 2000. While producing new, streamlined documentation underlying commitment to the dominance of Western Art Music is still in evidence in both English and Welsh versions. This is hardly surprising given the views subsequently expressed by Nick Tate, chief executive of the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority and a key figure in the 2000 National Curriculum revision, that: '(A) key purpose of the school curriculum is to transmit an appreciation of and commitment to the best of the culture we have inherited.' (Gammon, 1999a: 26)

Kenneth Clarke was eventually persuaded by Swanwick (1992) to relent a little and a practical basis for the subject was reinstated. The outcome was, however, a more prescriptive version of the National Curriculum for music in England (DES, April 1992). For Shepherd and Vulliamy (1994) the root of the controversy was 'the struggle for culture'. They viewed the Thatcher government as attempting to redefine central cultural values and, in particular, to 'relegate notions of relativism to the past.' (Cox and Hennessey, 2001) For Cox (1993), however, the issues were not new but

resonated across music education history. In particular they resonated with age long concerns about the reasons for music, the status of music as a school subject, the technical/aesthetic divide and cultural diversity. Swanwick (2001) has since written of the problems caused by this approach and the future dangers of a narrow, restricted view of musical learning that reduces school music to a subculture separated from real music. By the late 1990s, Music appeared to come under threat as a curriculum subject. On 24 April 1998, *The Times Educational Supplement* reported on a survey which discovered that one in five primary schools was cutting down on the time given to Music and that, in some cases, the subject was being dropped altogether. The government's literacy and numeracy strategy were blamed for this, engendering ever more insistence that priority be given by primary schools to teaching the 'three Rs'. The alarming headline given to this article read: 'Primary music in decline' (TES, *ibid.*). Not surprisingly, secondary school music teachers began to fear that the subject might soon follow suit at the secondary phase. However, there were advocates within the government for the benefits of music in education. David Blunkett, Secretary of State for Education and Employment evinced personal advocacy of music (TES, 1998) considering it to have had positive effect in his own life and wishing others to experience similar benefits. This advocacy has more recently been extended by the Minister for Schools in England, Jacqui Smith who announced a major funding initiative to improve provision and training for music in schools stating:

'Every child, whatever their background should have the chance to learn a musical instrument. Music is an important part of a rounded education that not only gives children great pleasure but also bring self-confidence and self-esteem.' (BBC News Education, Tuesday, 10 October, 2000)

As we noted at the beginning of this chapter, the primary argument used during the 1990s to justify music's place in the school curriculum was that of transferability of learning. In April 1998 the TES mounted a campaign, 'Music for the Millennium', to save music in schools which propounded the various arguments in favour of curricular music. The piece drew upon ideas from Plato to the present to discuss the cognitive benefits of music education. At the time studies by Rauscher, Shaw and Ky, indicating an effect dubbed 'The Mozart Effect' (1993, 1995), were much in the news. This work claimed to provide scientific evidence demonstrating that exposure to music could play a key role in improved brain function and result in advances in spatial and temporal reasoning and, under its influence, the TES piece (1998) concluded that more curriculum time for literacy and numeracy work was

actually counterproductive to the process of learning if it deprived children of curriculum time for music. Critics of this viewpoint queried the scientific reliability of Rauscher et al's research as its measurements were of affective outcomes rather than cognitive gains.

Two distinct curricular trends emerged during the 1990s. The first of these was increasing use of music technology in secondary school classrooms, despite some initial resistance from the music teaching profession to such new ways of working. York (1999) urged the profession to work to conquer the technophobia experienced by many music teachers in order to allow their pupils access to sequencers, samplers and the variety of sound editors now available. Cox (2000: 17) believed that this new technology had to be embraced for three reasons: 'undoubted demand from pupils, to break the out-moded chain of music education; to accept the primacy of popular musical culture, itself permeated by technology, in the twentieth century.'

The second curricular trend was the growing presence of popular music in the school curriculum, York (1999) encouraging teachers to attend to the increasing importance of 'popular musical culture in its design, arguing that the popular music industry had achieved a new measure of socio-economic respectability under New Labour which should be reflected in the school music room. York discussed the progress made in this direction by the introduction of the GCSE examination in music discussed in more detail in the following section. Once more the nature of teacher training in music was being raised and its effectiveness questioned in terms of its success in equipping teachers with the skills required for delivery of the new music curriculum.

2.3 Background to the GCSE examination system

The advent in the 1960s and 1970s of comprehensive education systems in secondary schools in the United Kingdom came about often through merger of many grammar and secondary modern schools and made apparent shortcomings of the existing two-tier system of assessment for pupils at the end of their compulsory state education. It was apparent that the bi-partite GCE Ordinary Level (O Level) and Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) system was both impractical and in conflict with the egalitarian ideals of comprehensive education. GCE examinations had been

designed to assess the achievement of the top 20% of the ability range within the cohort, whereas pupils falling within the subsequent 40% of the ability range were assessed through CSE examinations. Pupils in grammar schools were entered for GCE O levels while their contemporaries in secondary modern schools were more likely to be entered only for CSEs. When these cohorts of pupils were combined in new comprehensive schools it rapidly became evident that the administrative and pedagogic implications of operating a dual examination system within one establishment were untenable. When the school leaving age was raised in 1972-3 from fourteen to sixteen these problems were further compounded. There was now an additional group of pupils in the secondary education examination system that, in previous times, would have been in employment and it became clear that the existing assessment system did not address their needs at all.

In response, government commissioned the development of a new single examination system to be attempted by pupils across the majority of the ability range. This system was designed to replace the GCE O level/ CSE system and resulted in 1984 in a restructuring of the education system for fifteen and sixteen-year olds in England and Wales around the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE), intended to be suitable for at least 80% of the ability range, in more egalitarian manner allowing the majority of pupils to attempt the same examination. National subject criteria, approved by the Secretary of State, were required to be adhered to by all examination boards, at once seeking to reduce variation and unify standards across them and affording Keith Joseph, the current Secretary, his first real sense that governments might determine curriculum content, possibly a crucial precursor to the decision that a national curriculum was possible (Ball, 1990). The first cohort of pupils sat GCSE examinations in the summer of 1988.

2.4 The GCSE Examination and Music

The new examination system prompted changes in the teaching of many subjects. The examination criteria for music required many secondary school music teachers to completely re-evaluate their approaches to the teaching of the subject, not least in response to the inclusion of the statement in the GCSE National Criteria for Music that: "It must be possible for candidates who have received no instrumental tuition outside the GCSE course to achieve high grades in the examination." (DES,

1985: 3) This statement placed emphasis upon accessibility of the music curriculum to the majority of pupils. This was substantially different to the previous GCE system that could be said to have been aimed at a musical elite composed of pupils who received additional music tuition outside the classroom. With the advent of GCSE, pupils had to be taught from Year 7 (age 11) in such a way that progression to GCSE was possible, should they so wish.

There were hopes that the new examination system would encourage many more pupils of all abilities to study music from the age of fourteen, resulting in a greater percentage of future adult populations being able to 'derive deep satisfaction from their leisure pursuit of music'. (DES, 1985: 1-2) A similar hope was subsequently expressed in documents preparing the way for the National Curriculum for Music:

'all pupils will be required to follow full National Curriculum courses in art and music from the age of 5 to 14. More pupils can be expected, in consequence, to wish to pursue these subjects subsequently.' (NCC, 1991:7)

However, analysis of statistics for GCSE Music uptake indicated that this was not the case. In the initial years of GCSE examinations it appeared that the number of pupils studying Music was increasing. Figures climbed from 27,000 pupils sitting an examination in music in the final year of GCE/CSE to 40,000 pupils in 1989 (Greenhalgh, 1990). However, this trend did not continue. Spencer (1993), researching undergraduates' opinions of GCSE Music, discovered that more pupils still gave up the study of Music at 14 than any other subject. Background statistical research for our project discovered that the number of pupils taking the GCSE examination in Music had reached a plateau at around 35,000 by 2000 (DfE, 1997; DfEE, 1998, 1999). This posed some worrying questions for those of us involved in music education in this country. Is it simply that music is and will always remain a minority interest? This seems unlikely when one considers the role that the popular music industry plays in contemporary youth culture. As Thomas (1987: 28) observed: '(A)t a time when music is supported to such an extent, the question must be asked why this support is not apparent in the secondary school examination system?'

Little appears to have changed since this comment was written two decades ago. This problem has much exercised the music education community where a

number of factors have been suggested that may contribute to the poor uptake of GCSE Music in England and Wales which will be examined in the following chapter. Meanwhile it is of some significance that ending this chapter on this note highlights the centrality of examinations to British secondary schooling, not least in Music. For many years when curriculum was a matter not for Ministers and central government bodies, or even local authorities but schools, a relatively dispersed set of largely university based examination boards provided unity to the school system while allowing a degree of variation, even competition, between themselves as to substantive syllabi and detail of assessment. Our more recent era of the GCSE and National Curriculum and their implications for the take up of Music is what we turn to next.

Chapter Three

Factors affecting the uptake of GCSE music

In this chapter attention is confined to concepts and research within the music education literature to which my thinking was largely confined at the inception and during the early stages of this study. Like most professional literatures, while it is theoretically influenced, it is also action- and improvement-orientated. While this is not to be denigrated it deserves close scrutiny for ideological contamination, enthusiasm and commitment substituting for truth. A more dispassionate theoretical literature is returned to in Chapter Four and case-study findings concerning music uptake presented in Chapters Six and Seven.

3.1 Access to instrumental tuition and music education

In some ways the most obvious reason for the relatively poor take-up of GCSE Music appears to be right on the surface and is certainly one of the most extensive and thoroughly researched aspects of the literature. Simply, it could be argued that one of the major contributory factors to Music's unique position as a curriculum subject is inequality of access to the curriculum for pupils who do not have specialist instrumental tuition outside the classroom. Although pupils benefiting from private tuition may have an advantage in some other subject areas, there are few parallels to that experienced by pupils with access to instrumental tuition in respect of achievement in school music. As Philpott (2001: 156) contended:

'this double life of music education is both its glory and its Achilles heel and is shared by no other statutory subject (except perhaps PE). Certainly there is no other discipline where the extra curricular impinges so significantly on the curricular.'

This issue opens a number of possible avenues of inquiry when considering the 'problem' of GCSE Music uptake. Not only do students benefiting from instrumental tuition have advantages over those who do not have such tuition but it is possible to argue that those who have classical instrumental tuition appear gain additional advantages over those studying a popular-music instrument, being better placed to access a Western Art Music dominated school music curriculum (for such it is explicitly intended to be, see Manduell, 1992, in Chapter Two) evident in many

schools in Wales. They gain in two distinct musical areas. They are likely to have acquired skills relevant to the types of performing activities undertaken in many secondary school music lessons as they will almost certainly have embarked along the road of reading musical notation, enabling them to decode notation at an increased pace. This will not necessarily be the case for those of their peers learning to play instruments within the popular music genres where notation is often not used or replaced by other types, such as guitar tablature. Moreover, their instrumental studies within the classical instrumental genre will have begun their enculturation into a variety of classical musical repertoire giving them an advantage in appraising activities. In terms of theories of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) these pupils are likely to be in an advantageous position to acquire the cultural capital of the elite Western classical tradition, the basis of the school music curriculum, and are advantaged in its access. As Swanwick, (1979; 46) stated:

'(A)bility with a musical instrument is a kind of key, especially to the past. It allows us to open doors marked Beethoven, Byrd and Bach. Along with instrumental skill runs the ability to read music, especially traditional notation which is yet another key to unlocking doors to the culture of the past.'

Just as instrumental skill gives pupils an advantage in accessing the Key Stage 3 music curriculum, lack of instrumental skill deters pupils from electing to study music at Key Stage 4. Pupils perceive GCSE Music as being a subject in which they are unlikely to achieve without having some pre-developed instrumental skill. (Philpott, 2001; Wright, 2002; Wright and Thomas, 2003) The role of instrumental ability in assisting access to curriculum content, in turn, has implications for students' self perceptions of musicality; not least in terms of the impact of instrumental accomplishment upon pupils' perceptions of themselves as musical or not musical, even though Sloboda (2003: 243) has found that 'music retains a key and central role in the lives of most people who see themselves as 'not musical'. Consequently, in this research I set out to examine whether pupils in the case study school attached concepts of musicality to ability to play an instrument and to discover what pupils count as 'playing an instrument'.

The literature has tended to suggest that rejection of music by so much of the school population at the end of KS3 is not a rejection of music *per se* but rather the *school provision* of music:

'In the case of music 'out there' in the community there is no doubt that young people over the age of 10 have a very positive attitude: it seems to be an essential part of life. It is school music that so often seems to have a negative profile among students, not music as such.' (Swanwick, 1988: 143)

In this connection, lack of instrumental accomplishment appears to be a major determining factor in conveying to pupils 'not musical' self-concepts in the sense *acceptable to school music providers*. Music as an area of study is, therefore, perceived by many pupils as being barred to them.

In the context of the perceived need to acquire instrumental skill during the years prior to GCSE, Green (2001) identified from her study of a group of popular musicians the importance of self-selection of the instrument to be played and self-motivation in wishing to learn. In addition she observed that the nine pop musicians in her research sample group who had received classical and pop music tuition perceived their earlier classical tuition to have been much less positive than their pop tuition. This was:

'not necessarily because the approaches of the teachers appear to have been particularly different so much as because the learners liked and identified with the popular music and the instrument being played' (Green, 2001: 175).

As will be seen in the following section, relevance and enjoyment are terms that keep being referred to as lacking in school music. Issues of relevance and enjoyment in relation to both instruments provided for study and the repertoire used for instruction might be seen as being key factors both in instrumental tuition within and outside schools and in the music curriculum.

Alongside the issue of deciding upon suitable instruments to be taught in schools lies the issue of 'What do we mean by instrumental teaching?' (Hanke, 2003: 2). The Norfolk Music Service used *Widening Opportunities* project funding to confront two overwhelming questions:

'What do we mean by an instrumental lesson? And how can we all have the opportunity? Deciding to use the opportunity to consider a re-arrangement of music education, as we usually know it [...] We gave every child in the class an instrument and called the session not their instrumental lesson but their music lesson.' (Hanke, 2003: 2)

Tuition was free of charge and focused on world music instruments, such as African drums and steel pans. This research raised interesting questions about the role of instrumental teaching in the school curriculum and suggested a possible solution to the problem of access to it faced by children who do not have specialist instrumental tuition. Its focus upon ethnic musical skills also implied a validation by school of other cultures and musics which might be welcome in our increasingly multicultural society.

While the need for considerable effort to counter the inertia of curriculum practice entrenched in habit and tradition can be guaranteed in virtually all areas, its results have often been seen as reinvigorating to the school music curriculum. For example, respected evidence has been provided (Cox and Hennessey, 2003) that group instrumental teaching can succeed just as well, if not better than, individual teaching, including with respect to development of technical skill (Thompson, 1984). It is still the case however that the traditional, 19th century, conservatoire model of 'private' teaching prevails, having minimal impact on all but a small number of children, even when provided free of charge, as it was for considerable periods, by local authority music services.

3.2 The Music Curriculum

If access to instrumental tuition lies, as it were, at the surface of the problem, we should be careful to distinguish its character as symptom rather than cause. Harland et al. (2000: 568) told us that research into pupils' views of secondary school music demonstrated that '(P)upil enjoyment, relevance, skill development, creativity and expressive dimensions were often absent. Overall music was the most problematic and vulnerable art form.' While relevance and enjoyment are terms that occur frequently in the literature concerning music education in secondary schools in England and Wales, almost without exception it is their absence that is noted rather than their presence. To what extent do these omissions influence pupils when they are deciding whether or not to study GCSE Music?

Often teachers' perceptions of what constitutes a valid music curriculum may be, at least in part, responsible for this state of affairs. Teachers make assumptions about the type of musical genres that should be passed on to pupils by way of education, often formed on the basis of their habitus derived from their musical education which, as we shall see later, is frequently almost exclusively within a

Western Art Music tradition. These assumptions may run to the heart of the nature of musical experience and its role in education. As Swanwick (1979: 7) observed: '(U)nexamined assumptions run very close to prejudice and are liable to be responsible for constricted views, unchanging attitudes and bad professional practice.' The nature of the curriculum presented to pupils at Key Stage 3 may be of crucial importance in introducing them to a love of music or in making them feel that music is a world from which they are excluded. As Swanwick (1979: 42) claimed:

'People will find their own individual paths into particular areas of music. It is our responsibility to keep the various roads clear and not insist that there is only one narrow avenue, perhaps the one we took ourselves.'

However, as we saw briefly in Chapter Two, issues of the most appropriate educational background and professional training appropriate for a music teacher have been the source of constant debate since music became a curriculum subject. Provision of teachers with a suitably broad and varied musical background and an appropriate range of skills suited to the demands of their 'clients' is a challenge that continues to exercise those involved in their training.

A good deal of recent debate on 'the problems' of music in the curriculum has tended to focus on its troubled position as 'school' or institutionalised, divorced from 'real' social situations within which 'real' music is perceived by pupils as occurring:

'However we organise the experience and no matter how friendly, approachable or charismatic we may be: the institutional framing of knowledge is a constraint. The 'progressive' teacher is as much an agent of curriculum framing as the traditional 'director of music'. It is he or she who has decided to be 'child-centred', not the child.' (Swanwick, 1988: 143)

There are questions to be explored here regarding the extent to which the school location of Music is responsible for some of the problems facing the subject. Even the most open-minded, pupil centred teacher may have an uphill struggle in relating pupils' school experience of Music to their experiences outside, simply because pupils' curriculum experiences take place within a school. By its very nature this alters the discourse of music to some extent simply because it is 'school' music.

Just as the nature of the curriculum may deter some pupils from further musical study, so too may the method of delivery. Many writers (Elliott, 1995; Green, 2001; Swanwick, 1979, 1988, 2000) talk of an essential emotional dimension of

music making which is described as a 'spark' (Green, 2001) or 'aesthetic response' (Swanwick 1979: 38-39), the latter depicting human development as related to ability to:

'restructure experience, to make one concept out of many [...] the arts resound with ideas about human feeling and (Koestler's term) 'bisociate' instinct and intellect. Small wonder that involvement with the arts frequently induces a distinctive excitement, sometimes called the 'aesthetic emotion.'

As those of us involved in music-making know, it is this particular feeling which drives us to continue making music and which brings us back again and again to interact with music as performers, composers or listeners. Yet Swanwick (1979: 61) believed that 'a fundamental weakness in much teaching [...] lies in the failure to bring about any aesthetic response or even to notice that it is central to the situation.' This led him to define an objectives hierarchy for teaching classroom music with aesthetic response as its ultimate aim justified as follows: 'we do not need to claim that we are educating the 'whole person', only that we offer something distinctive and significant for the growth and development of human beings.' (p, 67) One cannot help but surmise, however, that this 'spark' is still not being kindled in pupils in many secondary school classrooms if so few of them choose to pursue their music making with us after Key Stage 3, during which HMIs report on the poor quality of music provision (Mills, 1996).

Swanwick (1979, 1988, 1999) developed his philosophy of music education over thirty years or more. By 1979 (p 65) he had initially identified 'two main planks of music education', the first aesthetic response, the second a sense of pupil and teacher achievement, the latter important in terms of learning in the music classroom:

'not as formal testing or exams but the positive pleasure we experience when we understand something, when we get something right or clear, when we master some element of skill, or find real enjoyment in an activity.'

By 1988, above all, Swanwick (1988: 5) saw the nature of musical products as 'symbolic entities' capable of transcending self and community and by 1999 (pp. 44-67) he had expanded his philosophy to encompass three principles of music education: firstly

'Care for music as discourse [...] Whenever music sounds, whoever makes it and however simple or complex the resources and techniques may be, the musical teacher is receptive and alert, is really *listening* and expects students

to do the same.' (The effective music teacher shows) 'A strong sense of musical intention linked to educational purposes' (Swanwick, 1999: 44-45)

The second principle is described as:

'Care for the musical discourse of students [...] We do not introduce them (students) to music, they are already well acquainted with it [...] We have to be aware of student achievement and autonomy, to respect what the psychologist Jerome Bruner called 'the natural energies that inform spontaneous learning': curiosity, a desire to be competent; wanting to emulate others; a need for social interaction.' (Swanwick, 1999: 53-54)

The third and final principle is described as:

'Fluency first and last. If music is a form of discourse then it is some ways analogous to, though not identical with, language. The acquisition of language seems to involve several years or more of mainly aural and oral engagement with other 'languagers' [...] long before any written text or other analysis of what is essentially intuitively known [...] Musicians from outside western classical traditions are well aware of this third principle, that musical fluency takes precedence over musical literacy.' (Swanwick, 1999: 55-56)

One would have to question the extent to which music education is achieving these aims when, as Harland's (2000:568) report indicated, in many schools '(P)upil enjoyment, relevance, skill development, creativity and expressive dimensions were often absent.' Maybe, as Malcolm Ross so concisely expressed it in 1995, 'the kids are bored'. It is hardly surprising then that many pupils do not wish to continue studying Music into KS4 if they neither enjoy lessons nor experience a sense of achievement.

Swanwick's (1979:103) view of the traditional model of musical education is one in which pupils are viewed as 'inheritors'. Schools and teachers are like 'a set of filters' deciding on the material considered of musical value and thus to be placed on the curriculum:

'The act of selection does of course include rejection and this view of education has built into it a value system which strains out those things considered to be not worthwhile. In the case of music the emphasis is obvious. There will be a commitment to the passing on of traditional skills especially in instrumental playing and composing.'

This statement resounds strongly with Bourdieu's theories of cultural capital (to be discussed in Chapter Four) and opens a further sociological perspective to the

problem under investigation within the present study.

1.3 The music curriculum and society

'We must notice that music takes place in a social context and that there is bound to be an interaction between the making and response to musical objects and social attitudes and conditions.' (Swanwick 1979: 96)

Research into the sociology of music became a growing field of study during the twentieth century. T.W. Adorno developed a theoretical perspective which placed music at the centre of 'modern (and, as Adorno perceived, often repressive) culture and social formation.' (De Nora, 2001: 1) De Nora (2003: 167) argued that prior to the 1980s '(S)ociology of education has been primarily critical in orientation, seeking to illuminate the education institution's link to social reproduction and thus inequality.' The sub-field of education was traditionally defined in terms of two foci conventionally termed macro and micro sociology of education. The macro sociology of education dealt with large scale issues, such as the ideological implications of educational policy, considerations of 'hidden curricula' (Bowles and Gintis, 1976), educational achievement as the correlate of socio-economic background (Halsey, Heath and Ridge, 1980; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977), gender (Cockburn, 1985; Crompton, 1992; Delamont, 1989; Rees, 1992) and racism (Mac an Ghaill, 1988). Work at the micro level complemented these and attempted to examine ways in which, on a daily basis, schools achieve the various functions that more macro approaches depict. De Nora (2003: 166) cited as an example the manner in which 'school-linked classifications and judgements of students (and with it social reproduction via the education system) are achieved.' The study by Willis (1977) entitled *Learning to Labour* exemplified this approach, entailing a

'detailed focus on a group of 'lads' and how their culture of resistance to formal education was ultimately part of the process that both prepared them for and landed them on the shop floor and without options for change.' (*ibid.*, p. 167)

As a further example of a micro study, De Nora (2003:166) cited Swann's (1988) 'detailed study of communicative culture in the classroom', examining 'how paralinguistic features of teacher talk differentially position boys and girls in science lessons.

'A 'sea change' in the sociology of music after the 1980s led to new perspectives that dispensed with old models of the relationships between music and society in which music was seen as being distanced from and only possessing the ability to reflect social structure. New models examined ways in which music has 'active' properties in relation to social action, emotion and cognition, in other words, ways in which music can help shape society. It had hitherto been primarily concerned with the *institution* of education represented in the school system with less concern, in her view, with peripheral but overlapping areas, such as informal socialisation. The sea change in the 1980s identified by De Nora was attributed largely to *Art Worlds* (Becker, 1982). This drew on work by Peterson (1978) elaborating a 'production of culture' approach. The focus now shifted from a structuralist view of music as mirroring society to one concerned with 'how music was socially shaped and how its production, distribution and consumption were mediated by the *milieux* (music worlds) in which these activities took place' (De Nora, 2003: 167). Some have since criticised this work as taking a rather one-way approach in that it 'looked at how music was influenced by social factors but did not look at how social life could be understood through music' (p. 168).

A major research strand developed to address this gap which examined music and social class identity. Vulliamy, (1977a, 1977b) and Green, (1988) reported that schools were according higher value and status to classical music, even though they were, at the same time, giving popular music a prominent place in the curriculum. They argued that middle-class pupils were both more likely to be encultured by their families into classical music and had more access to classical instrumental lessons. The educational status accorded to classical music reproduced social class divisions by rewarding middle class children for their music educational success when that success was actually based on the mutuality of their middle class values: success in music education was intrinsically linked to social class reproduction. Within this field there have been major studies represented by Weber's (1975) *Music and the Middle Class* and Bourdieu's (1984) *Distinction* that suggested that 'the social distribution of musical tastes mapped onto and helped reinforce socio-economic relations' (De Nora, 2003: 168) These studies demonstrated that the value attached to types of music was linked to the maintenance of social differences. Bourdieu argued that culture is a form of 'capital' a 'medium of interaction' (De Nora, 2003) and therefore that:

'people on the margins of valued cultural tastes and competences come to be marginalized socially and economically. If one is not in possession of this capital, one moves with severe discomfort through the social realm. Cultural dispositions are therefore the means of social regulation which moreover are reinforced by the school system where such values are instilled.'

Such a perspective would suggest that there is a strong argument for the case that the monopoly control of the school music curriculum by those holding Western Art Music cultural capital could be answerable for many of the problems currently facing music education in many schools in this country at present. In the context of the present study, this theory is of particular importance and will be examined in more detail in Chapter Four. The case chosen for study was of particular interest because it appeared that this teacher had found some ways around this problem in her own location.

De Nora (2003:169) referred to conclusions drawn from her own research published in 1995, identifying two key themes. Firstly, she claimed that 'music educators need to understand the lines of musical value as socially shaped, as the outcome of battles lost and won' and second, that:

'(T)he canon, as Bourdieu observed, is a social construction: both the very idea of 'great composers' and its registration in terms of who is lodged where and in relation to whom within it.'

She observed that it was important for us to recognise this point, or else risk endorsing values built into what we take as a 'given' forms of excellence, such as that all great composers have been male (Citron, 1993) or, even more broadly and importantly, that certain types of music are seen as 'better' or more 'cultureful' than others.

Another aspect of social differentiation is the issue of the recognition of talent by society or, in the case of this study, by its schools. De Nora (2003:169) observed that

'social recognition of talent is a multifarious process and one that may not match precisely with that observed as good practise [...] In other words, hierarchies of talent and articulations of musical value in class may allocate students into different categories; i.e. talented, but they may NOT also map well to students' abilities and tastes outside the classroom.'

These observations resonate with those of Lucy Green 's (2001) work *How Popular Musicians Learn*, where she observed a dichotomy between classroom musical

practice and that experienced outside the classroom by students, often leading to failure to recognise talent unrelated to teacher's preconceived ideas of musical talent. In this context, Witkin's (1974) view of music education procedures as revolving around the correction of mistakes, which *per se* implies preconception of what is right, is interesting. Such observations pinpoint significant problems in approaches to learning and teaching in music education which merit investigation through observation of informal practices of musical learning, such as those undertaken by Lucy Green (2001). This shift from teaching to learning opens up the whole topic of the connections between music and self and group identities.

3.4 Music and Identity

De Nora's (2000) work on music in everyday life has attempted to explore some of the ways in which music can be seen to 'get into' or help shape identity, social action and subjectivity. The Willis study *Profane Culture* (1978) examined this theme with a group of Bike Boys looking at how they used music to express identity and action. For them, music was used as a catalyst for action. In this sense music can be seen as part of one's toolkit for living or, as Sloboda (2003: 243) refers to it, for 'emotional self-management'. 'Music may come to provide parameters against which some aspect of social being takes shape', Willis showing us 'that music matters, it can be seen as a referent for shaping of values and conduct' and

'that ethnographic enquiry is important in that music's significance as a social referent emerged from the ways that actors oriented to and interpreted music within particular social locations and small group cultures.' (De Nora, 2003: 170)

Recent research has also shown that music plays an important role in the positioning of individuals within social groups and confirmed that music and musical practices are used in many ways by young people both as a means of emotional regulation and as tools in the formation of self-identity and group identities (Behne, 1997; Zillman and Gan, 1997; North, Hargreaves and O'Neill, 2000). North, Hargreaves and O'Neill, (2000: 75) summarised their research findings on these matters in the claim that 'music is important to adolescents, this is because it allows them to (a) portray an 'image' to the outside world and (b) satisfy their emotional needs.' O'Neill and Green (2000: 27) also represented this view in claiming that:

'Not only is music a 'mirror' that enables us to recognise aspects of the self, but the specific properties of music also come to represent or transform the image reflected in and through its structures. This contributes to the processes by which individuals are actively involved in constructing and defining the social groups with which they identify themselves.'

Swanwick, (1979:102) pointed out that there was a further level on which music acts:

'To wear music as a badge, to fly it as a flag or to chant it as a kind of slogan is one thing, but there is this further element which has about it the characteristics of an aesthetic encounter. This is the area of our concern in music education. We know from research that popular music in school need not be an empty gesture provided that it is handled musically, sensitively and with sincerity.'

Seeking to link music's role at individual and collective levels and as an emotional component of collective action, De Nora (2003:173) asked whether music in schools forms part of a hidden curriculum located within an informal curriculum helping to regulate 'the collective alignment of subjectivity?' Without doubt, groups form around music within youth culture and as teachers we may not be sufficiently sensitive to the resonances of different musics to groups within classes. Increased sensitivity to these issues might result in better understanding of the musical cultures of those we teach.

3.5 Music and social groups

'Whilst research needs to take into account the complex combinations and changing nature of social groups, this is easier said than done. Individuals are embedded in a complex web of social groups which are dynamic and fluid. Most of us are not aware of the fact that our musical activities are totally enmeshed in a social and cultural world. Our engagement with music leads us to 'forget' the grounds on which our behaviour is based. Each person's relationship with music is subject to a 'taking-for-grantedness', such that our musical practices, tastes and values have become routine and invisible.' (O'Neill and Green, 2003: 27)

I have included this lengthy quote at the beginning of this section because it expresses far more eloquently than I could an essential consideration in examining the musical practices and expressed perceptions of pupils and teachers in schools. Although music education research has examined a number of social groups, we need to be aware that none of them can be viewed in isolation. There is a degree of interaction and interdependency that is rarely sufficiently examined - in a musical context at least. This 'messiness' needs to be taken into account in the context of the

current research. In music education research O'Neill and Green (2000) identified research on family, peer, social, gender, ethnic and musician groups. Within the scope of the current research gender, peer groups and social groups were regarded as important. I attempted to examine some effects of social class and family in that in relation to extra-curricular musical tuition for pupils and the types of instrumental tuition which were supported, given that previous work by Vulliamy (1977a; 1977b) and Green, (1988) had shown that children of middle class families were more likely to be encultured into classical music and have access to classical instrumental tuition. While it was not possible because of data protection issues to gather data from pupils as to their social class, it was possible to discover whether or not they had access to instrumental tuition and the types of instruments they learned, not least in discussion with their teacher. This information was used to draw some cautious conclusions as to possible connections between access to music, instrumental tuition and, thereby, indirectly and tentatively, social class within the case study school. Little account was taken of ethnic distribution of pupils within the case study class as only one pupil, a second generation Chinese, was not 'white British'. The principal groups or categories used in the interrogation of data were, therefore, gender, access to instrumental tuition as an index of social class and peers.

The effects of gender in education have been widely researched and there is a growing body of knowledge in this area of music education (Green, 1997; O'Neill 1997; Maidlow and Bruce 1999; Wright, 2001). Concerns with boys' underachievement across the general curriculum have been echoed in music, as have concerns about the disproportionate number of girls opting to study it at GCSE, on average two girls to each boy. It appears that boys' attitudes to music change between the ages of fourteen and sixteen and there has been much discussion about the development of a 'macho' culture within our society that may make boys feel that it is uncool to study *per se* and labels music in particular as a 'cissy' subject (Younger and Warrington, 1999a, 1999b; Green, 1997). One might hope that there are enough popular and 'macho' role models within the realm of popular music for us to be able to present music in a different light to our boys but they appear to be largely precluded by the content of our present National Music Curriculum and the image of music that this presents to pupils, alongside modes of delivery in some schools and the choice of instruments available to pupils. In 2002 the number of boys in the UK gaining a C grade or above in 5 or more GCSEs was 9% lower than the number of girls. (Woodward, 2002) However boys in Wales taking GCSE Music were obtaining

higher grades in Music than in any of their core subjects, English, Maths and Science. The difference was particularly marked in comparison to their English results, 60% of boys entered for the exam achieving grades A*-C in music whereas only 39% of boys entered achieved grades A*-C in English. This raised some interesting questions about the nature of the subject and its obvious-appropriateness as a means of achievement for boys. Boys appear to respond well to the practical bias of the subject but also appear to achieve well in the written part of the exam in Music despite being perceived to be weaker than girls in written work in many other subjects-most notably English. One reason for this might be that the written task is connected to music and that music appears to open lines of expression and communication that allow boys to express themselves. In other words, boys find it easier to write about music than to write in response to a creative writing stimulus or to comment on a set text. (Wright, 2001)

Green (1997) found that both teachers and pupils hold assumptions related to gender and music education. Teachers tended to assume that boys were better at composing, playing popular music and the use of ICT, whereas girls were good at listening work and favoured classical music. Pupils exhibited similar patterns of assumption, with girls additionally identifying with 'slow' or classical music, boys with 'fast' popular music. There has also been considerable research (Abeles & Porter, 1978, Mackenzie, 1991, Bruce & Kemp, 1993; Zervoudakes & Tanuer, 1994, O'Neill & Boulton, 1995, O'Neill and Boulton, 1996; O'Neill, 1997, Davidson, 1999, O'Neill, North & Hargreaves, 1999; Harrison and O'Neill, 2003) to investigate the effects of gender on issues concerning learning of musical instruments. Gender differences in preferences regarding motivation to learn instruments, preference for particular musical instruments and musical styles have been established. Bruce and Kemp (1993) and Harrison and O'Neill (2000) have investigated ways in which role models can be used to help children address gender stereotypes in music. O'Neill (2003) and O'Neill, Ivaldi and Fox (2003) have also examined the effects of gender on issues of music, youth identity and motivation.

Generally, at the interpersonal level, there is growing evidence of relationships between social interaction and learning in music and the arts. Some important research into the effects of peer relations on motivation to study music has indicated that reaction of peers to perceived gender appropriateness of the musical instrument studied by a child has a large role to play in continuing motivation to learn the instrument. O'Neill (1997) found that children of both sexes thought that they

would be less popular and more likely to be bullied by their peers if they learnt an instrument that contravened musical gender stereotypes or was 'gender inappropriate' (O'Neill, 1997). On the other hand, peers were found to play a motivating and supportive role in musical learning as indicated by Morgan (1998) and Burnard (1999) in studies of ways in which children interact in classroom composing and improvising. Morgan (1998) investigated the nature of small-group collaboration in children's musical composition. There was evidence that type of communication has clear effect upon the quality of end musical products. Similarly, MacDonald, Miell and Mitchell (2002) found that the compositions of girls who worked with friends were of higher quality than those who did not work do so.

In the context of what constitutes effective music education it is important to have some concept of what constitutes a musician. Green (2001) has examined the backgrounds and methods of acquisition of musical skill amongst a group of popular musicians and drawn what are regarded as important conclusions for music educators from the relationships between formal and informal musical learning practices:

'Different musical worlds exist - such as the classical, jazz, popular or folk worlds - often with little or no overlap between them. Musicians who produce these different styles of music tend to go about acquiring their musical skills and knowledge in ways that are quite distinct from the traditional methods of formal music education.' (O'Neill and Green, 2000: 29)

The changing nature of music and musicianship, or 'musicking' as Small (1998) would term it, has been discussed by Hargreaves, Marshall and North (2003) in relation to the changing nature of musical composition and reproduction in contemporary society. Hargreaves observed changes to the role of composer, performer and listener engendered by the advent of music technology. During the 19th century the only music available was that interpreted live by performers in response to composers' 'core product', leaving the listener as 'essentially a passive consumer at the end of the chain.' (Hargreaves, Marshall and North, 2003: 149). Technological developments have turned this situation on its head. The boundaries between musical roles of performer, composer, arranger, recording engineer and listener are much less clear-cut. Being a musician now involves combining a multiplicity of roles including those of arranger, performer or improviser, composer and listener. Requisite musical skills have changed concomitantly. The ability to read

from staff notation might be superseded by the ability to play by ear or improvise. A working knowledge of MIDI and music hardware and software might be more useful than a high degree of technique on a traditional musical instrument.

Hargreaves, Marshall and North (*ibid.*) observe that recorded music is now widely and permanently available. The presence of the Walkman, i-pod, radio broadcasting and music video are among some of the forms in which music is now ever present in our lives. We no longer have to seek out music actively, as studies by Sloboda (2001b) and others have shown, using the experience sampling methods of Czikszenmihalyi and others, music is available wherever we are. Music production and recording have been revolutionised by technologies such as sampling, sound processing and sequencing using MIDI. Digital recording, mastering and re-mastering have produced a multitude of 'perfect' recordings. For Green (2001) this has resulted in a society unwilling to make music or 'to musick' for fear of failing to meet the high standards of accomplishment and technical production they are used to experiencing. Hargreaves, Marshall and North (*ibid.*), however, observed two positive effects of these changes: firstly that the distinction between serious and popular music has become much less meaningful than in the past and, secondly that people listen to any kind of music at any time, that music has become demystified and globalised. The question is, however, has music education moved with these changes? Green (2001: 27) thought not:

'Popular music, jazz, traditional and folk music from all over the world have entered the school in a significant way recently. But given the different learning methods involved in the acquisition of skills and knowledge in those styles, we need to ask whether the school is a place that can or should attempt to authentically replicate those learning methods, and we need to examine the extent to which the differences and the connections between different musical styles are reflected in formal education.'

Without doubt the challenges posed by these new musics to accepted models of learning and teaching in music education are significant and failure to respond adequately to this challenge may be a further key to the question of GCSE uptake.

3.6 Modes of transmission in music education

The learning theories that have underpinned dominant approaches to curriculum delivery across subjects in the school curriculum have been well debated, though often with insufficient recognition of the generality of their relationship. If

recent years socio-cultural perspectives have become the prevailing orthodoxy (Hargreaves et al 2003), signifying a shift away from reliance on popularised versions of Piagetian theories active during the 1960s to those of Vygotsky. Their differences might be summarised as follows: Piaget saw child development as following a common, cognitive developmental sequence regardless of the enculturation of the child embodied in social situations and groups and cultural events. Vygotsky, in contrast, thought that these social and cultural networks were highly significant in the development of thought itself and used the term 'situated cognition'. As Hargreaves (ibid: 152) put it 'acquisition of knowledge can only be explained in terms of its physical and social context' so that in Vygotsky's model the substance of interactions between teachers and pupils and pupils and pupils take on changed significance. In recent decades protagonists of either approach have attempted to show proper recognition of the importance of alternative approaches. While Swanwick and Runfola (2002) and Hargreaves and Zimmerman (1992) developed theoretical models that drew on a Piagetian or cognitive-developmental modality with its inherent discontinuities between developmental phases, Swanwick and Tillman's (1986) learning spiral had attempted to build socio-cultural contexts into descriptive developmental models by including personal and social poles into each phase of the spiral but there are obvious problems with incorporation of the specificity of individual socio-cultural circumstances into generalist models. Lamont (1998) worked with Bronfenbrenner's ecological model suggesting that musical development can be seen as

'a constant and ongoing process of mediation between the social and cultural domain - which embodies the values of a particular culture and leads to particular kinds of activities - and the personal and individual domain, within which individuals' representations are formed' (Hargreaves, 2003: 5)

Psychologists of music, such as Sloboda (1985, 1996) have undertaken extensive research so that we are more aware than ever of the psychological processes occurring during learning and stages and levels of pupils' musical cognition. Lecanuet (1996) and Dowling (1999) have shown that musical enculturation begins at around three months before birth when the auditory system becomes functional. Babies can show recognition responses to music before and immediately after birth (Hykin, Moore, Duncan, Clare, Baker, Johnson, Bowtell, Mansfield and Gowland, 1999; Shahidullah and Hepper, 1994). Infants quickly assimilate the structure of music that surrounds them and by 12 months they prefer familiar musical patterns (Trehub, Schellenburg and Hill, 1997). By school age, very

few children cannot hear and detect differences between musical notes (Mills, 1993). Differences have also been shown in willingness to accept different musical styles according to age. Early childhood (up to the age of eight years) has been shown to be the period during which children are most open and receptive to a variety of styles, around the ages of 13-14, this openness-decreases but then returns in adulthood (Hargreaves and North, 1999).

Recent research into learning theory has devised some new perspectives which may be of great relevance to learning in the music curriculum. Rogoff (1990) has presented a theory of 'guided participation' viewing learning from a perspective that focuses on the role of group interaction on individual cognitive development, presenting an alternative to theories based more exclusively around intellectual changes in children themselves. Rogoff, Lave and Wenger (1991: 2) examined the idea of a 'legitimate peripheral participation' process 'by which learners participate in communities of practitioners or thinkers' Both of these theories could be said to be particularly relevant to music education, where social and musical communities can be seen as deeply intertwined and therefore mutually influential upon the learning taking place. A community of practice implies far more than mere acquisition of technical or theoretical knowledge involved in undertaking a task. Members of a community of practice participate in a set of relationships over time (Lave and Wenger 1991), developing around things that are important to people (Wenger, 1998), forming around specific areas of knowledge and activity which adds a sense of joint enterprise and identity:

'For a community of practice to function it needs to generate and appropriate a shared repertoire of ideas, commitments and memories. It also needs to develop various resources such as tools, documents, routines, vocabulary and symbols that in some way carry the accumulated knowledge of the community. In other words, it involves practice: ways of doing and approaching things that are shared to some significant extent among members.' (Smith, 2003: 15)

Research on communities of practice has indicated that there may be significant lessons for education resulting from this work and exploration of ways in which they emerge within schools, including processes involved and methods for enhancing them, might be particularly relevant to music education. Furthermore, research leading to a fuller appreciation of what constitutes practice, such as that undertaken by Rogoff and her colleagues (2001), might enable us to work with students and parents to develop an approach to schooling based around the principle that learning 'occurs through interested participation with other learners'. (Rogoff, 2001: 1)

Hargreaves, Marshall and North (2003) suggested that work on the self and identity and its relationship to musical identities might give us a new paradigm within which to work, exemplified by work undertaken by MacDonald, Hargreaves and Miell (2002). Their research findings characterised musical identity in two ways: as 'music in identities' (MI) encompassing the musical role or roles within which we see ourselves, for example musician, flautist, rock fan; and 'identities in music' (IM) referring to ways in which music is used to develop other aspects of personal identity, such as gender, youth identity or national identity among others. They contend that his model offers a way in which social perspectives may be incorporated with individual development. It also allows us to examine ways in which individual self-concept can affect motivation and performance in music. Pupils' perceptions of themselves as musicians, fans, composers, or performers influence developmental change. In this respect, Green's (2001) research into the ways in which popular musicians learn has much to tell us about the informal learning practices of these musicians and the lessons that school music education can take from them. Similarly Swanwick (2002) has suggested that formal classroom learning practices may not be the most suitable for music education.

'Music is not a single entity easily reduced to work in conventional classrooms, but a multiplicity of different idiomatic activities, each requiring some specialist know-how, varying group size and different levels and types of equipment. No wonder that 'school music' still appears to many young people as a subculture, separated from music 'out there' in the world, abstracted by the constraints of classrooms and curriculum and subject to very curious arrangements for assessment.'

3.7 Music Teachers and Music Teaching

The fact cannot be avoided that music teachers and music teaching must have an effect upon whether or not pupils wish to continue studying Music in schools once they have choice in the matter. Studies (Cleave and Sharp, 1988; Rogers, 1998; Mills, 1989; Hennessey, Rolf and Chedzoy 1999) have investigated pre-service preparation of primary teachers to teach the arts and music in particular with similar findings; the requirements of the National Curriculum have forced Initial Teacher Education and Training (ITET) courses to reduce the amount of time devoted to preparation to teaching the arts, despite Mills' 1989 finding that primary school music is the subject student teachers feel most anxious about teaching..

The 'music for all' movement dating from the early 1980s, which argued that all class teachers should teach music at least to their own class, supported by using music specialists as consultants, has had a marked effect in primary schools. Reviews of inspection findings (OfSTED, 1995), from the seven year period from 1982-89, covering 285 primary schools, found that 'music-making of quality was better developed where there was at least one teacher with sufficient expertise [...] to give leadership in the school' (HMI, 1991). Mills (1994, 1996) discovered that although in the first year of the National Curriculum's introduction music lessons in primary schools were significantly better taught than those in other subjects, while Music in Year 7 (the first year of secondary schooling), when teachers are often unsuccessful in the approaches they adopt to teaching their new pupils, was significantly worse. Inadequate primary - secondary links and lack of sufficiently diagnostic planning that resulted in inadequate differentiation and work of too little challenge appeared to be at fault. Mills (1996) also suggested that teachers were unclear as to the characteristics of good music teaching, with expectations often being implicit rather than explicitly articulated.

There is not a great deal of research focusing on music teachers themselves. Two studies (Drummond, 1999; Cox, 1999) present contrasting studies of their role perceptions. Drummond, writing in the Northern Ireland context, reported that secondary teachers were most committed to examination classes and extra curricular activity. Cox's study of a small group of secondary music teachers in the south of England, found that they were positive about the effects of the National Curriculum and enjoyed making music with their pupils and its ability to affect the school ethos. They acknowledged, however, that they considered themselves to suffer from low professional status and to have restricted career development opportunities.

There is, at the same time, a growing body of research exploring the relationship between music and teacher identity. In the context of this study, the research project TIME (2002: 1) is of particular relevance to this study as it:

'aims to discover whether some of the contemporary problems in British secondary school music education (such as teacher recruitment shortages and the pupil disinterest recently reported by the National Foundation for Education Research) can be explained in terms of conflicts of musical identity. The fundamental hypothesis is that the effectiveness of secondary school music teaching is dependent on the degree of congruence between the musical identities of teachers and pupils.'

The TIME project has investigated this by examining the nature of the musical identities (MacDonald, Hargreaves and Miell 2002: 1) of music teachers in the early stages of their careers and relationships between these and the musical identities of their pupils. It has identified conflicts experienced by teachers including their 'self perception as performer or teacher, and the pupil's implicit distinction between music inside and outside school'. Work on musical identities has shown that music is used in a number of ways; it can be used to articulate facets of personal identity including gender, national and youth. For many individuals however, identities are also created *within* music, for instance, as teacher or performer. The initial findings of the TIME project indicated that student teachers' musical careers had been heavily influenced by their own music teachers.

The study identifies a potential conflict here between 'performing musician' and 'music teacher'. While, for teachers educated in the Western classical tradition, the professional performing musician is seen as the rightful owner of the musical domain, there is also evidence to suggest that a Western Art Music background may not be the most effective preparation for teaching music in the secondary classroom. As far as the musical identities of pupils are concerned, there is evidence to show that, for some ethnic minority male pupils in particular, for whom a certain genre of pop music is deeply embedded in their perceived identity, there is potential for conflict between pupils' 'own music' and 'school music'. As Swanwick (1978: 98) remarked two decades earlier this might also extend to the nature of the instruments given to pupils to play in lessons:

'What 'counts as music' is partly determined by what counts as a musical instrument. We might also notice at this point that music in school classrooms may often be seen by pupils to be unrelated to music as they understand it outside of school, precisely because the instruments used, often of the Orff Variety, do not feature very much in other forms of music outside.'

Increasingly, research literature has demonstrated the need to focus on pupils' perspectives on learning and teaching (Arnot, McIntyre, Pedder and Reay, 2003; Ruddock and Flutter, 2004a, 2004b). Burnard (2004) pointed out that though there is much to be learnt from the literature on music education about ways in which pupils learn music (Hallam, 1998), learn progressively (Mills, 1996) and develop as learners (Burnard, 2003, 2004; Swanwick, 1999) there is still more to be learnt about pupil perspectives of learning music (Glover, 2000; Shehan-Campbell, 2002). She

prefaces an article reporting on her 2004 study with the comment that: 'It seems that we presently overvalue the complexities of learning and undervalue pupils' views and values about learning.' (p. 23)

3.8 Pupil voice and music education

The contribution of pupils to school improvement is gradually being recognised and in this connection pupils may have important things to tell us about their school music education (Burnard, 2004). It is possible that pupils themselves could suggest ways in which their music education could encourage more of them to study the subject at GCSE level. Pupils' right to understand and contribute to the shaping of their learning experiences is not new. Silberman (1970:364), writing in the USA claimed that :

'we must communicate clearly to students the goals and expectations we believe make sense. And [...] we should affirm the right of students to negotiate our purposes and demands so that the activities we undertake with them have the greatest possible meaning for all.'

Erickson and Schultz (1992: 481) suggested that the process of developing individual voice was an important way of helping pupils toward 'a critical awareness of their own ends, means and capacities in learning'. Similarly, Holdsworth (2001: 2) suggested that young people were capable of far more input to processes of learning and teaching in schools. He suggested that pupils are often consigned to:

'a less significant realm than those who have reached "adult life" and that by doing so we obscure both the richness of their experience and their capacity to do more than schools routinely expect and allow'.

Rudduck (2003: 2), reporting on the network of projects on pupil voice being conducted as part of the Teaching and Learning Research Project (TLRP), drew attention to increasing acceptance of the right of the young to comment upon their school experiences and be listened to. She referred to the United Nations *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989) that included the right to be heard as one of four basic principles. Rudduck (2003: 2) contended that it is now as important for teachers to be able to listen and learn as to teach and lead:

'Our starting point is with the recognition that schools have changed less over the last twenty years or so than the change in young people's life style and

expectations. Previous studies have suggested that consulting pupils can help to bridge the gap by enabling teachers to recognise pupils' social maturity and harness their ability to make a greater contribution to their own learning and to school improvement.'

Burnard's (2004: 32) study of one Year 8 music class and their teacher, focusing on pupil and teacher perceptions of learning, concluded with some interesting reflections for music education in general and this study in particular. It recognised the need to provide opportunities within lessons for discussion between teacher and pupils about pupil perceptions 'about the substance of learning and about the quality of educational engagements'. She identified these opportunities as enhancing 'pupils' sense of agency as learners', suggesting that '(T)eachers should ask what it means to learn and what conceptions of learning their pupils hold as often as they ask who has learned and where is the evidence.' A cycle of reflection upon learning conducted in 'educational spaces congruent with democratic ideals' led teachers to a view of the 'implicit understanding' underpinning pupils' actions and learning is vital to school improvement. Burnard was persuaded of the need for pupils and teachers to become critical agents in their own learning:

'From the teachers' point of view [...] the priority is to involve innovative perspectives on the curriculum, regardless of perceived government and inspectorate pressures. The pupils, meanwhile, appear keen to learn when teachers tune in and take account of pupil perspectives and consider the kinds of experiences of learning they would wish for, where the reported experiences of learning reveal the values and priorities of the pupils.'

Burnard's (2004: 33) study is of importance to the present research in two main ways: firstly she affirmed the 'importance and processes of sociocultural activity and the dialectical relationship between learning as 'socially constituted practices' (Rogoff, 1995)'; secondly, her findings regarding the differences between teacher and pupil perceptions of learning provide support for other studies in asserting that pupils attach high value to autonomy in learning (Rudduck and Flutter, 2000; Solomon & Rogers, 2001; Yair, 2000) and locate this within the school music context. If, as Björkvold (1992) contended, life is the ability to express oneself, we have a duty to help our young people to find ways of doing it through music. The fact that so few of them at present wish to study it at school must indicate that we are failing in this task. Dahlberg (1998), a Professor at Stockholm Institute of Education, warned against the 'adult tendency to repeat pedagogic patterns to form children in their own image', suggesting that educators need to break with traditions and listen more to

young people. Willis and Trondman, (1998) recommended that we listen more attentively to pupils, thus respecting their own choice of culture/music. They asserted that young people are much more active and creative than often appeared. The way forward for music education may lie in harnessing the power referred to in María-Paz Acchiardo's (1998: no page) belief that:

'Culture, created within a society, makes us all human. It helps us to incorporate the greater good and to stand tall in front of evil. Creativity can help us master chaos and better understand the essence of life. We become more human. We owe this to each and every child. Children's creativity is the mighty power that builds the future.'

Chapter Four

Theoretical issues: from culture and habitus to pedagogy

4.1 Theoretical framework

In Chapter One, I alluded briefly to how, having started this project from a descriptive, professionally oriented viewpoint, I eventually located a theoretical position based upon a group of relevant theories that appeared to provide me with a sufficient vantage from which to understand what I had already begun and to complete and analyse my fieldwork experience. I located it within a postmodernist, constructionist, ethnographic mode of interrogation where the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Basil Bernstein, read in the context of the ongoing postmodern cultural debate, appeared to provide conceptual frameworks that would help me to examine the research material collected and transform it into data. As I continued to read and write in the process of conducting the research, I became particularly interested in how these and other authors conceptualised relationships between education, culture and society and the complexity of the relationships between these three domains. In particular I began to realize the fundamental importance of pedagogic discourse, in all its complexities of production, recontextualisation, transmission, acquisition and evaluation, to the problems facing music as a curriculum subject. I became determined, therefore, to use a conceptual framework acknowledging Bourdieu's analysis of culture and society while taking as the principal component Bernstein's concept of the pedagogic device, which allows detailed analysis of educational discourse and practice. Together they required me to investigate my data in relation to the three domains of culture, society and education identified above, the aim being to provide as complete a picture as possible of the pedagogic discourse of music in the case study school, while locating it within the social and cultural context of its formation. In this chapter, therefore, I shall examine the theoretical work of Bourdieu and Bernstein, drawing upon the work of others, as appropriate, as a basis for its application to my own.

4.2 Culture and society

Waters (1994:173), drawing on the work of Arato and Gebhardt (1978), identified two principal meanings of the term 'culture'. The first was identified as functionalist, referring to the 'totality of meanings, values, customs, norms, ideas and symbols relative to a society'. The second was assigned the more 'everyday' definition, describing 'activities of an elevated intellectual or spiritual content' (Waters, *ibid.*). Such activities are regarded as constituting the performing arts, the natural sciences and the liberal arts. It is with this second definition of culture, the raw material that is recontextualised as 'school knowledge' or 'subjects', that I shall be concerned, including its relationship with the 'everyday'.

These two definitions of culture can be seen as not unrelated to ideas of low or popular/mass culture and high or elite culture. High or elite culture is perceived as being the preserve of members of a privileged group, who by its own or others' admission, are appropriately socialised in its terms. High culture in contemporary, twenty-first century society tends to be 'difficult', abstract not representative, intellectually challenging rather than entertaining and concerned with style and form rather than content (Waters, 1994). One requires a 'key' or set of internal referents by which to understand it. This key, like all others, is derived from enculturation, socialisation and education. Thus culture becomes 'better' knowledge, which in turn becomes power - the passport to a higher social circle and attendant material wealth. Alongside this comes tacit or overt acknowledgement that those who hold the keys to unlock, decipher and appreciate this high culture also possess suitably refined critical faculties permitting them to judge for the rest of society what constitutes the 'right art' or, in the case of this investigation, 'the right music.' This has huge implications for music education in schools and, in particular, the content of the music curriculum.

Authors, such as Waters (1997) and Crook, Pakulski and Waters (1992) have claimed to identify a horizontal differentiation of culture in addition to the vertical or hierarchical differentiation discussed above. They draw on 'Kant's taxonomy of philosophical realms' (Waters, 1997:174) which classifies philosophical discourse within the three categories of pure reason, practical reason and judgment. These realms are taken as the origins of 'three differentiated and autonomous provinces of culture' (Crook et al, 1992: 47) which arose from what has been perceived to be the unified culture of medieval times, within which religious themes provided an immovable standard for understanding and action. Pure reason engendered science, ordered around principles of truth and the pursuit of knowledge, practical reason gave rise to law and related secular ethics ordered around goodness and the search

for justice and judgment created art, which forms itself around beauty and the quest for aesthetic expression. (Waters, 1994) Once begun, these 'cultures' have continued to reproduce through continuous processes of subdivision, as new and discrete cultural realms are created.

4.3 Cultural Debates

The circumstances surrounding the production and reproduction of culture have been a feature of sociological debate since the discipline first emerged. Although the founding arguments in this debate are seen by many (Waters 1994) as originating with Marx and Weber, the contribution of Durkheim to this discussion has recently been reinstated as of considerable importance (Davies, 1994). To summarise the arguments, Marx took a structuralist, materialist position whereby cultural ideas were seen as the product of economic relationships. Durkheim adopted a different sort of functionalist perspective seeing culture as existing in more complex relationship with human agency, with actors having the ability to shape culture having first been formed by it. These ideas prepared the way for Weber, the constructionist, to suggest that economic structures were, at least in part, the consequence of human ideas, which were not simply their products.

Marx argued famously that human consciousness must be understood in terms of the material conditions within which it was formed: 'It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence but their social existence that determines their consciousness' (Marx, 1982: 37). Marx and Engels elaborated upon this to show how the relations of production of material wealth generated ideology whereby the ideas of the ruling class in their epoch of capitalism encouraged acceptance and perpetuation of the social status-quo by those whom they dominated:

'The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling *material* force of society, is at the same time the ruling *intellectual* force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production of the dominant material relationships[...] The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships.'
Marx and Engels 1970: 64, original italics)

Weber (1976), in contrast, wished to demonstrate that ideas could have an independent role and that changes in ideologies could result in changes in material

relationships. To this end he conducted an analysis of the rise of industrial capitalism, examining the relationship between its embrace and state religion. He noticed that countries in which capitalism was most advanced, Britain and Germany, were predominantly Protestant whereas mainly Catholic countries, such as Spain and Italy were much slower to develop capitalist economies. Weber identified an underlying ascetic, rational and materialist ideology contained within Protestantism that he termed 'the protestant ethic'. Under this prevailing ideology, dominant within capitalist societies, Weber identified 'cultural modernization as a rationalization of social action' (Crook et al, 1992: 8-9).

For Weber, rationality subverted tradition and ate away at ethical foundations of values. 'Ethical rationality' gave way to 'instrumental rationality' with, in our economistic age, attendant cost benefit analysis preceding social action. Worth or value become determined by monetary or material value, schooling becomes the means of generating qualifications rather than learning, the arts are relegated to the role of tools of relaxation, rather than creative occupations. In the context of the present inquiry, this could prove significant in helping to explain children's decisions about the usefulness to them of a subject such as music. In Weber's analysis culture and society exist in complex relationship within which factors from one arena of social thought and action can influence others. Sociologists of the Frankfurt School, Benjamin, Adorno, Horkheimer, Habermas and others, such as Lukács (1968) and Gramsci (1977), further developed such arguments, Gramsci insisting that bourgeois society was held together not only by material constraints but by cultural hegemony: 'control of the intellectual life of society by purely cultural means' (Kozalowski, 1981: 242). This, again, suggests clear links to the school music curriculum and its content and relevance to the everyday lives and interests of pupils.

Habermas (1984, 1987), like Weber, saw three of the fundamentals of societal rationalisation, as defined by the latter, as positive rather than negative. The rise of the Protestant Ethic could be seen as providing an ethical connection between an orderly pattern of everyday life and the ultimate goal of salvation. Culture became differentiated into autonomous spheres liberated from tradition, religion and each other, thus allowing consensus to form separately within individual spheres. And, fundamentally, law was formalised, freeing it from the tyranny of religion (Habermas, 1984). Habermas also espoused the view that culture could be used as a tool of control and exclusion by any social group capable of establishing power over others. As will be discussed in the following section of this chapter when looking at the work

of Bourdieu, cultural power balances may be in the process of shifting within post modern society, placing teachers, particularly of music, in an unenviable position.

4.4 Culture as Capital

Garnham and Williams (1980), Harker, Mahar and Wilkes (1990) and Branson and Miller (1991) have suggested that Bourdieu's (1984) theory of the relationship between culture and society can be read as having three principal characteristics. The first of these related to social practices as culture is viewed as the product of human agency and, although separate from us, as confining our actions through *habitus*, established patterns of preference and behaviour. Human beings are viewed as being motivated by interests that they seek to preserve or enhance. This behaviour extends to cultural preferences. Over time, collective patterns of cultural values and preferences develop as ideas and resources are mobilised to advance the cultural preferences of dominant social groups. Culture is extended or expanded through a process of reproduction determined by the outcome of material and ideological battles. On this reading of Bourdieu's cultural theory, the second characteristic is that it views cultural objects as a form of capital. Thus cultural materials or objects may be produced and consumed or subjected to any of the other forms of material transaction. In particular, culture is viewed as a form of 'symbolic capital' (Waters, 1994: 198) in which cultural items may be used in the struggle for social domination of some individuals over others. The third element of this theory is read as cultural differentiation. Bourdieu differed from thinkers of the Frankfurt School, such as Adorno and Habermas, as well as others, such as Lukács and Gramsci, in that, while the latter viewed culture as an ideology capable of invading and dominating the consciousness of members of society, Bourdieu drew parallels between differentiated levels of culture - high and low - and the class structure of society. In Bourdieu's paradigm, cultural strata are products of class. They provide badges of membership of a particular class, allowing social divisions to be reproduced. Bourdieu (1984) demonstrated culture as a form of capital by showing that practices, such as museum and concert attendance, newspaper readership and the like were distributed differentially throughout the population according to social class. He reduced this differential to a relationship between educational attainment and cultural habits, arguing that the capacity to participate in high culture was attained in societies such as ours, in a major sense, through education. The analogy was made between cultural practices and codes, with

education providing the key to unlock the code. (Waters, 1994) Bourdieu argued, however, that this key is not given to all on an equal basis; instead it is distributed according to social status through education, with *habitus* providing the privileged with an enhanced ability to receive and understand the education offered. Only children of cultured families have access to the key to culture, thus enabling dominant groups within society to demonstrate their superiority by having exclusive access to high culture and, thereby, justifying their superior social position.

To Bourdieu the social world was constructed from past practices and provided a space for the creation of present and future ones. He saw this space as constituting a series of 'fields' superimposed upon one another. The fields are the sites of conflicts for resources and advancement of interests. Among the fields are those of economic production, educational attainment, art and political power. The dominant field is that of political power. Within the fields hierarchies are produced vertically as a result of conflict. The horizontal expression of hierarchies between fields is social class. Jenkins (2003: 86) advised that:

'Using Bourdieu's concept of field in social research entails three distinct operations. First, the relationship of the field in question to 'the field of power' (politics) must be understood. The field of power is thus to be regarded as the dominant or pre-eminent field of any society; it is the source of hierarchical power relations which structure all other fields. Second, within the field in question, one must construct a 'social topology' or map of 'the objective structure' of the positions which make up the field, and the relationships between them in the competition for the field's specific form of capital. Third the *habitus* (es) of the agents within the field must be analysed, along with the trajectories or strategies which are produced in the interaction between *habitus* and the constraints and opportunities which are determined by the structure of the field.'

As will be discussed later, within the domain of education Bernstein (1969-2001) has already done much to help us in this respect with reference to his analysis of the relationships of educational fields to the field of power, the topology of the field of education itself and the relationships between positions within the field and exploration of *habitus* and its effects upon positioning within the field.

According to Bourdieu, there are two principal axes of class in current society; economic and cultural capital. When these axes intersect they produce a variety of social positions within the field of power available to be occupied by individual actors. Figure 1 shows a diagrammatic representation of this theory. There are possibilities for movement within the social space by individuals or groups. Possibilities for movement, however, are not limitless; they are confined not only by economic capital

but also by possession of cultural capital. Bourdieu defined the position in social space as *habitus* or 'living space'. *Habitus* is a disposition to behave in certain ways based on individuals' understanding of the rules of their social world and its accepted patterns of behaviour. *Habitus* is subconscious and determines things, such as speech, body-language and aspiration. Each individual's *habitus* is born from their position in social space and is unified by its own internal logic which renders actions consistent with one another and allows them to be replicated in new situations. Early childhood experience provides the initial basis for this conditioning, as parents' actions and behaviour toward their children will be dependent upon their own *habitus*. Children will share the *habitus* of their parents which is then affirmed further in their experience in education (Waters, 1997).

It is possible to theorise that we are currently experiencing a cultural inversion to which Bourdieu's theories of field and *habitus* are still intensely relevant. In this cultural inversion, those holding economic and cultural capital are no longer advocates of high or elite culture nor are they particularly interested in buying into this form of cultural capital through arts education for their children. For example, while it is still true (Green, 2005) that it is predominantly middle class children who have instrumental tuition that enhances their ability to access the school music curriculum, the images that society is mirroring to them concerning the worth and status of holding this form of cultural capital is changing. The dominant social classes are no longer as likely to be concert-going, museum-visiting, *Times* or *Telegraph*-reading Conservatives. The Prime Minister plays electric guitar, likes popular music and is more at home watching football or a rock gig than opera. Celebrity has in some degree become more important than the cause of that fame and huge economic and mainstream cultural capital is accrued, for example by those who merely take part in reality television shows. While schooling is still important to the population in providing the keys for the majority to economic position or capital, schooling in the arts and in a music curriculum dominated by Western Art Music in particular, no longer holds comparable importance, for example, as reflected in society by falling art music concert attendance:

'For some time now, the classical music press has been holding a virtual deathwatch [...] Lugubrious rhetorical questions are the headlines of choice. Are live concerts dying [*The Guardian*]? Has opera ceased to be relevant [*Philadelphia Inquirer*]? Are audiences deaf to the charms [*Village Voice*] of new music? Is orchestral programming stuck in the past [*NYTimes*]? Is opera programming deaf to everything later than Wagner [*The Age*]? And

are orchestras themselves becoming marginalized and irrelevant [*Gramophone*]? [...] Even blue-chip classical musicians – like John Eliot Gardiner [*The Independent*] – and household-name orchestras have lost their recording contracts, and the major recording labels have cut back or eliminated their classical operations [*The Telegraph*]. Broadcasts of classical music fail to find audiences – a December opera broadcast in the UK got historic low ratings [*The Guardian*] for its network – and even long-time sponsorships of classical music – such as Texaco's 60-year sponsorship of weekly Metropolitan Opera broadcasts are imperiled [*Hartford Courant*].' (Miles and McLennan, no date, original underlining)

Within this cultural inversion, it is not difficult to see how secondary school music teachers have become relegated to a lower position than that previously held within the social space. Figure 2 attempts to show this new positioning within the social space. When Figures 1 and 2 are compared we can see that the positioning of secondary school teachers has elided with that of primary teachers. There is no longer higher status attached to being a secondary teacher. Teachers' position in the field of economic capital has also declined. As public sector pay has failed to keep pace with that in the private sector, many teachers now neither tend to earn little more, or even less, than working class parents of their pupils nor are they regarded as possessors of superior amounts of cultural capital and this may be particularly so for music teachers. They are no longer the holders of the keys to an elite world of culture, understanding of which allows access to a higher social circle, with attendant possibilities of financial and social elevation, working in a profession that has suffered considerably from sustained political and media criticism, coupled with poor pay and conditions, such that recruitment to some of its sectors is at crisis point (TES, 2005). This has led to initiatives, such as a training wage for post graduate teacher training students and 'golden hello' incentives for newly qualified teachers in shortage subjects. In England Music is one of these, signifying official recognition that recruitment to it is particularly difficult. If teaching now occupies an inferior social position to that of other traditional 'professions'; such as law and medicine, the status of music teachers, in terms of material wealth, and of possession of cultural capital, that is to say, what they have to offer that pupils might see as worthwhile to know for the future, is less certain than ever before.

This is further complicated by the notion of subcultural capital proposed by Thornton (1996: 105) in extending Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, describing it as a form of 'being in the know', a type of knowledge not gained from education and without class relationships; subcultural capital is 'hip' or 'cool':

'Subcultural capital is the linchpin of an alternative hierarchy in which the axes of age, gender, sexuality and race are all employed in order to keep the determinations of class, income and occupation at bay'

Of the signifiers of membership of a subculture defined by Hebdige (1979) in his early study of sub-cultures, ritual, argot, music and dance, it seems significant that only in their relation to music is there a direct interface or style-collision with the educational establishment. In no other curriculum subject can I see so direct a contradiction of cultural or subcultural affiliation as within the music curriculum. Furthermore, it has been shown (Sloboda, 2001: 243) that, far from possessing this sub-cultural capital, many music teachers have no experience or training and often attach to it little value or respect. This puts some music teachers badly out of step with their pupils' cultural interests in ways that are more directly relevant to their pedagogic relation with music than is the case with their colleagues in other subjects, and may be another factor in the problems facing secondary school music. Even if school music teachers do have understanding of and respect for pupils' musical subcultures, however, there will still be the problem that music lessons take place *in school*. By definition sub cultural capital stands in isolation from formal education such that, as soon as a musical genre becomes the subject of formal education in school, it stands to risk losing its 'hip' or 'cool'.

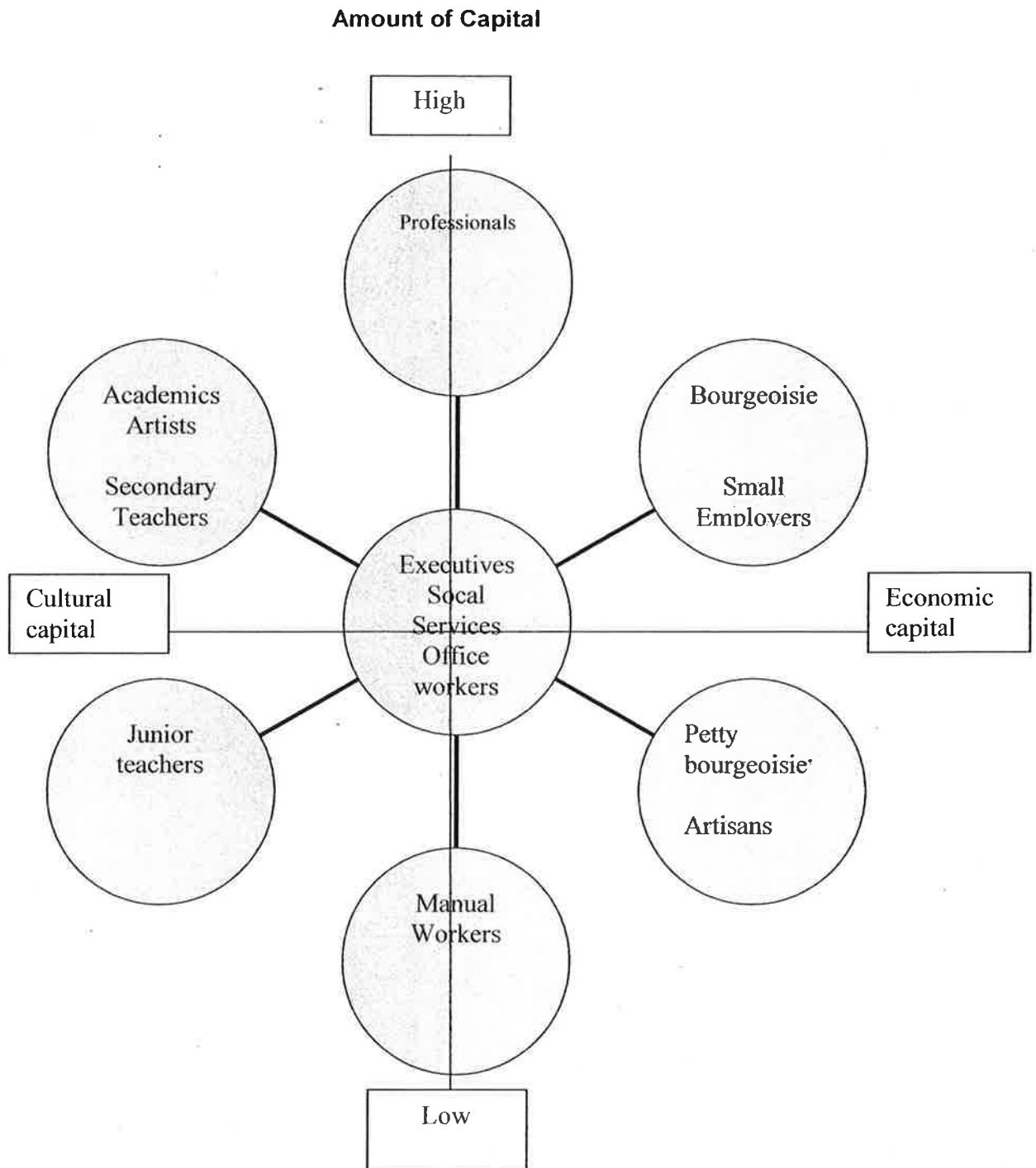


Fig.1 An illustration of Bourdieu's view of 20th century social positions
 (Based on Bourdieu 1984: 128-9)

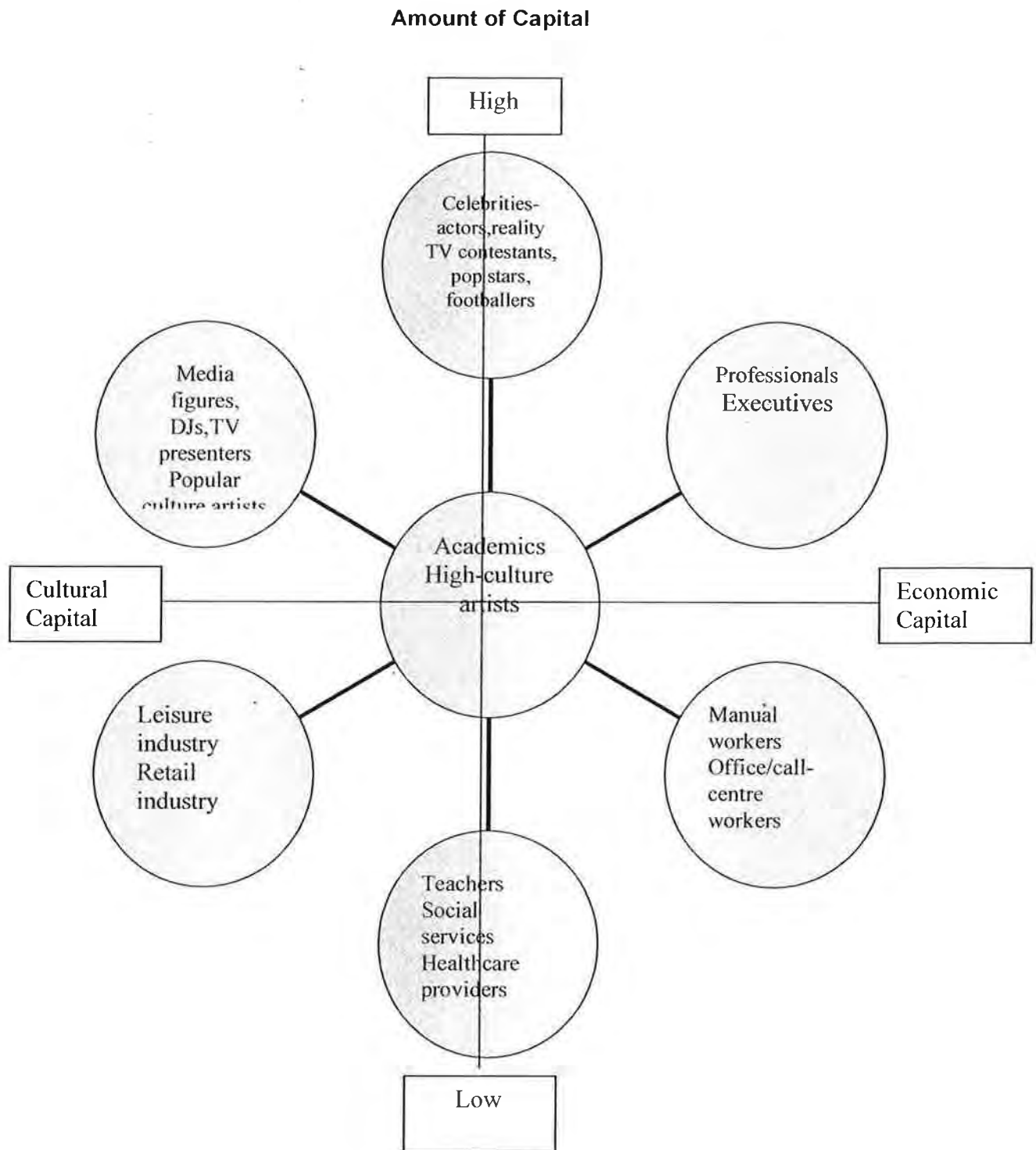


Fig. 2 Revised model of 21st century positioning within social space.

(Based on Bourdieu 1984: 128-9)

Regarding culture and 'taste', habitus will generate schema or internal referents by which cultural objects will be classified and evaluation expressed characteristically in terms of binaries, such as vulgar/tasteful, rich/poor,

respectable/common. Bourdieu (1984) asserted that the points at which habituses intersect classify practices and cultural objects into a series of distinct, cultural lifestyles. This allowed him to map lifestyles across social positional space and, thence, to demonstrate homology between social groups and cultural preferences. Thus, position determines habitus which, in turn, determines lifestyle. Distinctions of taste become ascribed to social position and related to the ability to appreciate and differentiate. Taste regulates who is included or excluded and numerous other social outcomes, such as success in school work, choice of marriage partner or political affiliation. Perceptions act to reinforce material constraints.

4.5 Critiques of Bourdieu's position

4.5.1. Agency

Tooley and Darby (1998), in a critique of educational research published by OFSTED, concluded that the work of Bourdieu and, in particular, the concept of *habitus* had little value for those working within the field of educational research (Nash, 1999). In addressing these authors' criticisms of Bourdieu's sociological theories in relation to education, particularly the concept of *habitus*, as used by Reay (1995) in an ethnographic study of primary classrooms, Nash (1999: 176) presented a cogent summary of Bourdieu's work in this area and a consideration of the main criticisms of his theories. In discussing Reay's work, he asserted that:

'In the context, then, of observational practice from the very site of educational transmission, the classroom, Reay offers a summary theoretical review of the principal areas of reference covered by Bourdieu's concept. Habitus is recognised as an embodiment of structure, a conception that enables Bourdieu to transcend the dichotomy of objectivism and subjectivism, in that it provides people with a sense of the 'feel for the game'. Habitus also provides the grounds for agency, within a limited arena of choice, and thus a theoretical escape from structuralist determinism.'

Nash (p. 177) observed that the role of habitus, therefore, was 'to mediate between structure and agency showing, with reference to the work of Levi-Strauss (1978), how Bourdieu's concept of habitus was able to provide a missing conceptual link as:

'a mechanism by which specific social rules, as opposed to a general and universal structure of the unconscious, could be treated as built-in to the individual. [...] Habitus is conceived as a generative schema in which the forms of elemental social structures come, through the process of socialisation, to be embodied in individuals, with the result that people

necessarily act in such a way that the underlying structures are reproduced and given effect.'

There were varied reactions to this theory. Jenkins (1992) is reported by Nash (*ibid.*) as seeing in it a:

'tight, structuralist determinism: objective social structures generate a habitus so structured; this habitus generates practices which necessarily reflect that objective social structure; and so the objective social structure at the beginning of this circle is reproduced.'

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) rejected this reading, declaring that the connections between structure and habitus and habitus and social reproduction were less rigid than this model suggested. Bourdieu did not, however, provide an explanation or rules for the circumstances under which such flexibility could take place. This could be seen to be a considerable impediment for those attempting to work with his ideas.

While Jenkins did at least concur with Bourdieu's reading of habitus as providing a 'mediating function between structure and agency', Nash (p. 177-8) reported LiPuma (1993: 24) as challenging even this concept in that:

'Although habitus appears at first glance to be a bridge between the social and the psychological, the system and the agents, it cannot make the connection because the relationship of individual agency to social classification is not developed [...] LiPuma argues that Bourdieu provides no account of why the internalisation of the habitus is relative, in the sense that it is apparent to everyone that not all of those brought up in the same class or family adopt the same practices and, moreover, that he presupposes, but does not offer, a theory of the interrelationship between culture and capital, which is to say that those with the same financial resources do not necessarily behave in the same way, and the theory does not explain why. In other words, the relationship between individual agency to social classification is not developed, but simply assumed.'

As Nash observed these problems have exercised sociologists since the earliest days of the discipline, referring to the work of Durkheim and Mauss (1963) concerning the study of the classification of traditional societies where '(T)he theoretical relationship between the regulative structure of forms of classification and human agency is left obscure [...] and has been the subject of much discussion.'

There are, therefore, problems in attempting to use Bourdieu's theory of cultural production and reproduction alone in an empirical study. It is in this

respect that the work of Bernstein can be particularly helpful. As Maton (2005: 129) observed, where Bourdieu asserts, Bernstein allows description:

'Although Bourdieu can be a convincing and engaging writer, one could not use these concepts (relation to field) to analyse the form taken by these different kinds of understanding and practice in a substantive study. One possible means of doing so can be found in the work of Basil Bernstein on 'vertical and horizontal discourse'. This provides an analysis of the structure of everyday knowledge... Thus one can compare - despite differences of or changes in their content - the structuring of symbolic products across contexts and over time, making it possible to say where and when they are the same or different.'

Bourdieu has a tendency to view culture as dominant and exclusive ideology imposed by ruling groups and incapable of admitting alternatives. As Maton (2005: 129) stated, for Bourdieu:

'culture is seen always and everywhere as a reflection of arbitrary social relations of power, and nothing more. For example, in his discussion in *Pascalian Meditations* of the influence of *skholè* it is not the *structure* of scholastic reason and practical reason that attracts Bourdieu's analytical gaze, but rather their *relations to* practical practice, specifically the relations between their fields [...] The approach enables a subtly theorized understanding of how contexts shape culture (the benefits of which should not be understated) but at the expense of making culture nothing but contingent and arbitrary.'

Critiques of the theory and other similar theories of ideology (Habermas, 1987, 1989) point to the fact that they rest on the assumption that culture can be described as a unified set of ideas that act on the human mind (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 1980; Abercrombie and Turner, 1992) Culture is capable of reproducing social structure. 'It tells people what is possible, what is right and what their place is in the social scheme, and it thus carries the mould of society across the generations.' (Waters 1997: 203) Abercrombie, Hill and Turner (*ibid.*) argued that there is a dichotomy between the fundamental theory of Marx and Engels that claimed that the ruling ideas in a society will be the ideas of the ruling class and the Marxist proposition that social class determines social consciousness. Decoupling such views from Marx's notion of the inevitability of revolution, they argued that there is a contradiction here in that the working class cannot be simultaneously dominated by the ideas of the ruling class and at the same time experience a distinct working class consciousness. Many societies can be viewed as being composed of a variety of discrete, non-integrated, co-existing cultures, particularly in the late twentieth (and, we might add, early twenty-first) century where the figure of a dominant ideology seems more obscure than ever. They argue that it is no longer possible to propose a

general theory in respect of the functions of ideology with respect to its influence on social structure. Culture can be seen as being comprised of a number of world-views involved in the competition occurring between social groups.

4.5.2 Postmodernism and culture

These views have led to a group of alternative theories of culture and ideology that constitute a postmodern view of cultural ideology. The consensus among post-modern cultural theorists appears to be that previous, essentially modern, views of cultural theory can no longer be sustained. It is argued that culture has now elaborated to such an extent that the variety of options available regarding taste or lifestyle legitimates *any* choice. There is no longer any need to conform to a single set of value-standards. It is argued to be difficult to recognise any particular class by its lifestyle or identification with particular cultural milieux, as the array of choices is now so vast that identification of class-cultural categories is almost impossible and class divisions are becoming incapable of reproduction. There are no longer clearly defined boundaries between elite and popular culture, all has collapsed into a single confused mass. There are no longer cultural standards of truth, beauty, rectitude; instead postmodern culture is ruled by individual preference and the vagaries of the mass media.

Taking this position one step further, Crook, Pakulski and Waters (1992) continued to explore themes initially identified by the Frankfurt School, among others, showing that trends of postmodernisation in culture are the result of 'hyperextension and hyperintensification of modernizing developments.' (Waters, 1994: 211). They identify the emergence of a *postculture*; 'a condition in which culture no longer exists as a differentiated sphere'. In this postculture, culture, society and personality merge to form 'a seamless and undifferentiated whole.' (*ibid.*) The 'symptoms' of such a state are identified by Crook, Pakulski and Waters as already in existence in modern society, including hyperdifferentiation, hyperrationalisation and hypercommodification. Hyperdifferentiation is seen as the end product of the present, highly differentiated culture where each cultural object becomes unique, divorced from all tradition. Cultural products stand alone, mixing and matching a variety of styles and even a variety of disciplines. As an example of this they quote the present blurring between popular and elite cultures. Hyperrationalisation is the logical conclusion of present, highly rationalized modern culture. Cultural products no longer conform to any

rationale of purpose or value. Worth is dictated by consumption in the market, pastiche is common. Hypercommodification is the conclusion of the present highly commodified cultural arena where the only standard is consumption and people buy into packaged cultural items because they represent membership of certain social groups. In this way, attendance at the opera would signify not an understanding of the tradition of opera or an intellectual commitment to the art form but choice of a particular lifestyle 'package'.

'Postculture [exhibits] that semiotic promiscuity and preference for pastiche and parody which commentators widely associate with postmodernism. A television commercial sells cat food by setting the sales pitch to the music of a Mozart aria; Andrew Lloyd Webber writes a hugely successful pastiche of a late Romantic Requiem, the Kronos string quartet plays Hendrix.' (Crook, Pakulski and Waters, 1992: 37)

If this is so, school music's role in inducting pupils into an understanding of elite culture, allowing them to be discerning consumers of Western Art Music is undermined still further. If understanding or 'intellectual commitment' (Crook, Pakulski and Waters, *ibid.*) to the art form are no longer necessary, what function does an art music dominated curriculum have?

4.6 Basil Bernstein's theories of educational discourse and reproduction

Bernstein has been described as one of the most important British sociologists of recent times (Morais, Neves, Davies and Daniels, 2001) and even 'one of the leading sociologists in the world' (Sadovnik, 2001: 687). From the 1960s until his death in 2000 he developed a detailed framework for analysing educational practice and examining some of its problems in ways that were particularly important during a period when some were somewhat unduly sanguine about, while others despaired of, achieving an egalitarian and effective means of mass education in Britain. From his early work on language, communication codes and schools to later work on pedagogic discourse, practice and transmission, Bernstein developed a theory for examining social and educational codes and their effect on the reproduction of society. In a series of publications collectively known as *Class, Codes and Control, Volumes I-V* (Bernstein, 1971-2000) he laid out his theories of educational discourse and reproduction, constantly refined in the light of empirical testing. His theoretical framework was initially based upon integration of elements of the work of Durkheim,

Mead and Luria which he expanded, at a later date, to incorporate the insights of Althusser and Foucault.

Bernstein's highly controversial early socio-linguistic work focused on the interactions between class, language, cognition, control and social structure. He introduced code theory through the introduction of the ideas of restricted and elaborated codes or meaning systems (1962a, b). On the basis of twelve years of research, he developed this into a social theory examining the relationships between the reproduction of meaning systems, social classes and families. There is evidence to show that these views were 'politically misinterpreted' (Morais et al *ibid.*, Sadovnik, *ibid.*), presenting it as 'deficit' theory. Working class communication codes were labelled as deficient implying that black and working class pupils were inevitably bound to fail within the educational system. Bernstein consistently rejected this misinterpretation (Bernstein, 1996), arguing that restricted codes were not deficient but products of social divisions of labour that necessitated context dependent language in the context of production. Similarly, the new role of fractions of the middle classes as social and cultural reproducers and repairers, rather than producers, necessitated a context independent, elaborated code. The fact that schools adopted this elaborated code meant that some working class children tended to be disadvantaged by the dominant code of education. The 'fault', if any, therefore, lay with society and its schools not children or their families. As we shall see in discussion of the results of the present study, there are implications for these ideas of Bernstein in relation to the music curriculum.

Despite the hostility with which his early work was received, Bernstein's research remained focused upon the relations between knowledge and power, consciousness and change and identity and communication. (Morais et al, *ibid.*) The third volume of *Class, codes and control* (1977a) saw Bernstein beginning to examine connections between communication codes and pedagogic discourse and practice. This led to the difficult work of examining processes of schooling and their relationship to social class reproduction. (Sadovnik, *ibid.*) In one of his last published works (Bernstein, 2000: 4) Bernstein delineates the boundaries within which he was working:

'If we want to understand how pedagogic processes shape consciousness differentially, I do not see how this can be done without some means of analysing the forms of communication which bring this about. I shall be more concerned to analyse how pedagogic text has been put together, the rules of its

construction, circulation, contextualisation, acquisition and change. It is these matters that I wish to address.'

Bernstein (*ibid.*) went on to outline three issues, in the form of three questions, with which he wished to connect in this final work. These were:

- 'First, how does a dominating distribution of power and principles of control generate, distribute, reproduce and legitimise dominating and dominated principles of communication?
- Second, how does such a distribution of principles of communication regulate relations within and between social groups?
- Third, how do these principles of communication produce a distribution of forms of pedagogic consciousness?'

In order to explore the significance of the agenda that these represent we need to backtrack a little into the terms and ideas underpinning them.

4.6.1 Classification and Framing or Power and Control

Power and control were fundamental to Bernstein's theories of educational discourse and reproduction. Crucial to an understanding of his work was the distinction he drew between the two and their effects, while acknowledging that they were empirically embedded in each other. Bernstein (*op. cit.*: 5) explained that power relations:

'create boundaries, legitimise boundaries, reproduce boundaries between different categories of groups, gender, class, race, different categories of discourse, different categories of agents [...] power always operates on the relations *between* categories. The focus of power from this point of view is on the relations *between* and, in this way, power establishes legitimate relations of order.' (original italics)

Control, however, acts within different categories to establish legitimate forms of communication, it:

'carries the boundary relations of power and socialises individuals into these relationships [...] control is double faced for it carries both the power of reproduction and the potential for its change.'

Bernstein summarised the distinction between power and control neatly, as 'power constructs relations *between* and control relations *within* given forms of interaction. (*ibid.*) original italics) He had developed the terms classification and framing to

describe the respective transmission of power and control relationships. Central to Bernstein's theory of pedagogic discourse and practice, classification was the term used to describe 'the degree of boundary maintenance between contents' (Bernstein, 1973a: 205; 1973b: 88) and referred to the division or boundaries between areas of knowledge or subjects. Therefore, a curriculum where knowledge was clearly separated into traditional subjects had strong classification, whereas one where subjects' boundaries are less clearly defined had weak classification. Bernstein used the concept of classification to distinguish collection and integrated curriculum codes. Collection codes were strongly classified, indicative of a more traditional curriculum. Integrated codes characterised more progressive curricula and were weakly classified. Sadovnik (2001:3) described the manner in which Bernstein related this to Durkheim's views on the relationship between social change, education and religion:

'In keeping with his Durkheimian project, Bernstein analyzed the way in which the shift from collection to integrated codes represents the evolution from mechanical to organic solidarity (or from traditional to modern society), with curricular change marking the movement from the sacred to the profane.'

Where classification described the organisation of knowledge into curricula, framing described the ways in which knowledge is transmitted through learning and teaching or pedagogic practice. Framing describes power distribution in terms of rules of transmission: 'if classification regulates the voice of a category then framing regulates the form of its legitimate message.' (Bernstein, 1990: 100). In addition: 'frame refers to the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organization and timing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship' (1973b: 88). Strong framing allows a low degree of freedom of choice between teacher and pupils whereas weak framing allowed greater liberty to students.

Bernstein developed this theory further to allow a systematic analysis of classroom interaction and learning and teaching styles in terms of pedagogic discourse and practices. Firstly, he described rules that examined 'the intrinsic features which constitute and distinguish the specialised form of communication realised by the pedagogic discourse of education' (Bernstein, 1990: 165). Then a relationship was drawn between this theory of pedagogic discourse and the social-class base and applied this to the ongoing development of differing educational practices. (Bernstein, 1990) From his earliest work on language the concept of code as a 'regulative principle which underlies various message systems, especially

curriculum and pedagogy' (Atkinson, 1985: 136) was central to Bernstein's sociology. For Bernstein there were three crucial educational message systems: curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation. 'Curriculum defines what counts as valid knowledge, pedagogy defines what counts as valid transmission of knowledge, and evaluation defines what counts as a valid realisation of the knowledge on the part of the taught.' (Bernstein, 1973b: 85).

4.6.2 The Pedagogic Device

Bernstein developed his earlier work on pedagogic discourse and practices to present a detailed analysis of the recontextualisation of knowledge for transmission in schools. His work on pedagogic discourse examined 'the production, distribution and reproduction of official knowledge and how this knowledge is related to structurally determined power relations.' (Sadovnik, 2001: 4) The process by which this recontextualisation occurred was termed by Bernstein (1990) the pedagogic device. It provided a methodology for linking the macro structures of society and interactional practice to the micro level of the school. As Bernstein explained (1990: 101):

'the concepts of classification (structural relations) and framing (interactional practices) were developed to translate external power/control relations into power/control relations within and between agencies of cultural reproduction and social production.'

What was unique and critical to Bernstein's work, however, and also of particular relevance to my own project, was that he went beyond describing the production and transmission of knowledge to examining the consequences of this process for different identities and social groups. Within any sphere of education there is something that is known, that is to say, a body of knowledge or skills, which is transmitted to someone who receives it, that is a learner. This knowledge is assembled or produced by experts within particular fields, then validated or legitimised by agents/agencies at the macro level of society. At this stage it is made available for recontextualisation for transmission to learners at the meso level of the school, college, training institution or other learning site. In the context of this project concerning music education within secondary schools in the maintained sector in the United Kingdom, this knowledge is embodied by the National Curriculum for Music and public examination specifications. As such it is taken to be, for the purposes of the present study, a socially constructed product of the society and policies

governing education in the United Kingdom. Schools may choose to augment this core provision with addition of opportunities for peripatetic instrumental tuition and extra or extended curricular musical activities, such as orchestras, choirs or jazz groups according to the pedagogic philosophy of the music teacher/s, subject to the constraints of resource and school management/governing body intervention.

Knowledge or curriculum organised at the meso level of individual schools undergoes a further transformation at the hands of departments and teachers who reproduce it, delivering it to pupils at the micro level of the classroom. Decisions are taken, among others, about topics to be studied, the balance of different types of music experienced, instruments to be played, the amount of performing, composing, appraising to be undertaken and the relationship between these activities in relation to one another. This process is officially intended to ensure that all children between the ages of five and fourteen in state maintained secondary schools in England and Wales receive the National Curriculum for Music. But children attending our secondary schools do not receive identical music education for, in addition to differential structuring and resourcing of school music at the institutional and departmental levels, interaction between pupils and teachers and the latter's disposition of time, space, orientations to pacing, control, praise, evaluation and a host of other pedagogic minutiae, form and colour the transmission and acquisition of knowledge and pupil/teacher relationships.

Bernstein (1990) developed in the 'pedagogic device' a model of cultural reproduction which provides a framework within which the selection, classification, legitimisation, transmission and evaluation of knowledge can be related to distribution of power and social control. This model enabled him to demonstrate how decisions and interaction related to the recontextualisation and reproduction of knowledge are governed by distribution of power and control at each of the macro level of society, the meso level of the school and the micro level of the classroom. Explaining that: 'any theory of cultural reproduction must be able to generate principles of description of its own objects'. (*ibid.* 171), he considered that theories to date had failed to do so; they 'cannot generate the principles of description of the agencies of their concern' focussing instead on methods to 'understand how external power relations are *carried* by the system, they are not concerned with the description of the carrier, only with a diagnosis of its pathology' (*ibid.* 172). Though Bernstein had long recognised such a gap in existing descriptive systems, it was not until *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse* (1990), however, that he presented us

with a theoretical model with which to close it in terms of the pedagogic device, described as:

'the condition for the production, reproduction and transformation of culture (which) makes possible the transformation of power (that is, its basis in social relations and their generating sites) into differently specialised consciousness (subjects) through the device's regulation and distribution of 'knowledges' and of the discourses such knowledge presuppose.' (Bernstein, 2000: 37-38)

The pedagogic device is composed of three stable and hierarchical sets of rules; distributive, recontextualising and evaluative. They are hierarchical in the sense that recontextualising rules derive from distributive rules, and evaluative rules from recontextualising rules. These rules are interrelated and influenced by ideology and power relationships. Bernstein identified them as operating at two levels in society, the primary and secondary, as well as within recontextualising fields. The operation of these rules is described in the next section.

4.6.3 Primary Contexts

Distributive rules regulate relationships between power and social groups, forms of consciousness and practice. They are also concerned with who transmits what to whom and under what circumstances. The primary context is the macro level of society at which discourse/knowledge is realised, conceptualised and legitimised. Bernstein referred to this as the level where 'new ideas are selectively created, modified and changed and where specialised discourses are developed, modified or changed' (Bernstein, 1999: 59). Knowledge is, therefore, generated at the level of society and the State. The State then selects from that knowledge that which it will legitimise for transmission to others through the distribution of social power and control so that the dominant principles of society are expressed. Bernstein differentiates between two types of knowledge which he terms the 'thinkable' and the 'unthinkable'. The thinkable consists of approved knowledge and usual practices whereas the unthinkable consists of taboo or new knowledge. Bernstein pointed out that what is unthinkable to some may be thinkable to others, depending on social class and other category membership and previous experiences. New knowledge, that yet to be discovered or yet to be thought, is termed a 'potential discursive gap'. Knowledge produced at the primary context goes through processes of

recontextualisation to be transformed into something else, an officially sanctioned body of knowledge termed by Bernstein (2000: 31) 'pedagogic discourse' before being transmitted at the secondary or meso level - the school.

4.6.4. Recontextualising Rules: Pedagogic Discourse

Bernstein identified recontextualising rules that constituted individual pedagogic discourses (*ibid.*) :

'Distributive rules mark and distribute who may transmit what to whom and under what conditions and they attempt to set the outer limits of legitimate discourse. Pedagogic discourse itself rests on the rules which create specialised communications through which pedagogic subjects are selected and created. In other words, pedagogic discourse selects and creates specialised pedagogic subjects through its contexts and contents.'

Bernstein described pedagogic discourse as a rule embedding two discourses; the first a discourse of skills and their internal relationships and the second a discourse of social order. In other words, any particular 'subject' within a curriculum, is comprised of a set of rules which generate skills of various types and their relationships to each other and rules which maintain social order. Bernstein termed the rules which create skills *instructional discourse* and those which maintain social order *regulative discourse*. He also observed that instructional discourse was always embedded within regulative discourse, with regulative discourse as the dominant discourse thus (Bernstein, 2000: 32):

INSTRUCTIONAL DISCOURSE	ID
REGULATIVE DISCOURSE	RD

Pedagogic discourse is, therefore, defined by Bernstein (*ibid.*) as the rule whereby one discourse is embedded within the other to create one subject or one discourse. There is no distinction between transmission of skills and what he reports educators as calling 'the transmission of values' (*ibid.*), referring to the 'secret voice' of pedagogic discourse as disguising the fact there is, in fact, no separation between these two elements of teaching. The two become one. Pedagogic discourse is defined as

'(A) discourse without a discourse. It seems to have no discourse of its own. Pedagogic discourse is not physics, chemistry or psychology. Whatever it is, it cannot be identified with the discourses it transmits'. (Bernstein, 2000: 32)

Bernstein (*ibid.*) therefore goes on to expand his thought by suggesting that pedagogic discourse is, in fact, not a discourse but a principle:

'It is the principle by which other discourses are appropriated and brought into a special relationship with each other, for the purpose of their selective transmission and acquisition. Pedagogic discourse is a principle for the circulation and reordering of discourses. In this sense it is not so much a discourse as a principle.' (*ibid.*)

Crucially, Bernstein contended that every time a discourse is moved from one site to another, in our case from the discourse 'music' to the curriculum subject 'Music', there is a gap within which ideology can operate. The discourse becomes transformed through the play of ideologies to become a 'mediated, virtual or imaginary discourse' (Bernstein, 2000: 33). As Bernstein says: '(F)rom this point of view, pedagogic discourse selectively creates *imaginary subjects*' and pedagogic discourse is, therefore, a recontextualising principle. This process of recontextualisation is considered in the following section.

4.6.5 The Secondary Context and Recontextualising Process

In one of his last published works Bernstein (2000: 33) established a sociological description for the sites within which this recontextualisation of discourses took place. He established the idea of recontextualising fields, for which he acknowledged indebtedness to Bourdieu for the concept of 'field', occupied by recontextualising agents who effect the transformation of discourses into pedagogic discourses. He stated that: 'the recontextualising field has a crucial function in creating the fundamental autonomy of education' distinguishing between an *official recontextualising field* (ORF) 'created and dominated by the state and its selected agents and ministries' (e.g. state agencies for curriculum, assessment, inspection) and a *pedagogic recontextualising field* (PRF) comprising education departments in universities, subject journals, private research bodies, publishers and others transforming texts for disposition (or reproduction) by teachers in schools and colleges. Bernstein argued that:

'If the PRF can have an effect on pedagogic discourse independently of the ORF, then there is both some autonomy *and* struggle over pedagogic

discourse and its practices. But if there is only the ORF, then there is no autonomy.' (p. 33)

He identified a steadily increasing threat to the autonomy of the PRF through enhancement of ORF activity and intervention, for example through state formulated curricula and schemes of work and the national Key Stage strategies. The struggles for domination and shaping of the National Curriculum for Music that we considered in Chapter Two exemplify the tensions inherent in current battles for control of pedagogic discourse between the PRF and the ORF. Even more sinister could be said to be the extent to which ostensible members of the PRF, such as Scruton and O'Hear, with very clearly defined allegiances to specific political parties and agencies within the ORF, were able to intervene between the workings of a supposedly democratic English music curriculum working party and government to effectively reshape the nature of the pedagogic discourse finally sanctioned by the state. This is not to say that the original proposals of the National Curriculum Working Group for Music, as accepted by the National Curriculum Council for Wales, were without fault in terms of content or ethos prior to such manipulation. We shall return to these issues in Chapter Eight

Various agents within schools, however, not only reproduce but, in some degree, may further recontextualise the pedagogic discourse within which power and control have already been exercised upon knowledge in the secondary context so as to ideologically transform, ready for transmission, that which was more or less vaguely determined at the primary context. Bernstein (1996: 112) identified this process as being subject to 'the play of specialised interests among the various positions in the recontextualising field', having in earlier work (Bernstein, 1990) describes a process by which knowledge was decontextualised at this level so that it might be transformed for reproduction through processes of condensing, refocusing, simplifying, modifying or elaboration so that, at their end, 'the text is no longer the same text'. The notion that teachers not only reproduce discourse but may also play a significant part in its recontextualisation before transmitting it to pupils is of central importance to the current study. The story of music and its success as a curriculum subject in the case study school may be closely connected to the way in which this particular music teacher recontextualised the National Curriculum for Music for her pupils.

As described previously, throughout this process, Bernstein identified two sets of governing rules which he termed 'instructional discourse' (ID) concerned with mode of transmission and 'regulative discourse' (RD), concerned with creation of social order, identity, manner and conduct. Regulative discourse is always dominant, telling learners what they can do and where they can do it. It provides values, beliefs and rules regarding selection, relation, sequence and pace of subjects, defining the thinkable and unthinkable within the curriculum for pupils and teachers, as well as classroom order. Instructional discourse is necessarily embedded within regulative and dependent upon its production of order. Pedagogic discourse is, therefore, a principle by which the 'what' and 'how' of teaching or pedagogic practice are recontextualised. 'What' concerns the categories, contents and relationships to be transmitted, in Bernsteinian terms, classification; 'how' describes the manner of transmission, or framing. It is important to note that Bernstein pointed out in his 1996 work that framing of pedagogic practice is not always unambiguously weak or strong. Pedagogies may be 'mixed', either to good or bad effect.

4.6.6. Classification and Framing within the pedagogic device

In terms of their interrelated roles within the pedagogic device, classification can be linked to power relations and framing to control, the latter maintaining the power of classification. Power and control are transmitted from dominant classes in society by the way that content is classified and interactions framed. In Bourdieuan terms, the words power and control have only to be replaced by cultural capital for us to begin to see a clear method by which the contents of the aesthetic curriculum in schools can be controlled to reflect the dominant cultural ideology of those in authority. This can happen at all levels of the model, from the macro or state level, to the meso or school level, or, indeed, at the micro level of the classroom, where knowledge may be further recontextualised in terms of the inclinations and ideologies of individual teachers.

Bernstein (1996) outlined the purpose of 'recognition rules' in determining what contexts demand and enabling their reading. At the macro level of society, strong classification and framing engender hierarchical relationships where knowledge is not available for public scrutiny. At the meso level subject specialists strive for power regarding what is valid discourse within the curriculum. Strong classification and framing between macro and micro levels reduces the autonomy of teachers regarding what may legitimately be included in educational programmes. The school

curriculum provides the secondary context for the distribution of officially legitimated knowledge to the pupil. Its 'purpose', though not necessarily its achievement with respect of particular pupils, is not only to transmit appropriate recognition rules but to accompany them with realisation rules that enable them not only to reproduce but to generate valued text. Curriculum types, viewed as either broadly performance or competence oriented, differ in their strength of orientation to recognition and realisation.

These issues are again of central importance to the study of music as a curriculum subject within the case study school. Identifying the degree of strength of classification and framing at all levels, from curriculum type to classroom delivery, is vital to an understanding and detailed description of the pedagogic discourse of music within it. It also allows a detailed understanding of the constraints and decisions facing the music teacher whom we study in her professional life. Her decisions taken in response to the choices she must make in reshaping the National Curriculum for Music for transmission to her pupils are key to an understanding of the uniqueness of the pedagogic discourse of music as it existed for the case study class upon whose activities we focus. The recognition and realisation rules consciously or subconsciously operating within music in it and their effects upon both the curriculum presented to pupils and pupils' images of worth and self-worth within school music are integral to investigation of the research questions. They help to explain teacher and pupil attitudes to issues such as 'what is a musician?', 'who is musical?' 'what counts as playing an instrument?' and 'what counts as an instrument?'. Once discovered, these rules must also be considered in the social, political and pedagogic contexts within which they are formed

In more time hallowed, conceptual-analytic terms, philosophers like Kelly (1999: 4) have defined curriculum as 'the totality of the experiences the pupil has as a result of the provision made', distinguishing 'official' curriculum and the 'actual' curriculum. The former was defined as representing what is planned for students and documented in syllabi and policies. Pitts (1985) termed this the overt curriculum. The actual curriculum is that which is received by the student or 'the reality of the pupils' experience'. (Kelly, 1999: 25) For Pitts (1985) this includes the 'covert curriculum', encompassing practices, values and attitudes transmitted by teachers accidentally or covertly, as opposed to being planned or officially sanctioned. Bernstein's theory transcends these unsatisfactory categories, establishing links between the dominant mode of production with its division of labour and the different pedagogical models

that are present in communication systems, such as education. Bernstein's (1990: 63) identification of different forms of pedagogic practice and their 'social class assumptions and consequences' led him to conclude that educational discourse, irrespective of the type of curriculum in place, is still shaped to 'act selectively on those who can successfully acquire it.' For example, he concluded that although there might be substantial outward or overt differences in social class assumptions of visible (strongly classified and framed, performance oriented) and invisible (relatively weakly classified and framed, competence oriented) pedagogy there may well be similar pupil or student outcomes. In providing such deepened understanding of pedagogic processes, Bernstein has showed that schools may well act to reproduce existing modalities of power and symbolic control while ostensibly being ideologically committed to opposite or contrasting goals. (Fitz, Davies and Evans, 2005)

4.6.7 The Totally Pedagogised Society

One of the last concepts developed by Bernstein was that of the Totally Pedagogised Society (TPS). Following his lifelong interest in uncovering the sociological basis of education, Bernstein saw in the latter years of the twentieth century the emergence of a society that introduced pedagogy in all possible areas of human agency. He termed this the Totally Pedagogised Society. Bernstein examined the social forces that induced, maintained and legitimated dominant pedagogies in various societies to determine the ways in which communication systems could structure individual and social consciousness and identity. Bernstein and Solomon (1999: 269) stated that:

'Pedagogy is the focus of my theory to the extent that pedagogic modalities are crucial realisations of symbolic control and thus of the process of production and reproduction. Symbolic control, through its pedagogic modalities, attempts to shape and distribute forms of consciousness, identity and desire.'

The pedagogic device was identified as the site of struggle for power:

'The pedagogic device, the condition for the materialising of symbolic control, is the object of a struggle for domination, for the group who appropriates the device has access to a ruler and distributor of consciousness, identity and desire. The question is whose ruler, in whose interests or for what consciousness, desire and identity.' (*ibid.*)

As we have already seen this is of particular relevance to the case of the music curriculum in schools, in which the role of the individual teachers in the 'struggle for domination' be overlooked, given their ability to shape the nature of the school experience of their particular discourse for their pupils.

Bernstein claimed to identify connections between changes in capitalism and the rise and fall of dominant pedagogic modalities, not least a change from competence to performance models of pedagogic practice:

'While competence models are characterised by a great measure of control of the acquirer over selection, sequence and pace and by implicit recognition and realisation rules, performance models place emphasis upon a specific output of the acquirer and upon the specialised skills necessary to the production of this specific output, text or product.' (Bernstein, 1996: 58)

He further identified a new modality emergent within performance models which he termed the 'generic mode' (Bernstein, 2000: 53) which presented some characteristics which gave interesting particularities to this pedagogic modality, namely its recontextualising location, its focus on extra-school objectives and its focus on the concept of trainability. It is these particularities that distinguish generic performance modalities from visible pedagogy. The movement of the recontextualisation location is particularly significant in that 'generic modes are constructed and distributed outside, and independently of, pedagogic recontextualising fields' (Bernstein, 2000: 53). There has been a growing tendency, particularly in the past 25 years, for the state agencies and quangos of the official recontextualising field (ORF) to dominate those of the pedagogic recontextualising field (PRF), the central state exerting more complete control over appropriation, distribution and circulation of educational theories and discourses. As certain groups and intellectuals from the PRF are assimilated into the ORF, spearheaded not least by making research funding more conditional in focus upon the effectivity of official goals and programmes, the relative autonomy of the PRF has been reduced. This is in direct contrast both to earlier forms of performance modes, for example as exemplified by pre-National Curriculum secondary school, subject centred pedagogic practice and competence models, such as underpinned the relative 'child-centredness' of British primary practice of the same era, when the PRF was largely autonomous from the ORF. Generic performance models have arisen out of direct involvement of state agencies in recontextualisation of knowledge, shifting the focus of education towards preparation for work and life, in pursuit of endless trainability.

Where earlier performance models privileged the subject or knowledge 'region' to be acquired by learners and competence models focused on the educational experience of the pupil and the particularities of their texts, generic performance models focus on an external objective usually defined in terms of economic system performance. Moreover:

'Generic modes are not simply economic pedagogic procedures of acquisition but are based on a new concept of work and life, a concept of work and life that might be called 'short-termism'. This is where a skill, task, area of work, undergoes continuous development, disappearance or replacement; where life experience cannot be based on stable expectations of the future and one's location in it. Under these circumstances it is considered that a new vital ability must be developed: 'trainability', the ability to profit from continuous pedagogic re-formations and so with the new requirements of 'work' and 'life' (Bernstein, 2000: 59)

The concept of trainability neatly encapsulates the on-going and open-ended process of education and re-education in a shifting world of employment. The dominant pedagogic model is a performance one because it focuses on acquisition of skills and or knowledge related to a certain output or product but it is generic because it is constantly changing and volatile.

A relationship can now be posited between increasingly 'flexible' capitalism and this emerging pedagogic mode. Rapid production and circulation of knowledge are held to be essential for economic performance, with knowledge becoming a tangible raw material for the process of production. Knowledge, therefore, becomes capital, possession of which is a prerequisite for acquisition of material wealth. Thus, the market determines the nature of useful knowledge and the dominant pedagogy. A competence pedagogic modality, distanced from 'work and life', having reliance on habitus rather than marketable knowledge, is not well-suited to the demands of a market-driven knowledge economy. A generic performance pedagogic modality, on the other hand, is pictured as adapting itself well to rapid transformation of knowledge and its economic applications necessitated in an ever-changing world of work. The key characteristic here becomes 'trainability' or the ability to learn:

'The concept of trainability places the emphasis upon 'something' the actor must possess in order for the actor to be appropriately formed and re-formed according to technological, organisational and market contingencies. This 'something', the key to trainability, which is now crucial to the survival of the actor, crucial for the economy, and crucial for society, is the ability to be taught, the ability to respond effectively to concurrent, subsequent and intermittent pedagogies.' (Bernstein, 2001: 11)

Bernstein warned of the social consequences of this 'short-termism'. The concept of 'trainability', he claimed, 'erodes commitment, dedication, coherent time, and it is therefore socially empty.' (*ibid.*)

4.6.8 Pedagogy and democracy

Bernstein's final volume, *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity* (Bernstein, 1996, 2000) was prefaced by an introductory section entitled Democracy and Pedagogic Rights. In this section he addressed some of the larger issues relevant to his research and arising from the relationship between democracy and education. He asserted that:

'(E)ducation is central to the knowledge base of society, groups and individuals. Yet education also, like health, is a public institution, central to the production and reproduction of distributive injustices.' (Bernstein, 2000: xix)

Bernstein claimed that the realisation of democracy within schools is dependent upon the institutionalisation of three interrelated rights which are defined as enhancement, inclusion and participation. Bernstein saw individual enhancement as the right to experience boundaries as 'tension points between the past and possible futures [...] it is the right to the means of critical understanding and to new possibilities' (Bernstein, 2000: xx). This right is the condition for confidence and operates at the individual level. The second right is the right to be included: 'socially, intellectually, culturally and personally.' (*ibid.*) Bernstein pointed out, however, that to be included is not to be absorbed and may involve the right to remain autonomous. He asserted that inclusion is 'a condition for *communitas*' (*ibid.*) and, thus, operates at the social level. The right to participate is stated as the third right. In Bernstein's view, participation was not only about discourse but also about practice directly related to outcomes. He, therefore, defined it as the right to participate in situations where order is formed and changed and, thus, to operate at the civic level. He summarised these relationships diagrammatically as:

<i>Rights</i>	<i>Conditions</i>	<i>Levels</i>
Enhancement	Confidence	Individual
Inclusion	Communitas	Social
Participation	Civic discourse	Political

(Bernstein, 2000: xxi)

Bernstein examined how we may use this model to ask how distributive principles within schools work with respect of access and acquisition to images, knowledge and resources, areas that are particularly important to my own project.

According to Bernstein, (2000: xxi) the school may act as a mirror in which an image is reflected. The image may be positive or negative. The ideology of the school may be viewed as a device within the mirror through which images are reflected, of which, crucially:

'The question is: who recognises themselves as of value? What other images are excluded by the dominant image of value so that some students are unable to recognise themselves?'

Similarly, he suggested that the 'school acoustic', as he terms it, may determine 'whose voice is heard, who is speaking and who is hailed by this voice?' In summary, he concluded that the images reflected by the school are 'projections of a hierarchy of values, of class values'. Bernstein claimed that knowledge is differentially distributed within the school according to social group, carrying inequalities of value, power and potential and that material resources follow distribution of 'images, knowledge and possibilities' in that the relation between resources and the hierarchy of knowledge and images is inverted, those at the top of the hierarchy receiving more and those at the bottom less in terms of their '*needs and conditions of effective support*'. (original emphasis) 'This maldistribution of resources, certainly outside the school and often within it, affects access to and acquisition of school knowledge.' Access to effective formal education is dependent upon provision of types of school of equivalent value, pre-school education for those for whom it is appropriate and effective medical, social and vocational support agencies. Moreover:

'Acquisition requires effectively trained, committed, motivated and adequately salaried teachers with career prospects, sensible to the possibilities and contribution of all their pupils, operating in a context which provides the

conditions for effective acquisition, and an education which enables reflection on what is to be acquired and how it is to be acquired.' (Bernstein, 2000: xxii)

Bernstein suggested that there is a direct relationship between social group and acquisition of knowledge in that unequal distribution of images, knowledges, possibilities and resources affects rights of participation, inclusion and individual enhancement. Furthermore, pupils who do not receive these rights in school, he suggested, are likely to come from social groups who do not receive these rights in society. Bernstein then asks how schools should deal with the relationship between social group and differential power relationships outside and hierarchies of knowledge, opportunity and value within themselves. At this point, he referred to Bourdieu's proposal that schools achieve this 'trick' by appearing neutral, by suggesting that they are governed by different principles and hierarchies to those of external agencies. Bourdieu proposed that this trick allows the school to disguise the ways in which external power relations actually produce the hierarchies of knowledge, opportunity and value within the school. However, by divorcing its own hierarchies from those outside the school, the school actually legitimises social inequalities deriving from differential educational attainment. Bourdieu terms this '*la violence symbolique*'. Bernstein (2000: xxiii) added the rider that, in his view, we may not be as naïve as Bourdieu suggests:

'I feel very confident that some social groups are aware that schooling is not neutral, that it presupposes familial power both material and discursive, and that such groups use this knowledge to improve their children's pedagogic progress. It may be that they have to rationalise their children's success by believing that their children *deserve* such success while others do not.'

4.7. Culture, power and pedagogy

Culture, power and pedagogy have become key themes in my attempts at unravelling the problems of secondary school music. In this chapter I have attempted to outline the main debates underpinning sociological discussions of the relationships between culture and power from Marx, Durkheim and Weber to Bourdieu and Bernstein. These writers cast new light upon my consideration of the problems facing the music curriculum as identified in the foregoing chapters which represent my awareness of issues as I framed and first worked on this project. I have attempted to subject my data to examination using a conceptual framework acknowledging Bourdieu's analysis of culture and society but focusing predominantly on Bernstein's

theories which allow detailed analysis of pedagogic discourse and practice or the pedagogic device. As I have pondered the problem that I have been researching, more and more occasions have presented themselves in which the theoretical concepts of Bernstein have appeared as necessary to an examination of the assertions of Bourdieu. I had at one point intended to write this chapter by relating Bourdieu's theories to my own concerns and then to turn to Bernstein and the ways in which his theories allowed investigation of the issues. I found, however, that it was impossible to write about the issues in relation to Bourdieu alone; as I discussed Bourdieu Bernstein kept presenting means of explanation and analysis. The discussion that follows, therefore, is placed in the context of both theorists with Bernstein acknowledged as the principal theorist for the purposes of this study.

Bourdieu viewed culture as a social product and, as such, subject to ideological and material conflicts, evolving or reproducing as collective patterns of preference are mobilised by social groups to preserve or enhance their interests. He viewed cultural products as symbolic capital capable of use in social domination of one group over another. He furthermore identified culture as influential in providing a badge of membership of a social class and thereby denoting differential positioning within the social field. These assertions raise interesting questions regarding the field of music education and its relationship to class and culture. It is necessary to use the concepts of Bernstein, however, to express and explore them. Firstly, is it possible to identify relationships between culture and power within the pedagogic device as it relates to music education at the study school which I have called Aberquaver? To begin with the pedagogic discourse of music at the site of its formation, can relationships between power and culture be discerned in Bernstein's official and pedagogic recontextualising fields of music education at the primary context, that is at the level of state formation of the discourse of school music? How have such relationships influenced the music curriculum passed down to the teacher that I have called Mrs Metronome for delivery to her pupils and how relevant is this curriculum to pupils' experience of music outside the school? Exploring this idea at the next level according to Bernstein's framework, is it then possible to establish relationships between culture and power within the secondary context of pedagogic recontextualisation, the school? How do these constrain or permit Mrs Metronome to deliver the music curriculum to her pupils To what extent does she recontextualise the official music curriculum for transmission to her pupils? Can we, then, use Bernstein's analytical framework to establish how the pedagogic discourse of music is transmitted and evaluated at the level of the classroom?

Bernstein's work on codes and Bourdieu's concept of habitus suggest some interesting explanations of music education. Are there *musical* codes at work within the pedagogic discourse of music related to musical habitus that differentially affect access to the curriculum? -How far is it based upon prior musical tuition outside the curriculum? Is this related to social class? We know that it is predominantly middle class pupils (Green, 2005) that have access to private instrumental tuition but does this advantage these pupils in terms of accessing the school music curriculum at Aberquaver? What of those pupils who learn instruments from the rock/pop genres often taught and acquired informally by peer learning and teaching? Are these pupils disadvantaged in terms of access to the curriculum or does the mode of transmission of music in Aberquaver allow them to have equal access?

My consideration of Bourdieu's cultural theory has also led me to enquire as to whether a cultural inversion may not at present be occurring in twenty first century capitalist society and the effects that this may have upon the school music curriculum. This led to the formulation of Figure 2 which posits that cultural capital may be taking new forms not necessarily linked to high or elite culture. It suggests the question as to whether, as society reproduces and expands cultural realms, high or elite culture is losing its Bourdieuan connection to higher social status and greater material wealth. In the past, it could be argued that music teachers who presented a Western Art Music dominated version of the official music curriculum were able to perpetuate the relationship between elite culture and power by sharing in a common, aesthetic, evaluative schema with their pupils. This schema relied upon an established social order and common understanding of the superiority of high art over low or mass culture. There is certainly a view that until the latter part of the twentieth century Bourdieu's analysis of cultural practices and their links to occupational and social fields held true, with wealth being distributed in the main differentially to those who had acquired an education that, along with positioning the recipient preferentially to acquire material wealth through career, also provided a sufficiently high art education to allow access to decoding the art forms produced therein. Those who acquired material wealth by other means generally bought into the secret society of elite culture for their children through securing them the appropriate education. The growth of popular culture over the past fifty years or so, however, could be seen to have slowly eroded the strength of the relationship between high culture and social status. As a new form of capitalism has emerged, bringing with it multiple personifications of the *nouveaux riches*, the need for these new middle classes, if

such they are, to participate in the secret society of high culture could be seen to be disappearing. Bourdieu's contention that parents seek to advance the social status of their children by ensuring that they receive 'the right education' may not extend to cultural education. Perhaps many parents do not confirm the importance of an understanding of elite culture in their children's education and therefore do not underpin the tacit or overt acceptance of a high art music curriculum as of importance to their children. This has been advanced as one possible explanation for the failure of Music to attract increasing numbers of students to pursue it as a voluntary subject at KS4 in many schools. How school music teachers responds to this cultural inversion may be of critical importance to the success or otherwise of music as a curriculum subject in their particular schools. The cultural relevance of both ideological and material curriculum matter and the modes of transmission may be of central importance to maintaining its accessibility and interest with pupils.

Perhaps more worryingly, what Bernstein points to in the concept of trainability within the Totally Pedagogised Society and education as preparation for work and life may have much to do with this situation. In a society where emphasis is placed upon the ability to recreate oneself professionally as required and where the ultimate educational goal is a workforce capable of meeting the demands of the ever-changing marketplace, the status of a subject, such as Music, with few perceived employment outcomes, must be questionable. The questions this raises about the loss of education in expressive and emotional development and its implications for future generations and future societies are alarming and possible indicative of the 'short termism' in educational philosophy and planning referred to by Bernstein. The emphasis placed by pupils upon usefulness of KS4 subject choices in terms of employment outcomes or career plans appears worthy of investigation in this context and I hope to explore this issue through my data analysis.

Finally, the issues surrounding democracy and education as presented by Bernstein in his final work are of intense relevance to my own research: 'Education is central to the knowledge base of society, groups and individuals. Yet education also, like health, is a public institution, central to the production and reproduction of distributive injustices.' (Bernstein, 2000: xix). A music curriculum which attracts only 8% of pupils on average nationally to continue to study the subject could surely be subject to the accusation of being undemocratic. Bernstein claimed that the realisation of democracy within schools is dependent upon the institutionalisation of three interrelated rights which are defined as enhancement, inclusion and

participation, each of which bear upon my own enquiry in examining social, pedagogic and organisational factors affecting children's experiences of the KS3 music curriculum. As discussed earlier, Bernstein suggests that there is direct relationship between social groups and acquisition of knowledge in that unequal distribution of images, knowledges, possibilities and resources affects rights of participation, inclusion and individual enhancement. Furthermore, pupils who do not receive these rights in school, he suggests, are likely to come from social groups who do not receive these rights in society. I am interested to discover whether the relationships identified by Bernstein above exist within the secondary school music classroom and whether Mrs Metronome had discovered, as her KS4 Music uptake figures of 20-25% of the KS4 cohort annually would suggest, ways to make music as a curriculum subject more democratic in terms of enhancement, inclusion and participation. This further raises the question of the image of themselves as musicians that is presented to pupils at Aberquaver and whether the reflection these pupils see of themselves is one of ability and possibility.

Bernstein asks how schools should deal with relationship between social groups and differential power relationships without and hierarchies of knowledge, opportunity and value within themselves. I propose to ask precisely these questions of the music education curriculum taking as a focus for examination the music education experiences of the teaching group that I call 9C in Aberquaver.

Chapter Five

Methodology

5.1 Settling a research design

As outlined in Chapter One fieldwork went through several stages of design and re-design following a pilot study conducted in the summer of 2003. My original intention had been to conduct a two by two case study examining two schools where music in schools went well and two where it did not, one in each case with relatively high and low social class intakes, hoping that factors that accounted for 'difference' would emerge from these comparisons. As a preliminary to the present project, I visited four possible schools that were selected on the basis that they fitted the sample criteria. In each of them I trialled an initial version of the questionnaire with one class of Year 8 pupils (n=120) (Wright and Thomas, 2003). From this data I made initial contact with the field and was able to identify redundant questionnaire items and refine the focus of my research interests for the full project. However, as is often the case in lone, part-time, professionally inspired projects, the normative thrust of my intentions rather outran my theoretic grasp. As I read more deeply into theory and methodology I became concerned that to replicate such an approach for the present project would be flawed on two levels, firstly in terms of the superficiality of the data collected, given the amount of time that I would be able to spend in each location and, secondly that it might merely replicate the findings of other descriptive studies, such as that of Harland, Kinder, Lord, Stott, Schagen, Haynes, Cusworth, White and Paola (2000) and add very little additional insight into the problem's complexities.

I began to explore the literature regarding ethnography and, in particular, Finney's (2003a) account of his ethnographic work in the music department of a secondary school. It appeared to me that a more in-depth study of one particular location might actually present some amplification of existing data and allow me to generate through 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) a detailed picture of the problem of school music as it presented in one particular location. Although the generalisability of the findings from this study might be limited they might also strike chords with other researchers and teachers in other locations and add

another piece to the professional and pedagogic puzzle that carried some conceptual weight. As a major step in my fieldwork decision making, therefore, I settled upon an ethnographic case study of one school and its music, further refining this to a detailed study of one Year 9 class facing option choice decisions for KS4 study in the following autumn.

5.2 Ontological, epistemological and methodological decisions

Hitchcock and Hughes (1995:21) posited that methodology derives from ontological and epistemological assumptions. To put this more plainly, they suggest that the ways in which we conduct research (or arrive at understanding of the world) are drawn from the ways in which we see and know the world and our internal interpretive schema for that knowing. Educational research was defined by Brown and Dowling (1998: 137) as: 'the production of a coherent set of statements [...] established and located within explicitly stated theoretical and empirical contexts.' For these authors: ' (T)he research process begins with vagueness and hesitance and plurality and moves towards precision and coherence.' They suggested that this process can be conceptualised in one of two possible ways; firstly as the imposition of meaning, entailing a constructive perspective, or secondly as the discovery of an established order, taking a realist perspective. There has been a long standing debate within the research community as to the merits of these two perspectives. The following sections will address the arguments proposed by the proponents of each and explain the ontological and epistemological decisions I took when deriving my own methodology for the present study.

5.3 Vertical and Horizontal Discourse

To explain the decisions taken concerning my methodology I need to start from an understanding of the different ways in which social science has suggested that the world may be viewed and understood and where in this spectrum I position myself as a researcher. Bernstein (1999:159) suggested that knowledge or discourse could be described as taking two forms, vertical and horizontal:

'a vertical discourse takes the form of a coherent, explicit, and systematically principled structure, hierarchically organised, as in the

sciences, *or* (my italics) it takes the form of a series of specialised languages with specialised modes of interrogation and specialised criteria for the production and circulation of texts, as in the social sciences and humanities.'

The reason for the italicisation of the word '*or*' in the quotation above will become clear when we come to discuss knowledge structures below. Horizontal discourse, on the other hand, is described by Bernstein (ibid.) as 'everyday or 'common-sense' knowledge'. According to Bernstein this form has a number of features: 'it is likely to be oral, local, context dependent and specific, tacit, multi-layered, and contradictory across but not within contents.' For Bernstein (1999: 160), however, the crucial point about this form of discourse was that it was segmental. Thus:

'(T)he segmental organisation of the 'knowledges' of horizontal discourse leads to segmentally structured acquisitions. There is no necessary relation between what is learned in the different segments [...] as acquisition arises from discrete segments, pedagogic practice may well vary with the segment. Thus similar segments across social groups/classes may differ in the code modality regulating acquisition.'

Bernstein (p.159) suggested that knowledge circulates within these forms of discourse through 'recontextualisation and evaluation motivated by strong distributive procedures' where '(H)orizontal discourse in its acquisition becomes the major cultural relay' (p. 160). He further suggested that the form of acquisition involved in the transmission of horizontal discourse is determined by the nature of the pedagogy used, distinguishing between the segmental nature of pedagogy involved in the transmission of horizontal discourses and the 'institutional pedagogy' employed in the transmission of vertical discourses. Horizontal discourses are, therefore, characterised by segmental acquisition; the knowledge acquired in one segment is not related to or dependent upon that acquired in another. Bernstein exemplifies in terms of the lack of relationship between learning to tie one's shoe laces and learning to use the lavatory correctly. The one has no bearing upon the other. Bernstein (1999: 161) identified segmental pedagogy as normally occurring in face to face situations with a 'strong affective loading as in the family, peer group or local community'.

5.4 Vertical and horizontal knowledge structures

The language of description Bernstein was developing here was taken

one stage further to distinguish between vertical and horizontal knowledge structures within vertical discourse itself. The basis for this distinction comes from the italicised word 'or' found in the description of vertical discourse given at Section 5.3 above and repeated for ease of analysis here:

'a vertical discourse takes the form of a coherent, explicit, and systematically principled structure, hierarchically organised, as in the sciences, *or* (my italics) it takes the form of a series of specialised languages with specialised modes of interrogation and specialised criteria for the production and circulation of texts, as in the social sciences and humanities.' (Bernstein, 1999: 159)

Vertical discourse is described as comprising two 'modalities of knowledge' (Bernstein 1999: 162). The former, 'a coherent, explicit, and systematically principled structure, hierarchically organised, as in the sciences' is a hierarchical or vertical knowledge structure, acquired in the form of a pyramid, based around the formulation of propositions and theories which build upon and incorporate knowledge at a lower level. Bernstein described these as being based, therefore, on integrating codes. The latter, 'a series of specialised languages with specialised modes of interrogation and specialised criteria for the production and circulation of texts, as in the social sciences and humanities' are described as horizontal knowledge structures. Bernstein described these as collection or serial codes in that knowledge is expanded or added to in a linear fashion with acquisition of one segment not necessarily being dependent upon or related to acquisition of any other. Whereas vertical knowledge structures, such as the sciences seek to develop theory which is 'more general, more integrating, than previous theory.' (p. 163), Bernstein claimed that the same cannot be said to be true for horizontal knowledge structures, such as sociology and the sociologies of other disciplines. The languages involved in individual horizontal knowledge structures are not translatable. They, therefore, tend to become increasingly specialised and exclusive. Furthermore, Bernstein (p. 164) distinguished between those horizontal knowledge structures characterised by strong grammars and those with weaker ones. Strong grammar in this context is defined as: 'an explicit contextual syntax capable of 'relatively' precise empirical descriptions and/or generating formal modelling of empirical relations.' Mathematics and logic are identified as possessing strong grammars within horizontal knowledge structures, whereas sociology and cultural studies are among these described by Bernstein as possessing weaker grammars. It is, therefore, suggested that transmission and acquisition of languages within fields, such as the social sciences entails an

element of selection, ordering and recontextualisation of the languages chosen for transmission with the opportunity for the transmitter's particular affiliations to enter the field. As Bernstein so aptly puts it 'the social basis of the principle of this recontextualising indicates whose 'social' is speaking.' He argued (p. 165) that within hierarchical knowledge structures it is the theory that 'counts' above all and that this makes the 'recognition and construction of legitimate texts much less problematic' than within more weakly controlled horizontal knowledge structures. In the latter what counts has to be the language itself:

'its position, its perspective, the acquirer's 'gaze', rather than any one exemplary theory (although the exemplary theory may be the originator of the linguistic position). In the case of horizontal knowledge structures especially those with weak grammars, 'truth' is a matter of acquired 'gaze'; no-one can be eyeless in this Gaza.' (*ibid.*)

Bernstein described weakly grammaticised, horizontal knowledge structures as being 'volatile' in terms of additions and omissions of languages. They are, moreover, segmental. The particularly fragmented nature of these horizontal knowledge structures poses significant challenges to those attempting to research within the field of social science. How does one research within a discipline which Bernstein (1999: 170) likens to 'rather like visiting a gallery where paintings are in continuous motion, some being taken down, others replacing and all in an unfinished state'? He suggests (p. 167) that 'acquisition of horizontal discourse is a tacit acquisition of a particular view of cultural realities, or rather a way of realising these realities' and that separation of the internal conditions of discourse from those external conditions of field is dangerous and that 'field and discourse are inter-related and inter-dependent'. (p. 166). What we need, then, are languages of description rooted in particular fields of the research, providing researchers with a 'gaze' that allows convincing and theoretically defensible explanation of the research subject. Bernstein (p. 170) suggests that a possible approach might be:

'[T]he analysis which takes as its point of departure the internal properties of forms of discourse, reveals the inter-dependence between properties internal to the discourse and the social context, field/arena, in which they are enacted and constituted. Briefly 'relations within' and 'relations to' should be integrated in the analysis.'

As researchers in the social sciences have, wittingly or unwittingly, come to

similar conclusions and have attempted to design research that addresses these issues, this goes some way towards explaining the recent challenges to traditional, positivistic, realist approaches to educational research by naturalistic or interpretivist, constructivist paradigms and the recent return to favour of approaches, such as ethnography.

5.5 Positivism

The term positivism is attributed to Comte, a 19th century French philosopher who used it for the first time to describe a philosophical position whereby social phenomena are described by means of scientific investigation (Acton, 1975; Beck, 1979; Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000). Comte's realist approach to social science research led to a general doctrine of positivism (Cohen, Manion and Morrisson, 2003) which was to dominate research in the social sciences for the century to come. Positivism originated from the empiricist tradition which claimed that 'all genuine knowledge is based on sense experience and can only be advanced by means of observation and experiment.' (Cohen, Manion and Morrisson, 2003: 8). Only knowledge gained through the senses could be firmly established as 'true', limiting what could be researched to that capable of proof through empirical demonstration. Since Comte the term positivism has been used in a plethora of different ways whose root belief has been that the approaches used by the natural sciences are the only means by which one can arrive at certainty. Giddens (1975) identified a series of suppositions connected to this fundamental belief including that: the methodological approaches of the natural sciences may be applied to the social sciences with positivist researchers adopting a certain stance in relation to the social phenomena observed; and that the results of social science research may be expressed in similar ways to those of natural science research i.e. in terms of laws or similar generalisable expressions, thus social scientists analyse or interpret an existing order in their subject matter

Though positivism has tended to be characterised by the claim that science provides us with the ultimate form of knowledge, it, or at least badly designed versions of it, can be less than successful when applied to the study of human behaviour, with its purposive complexities. Here the contrast between the 'elusive and intangible quality of social phenomena' (Cohen, Manion and Morrisson, 2003: 9) and the ordered regularity of the natural world presents

positivist researchers with some alarming obstacles. Perhaps this can be seen nowhere so clearly as in the problems inherent in researching classrooms and schools. The interplay of factors affecting learning, teaching and human interaction and their situatedness within complex social structures poses some fundamental questions as to the appropriateness of positivist methodologies used in isolation from approaches allowing interpretation of the complex web of less tangible factors in presenting the full picture of the situation observed.

5.6 Interpretivism

The backlash against positivism began in the second half of the 19th century. Many European intellectuals protested against the view of the world presented in its terms. William Blake was among the most vocal of the critics. He 'would have us understand that mechanistic science and the philosophy of materialism eliminate the concept of life itself.' (Nesfield-Cookson, 1987: 23) A later challenge came from Kierkegaard (1974:137), originator of the existentialist movement in philosophy, who fiercely defended the role of subjectivity in research and the right of the individual to consider their own relationship to the focus of the inquiry:

'When the question of truth is raised in an objective manner, reflection is directed objectively to the truth as an object to which the knower is related. Reflection is not focussed upon the relationship, however, but upon the question of whether it is the truth to which the knower is related.'

Ions (1977), Roszak (1970) and Holbrook (1977), among others, have objected to the dehumanising nature of positivist research in social contexts. Horkheimer (1972) critiqued positivism, objecting to quantification of human activity as an end itself and calling it 'the mathematicising of nature'. Roszak (1970: 55) stated that:

'While the art and literature of our time tell us with ever more desperation that the disease from which our age is dying is that of alienation, the sciences, in their relentless pursuit of objectivity, raise alienation to its apotheosis as our *only* means of achieving a valid relationship to reality.'

Hampden-Turner (1970) criticised the positivist perspective as not producing an accurate impression of human beings, suggesting that focussing on repeated patterns of behaviour which are predictable, invariable and allow quantification, engenders research bias and ignores important elements of the subjective.

Habermas (1972), from within the Frankfurt School of sociology and its approach to critical theory, argued that scientific knowledge had become elevated to the status of a quasi-religion (scientism) and was occupying the position of the only recognised epistemology of the West. He saw this as a serious threat to creative, humanitarian elements of behaviour. For both him and Horkheimer (1972) scientism 'silences an important debate about values, informed opinion, moral judgements and beliefs' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000: 19), striking at the fundamental nature of humanity by treating the subjects of its research as objects. The alternatives to positivist approaches to research in the social sciences are described as naturalistic or interpretive approaches.

As described in Section 5.4 social science is a horizontal knowledge structure with weak grammar has numerous languages of description and equally numerous modes of investigation, many falling under the general heading of naturalistic or interpretive research. Increasingly less in common is a belief that human behaviour can be described as being governed by general, universal laws. Furthermore, interpretivists believe that the world of an individual can only be understood from the standpoint of those involved in the ongoing action. The idea of researchers as detached and objective is rejected and replaced by one where they attempt to become, to greater or lesser extent, part of the world of their research subjects, attempting to share their world view. (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2003)

In the world of sociology, anti-positivist movements have given rise to three major epistemologies of possible relevance to our concerns: phenomenology, symbolic interactionism and ethnography. All busy themselves with observation of phenomena capable of being apprehended by our senses, with emphasis on qualitative rather than quantitative procedures. These will be briefly discussed below as context for the selection of an ethnographic case-study approach to this present research.

5.6.1 Phenomenology

In the broadest sense phenomenology involves a 'study of human experience taken at face value' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2000: 23). Phenomenology sees human behaviour as governed by experience rather than by external reality. Husserl and Schutz were notable proponents of

phenomenology in various forms, the former credited by many as its founder, questioning the foundations of mathematics and science and the basis of many everyday assumptions. (Burrell and Morgan, 1979) Husserl advocated that one should 'put the world in brackets' to free oneself from preconceptions about the world. (Warnock, 1970) Schutz wished to transfer Husserl's ideas to the world of sociology and the scientific study of social behaviour. He worked to understand 'the meaning structure of the world of everyday life' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2003: 24), believing that humans use a process of 'meaning reflexivity' to turn back on the 'inner stream of consciousness' to make sense of their lived experiences and develop 'ideal types' to make sense of the behaviour of others.

5.6.2 Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism largely derived from the work of members of the Chicago School of sociology and notably that of Mead (1934). According to Fulcher and Scott (2003) it is one of the more fragmented languages within the field of social sciences with a variety of affiliations to concepts and assumptions held across its various proponents. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000: 25), however, felt capable, following Woods (1979), of reducing it to three basic postulates: human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings they have for them; they inhabit two different worlds, the natural and the social; and the attribution of meanings to objects is what makes human beings human. 'Interactionists therefore focus on the world of subjective meanings and the symbols by which they are produced and represented'. For them action is not merely the consequence of psychological factors or social structures or roles, it is part of a continuous process of meaning attribution. This pragmatic philosophy gave rise to a new way of understanding social actors and events and strengthened support for qualitative researchers' ability to take account of the world views of their subjects and the social situations in which their work took place.

5.6.3 Ethnography

Ethnos is a Greek word meaning a people, race or cultural group. (Smith, 1989) When *ethnos* is combined with *graphic* the term formed refers to the 'the sub-discipline known as descriptive anthropology – in its broadest sense the science devoted to describing ways of life of humankind.' (Vidich and Lyman,

2000: 37). Peacock (1986) suggested that ethnography is a social scientific study of a people and their peoplehood. Early ethnography originated from the 'discovery of the other' (Vidich and Lyman, 2000:40), particularly the discovery by colonialists of 'primitive' peoples living in different ways to those common among peoples of the West. Early ethnographers were missionaries, explorers, buccaneers and colonial administrators (Vidich and Lyman, 2000: 41). These researchers provided detailed studies of the lives of the peoples they lived among, often from perspectives that contrasted the world views of these perceived as 'primitive', pagan societies with that of the Christian colonialist. Later Western academic researchers, such as Malinowski (1922) became or attempted to be objective observers of 'strange' cultures, immersing themselves in the lives of peoples they studied for long periods of time, learning their language and conducting detailed observations of their behaviour and cultural practices. Originally, therefore, the location of anthropological ethnographic research tended to the geographically distant and unknown. However, time has seen the number of undiscovered peoples and cultures diminish. Alongside this has grown a discomfort with the 'self-assumed colonial authority' (Brown and Dowling 2001, p43) of foreign researchers to conduct this type of research. This has seen the sites of ethnographic research coming closer to home as we have begun to apply its techniques to their own lives and the contexts. As Brown and Dowling (2001: 43) saw it, the challenge in this post-colonial ethnography is to 'strip away our assumptions and everyday understandings to render the world around us "anthropologically strange"'.

For LeCompte and Preissle (1993: 235) ethnographic research was a process involving methods of inquiry, an outcome and a resultant record. The intention of such research was to provide as vivid a reconstruction as possible of the culture or groups being studied. Other writers, such as Lincoln and Guba (1985: 39-43, cited in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000: 138), have suggested further axioms for ethnographic research in the social sciences. Firstly, they assert that research must be conducted in the natural setting/s of the research subjects as 'context is heavily implicated in meaning;' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000: 138). Secondly they advise that in this sort of research it is researchers themselves who the research instruments so that it is necessary to be aware that their tacit knowledge will inevitably enter the research. They suggest that qualitative methods are, therefore, likely to be more appropriate in such circumstances. Purposive samples are most likely to allow a full range of

issues to be explored within such a research paradigm. Data analysis is most likely to be inductive (arising from the data) in such a normative/interpretive perspective, rather than *a priori* and deductive (the discovery of existing pattern or order) as behoves the realist/positivist. Theory will emerge rather than being pre-ordained, more appropriately grounded than *a priori*. In such studies research designs tend to emerge and sampling to change over time. It is likely that the research outcomes will be negotiated with research subjects. Finally, Cohen, Manion and Morrison suggested that the natural mode of such work will be the case study, its interpretation idiographic (constructivist) rather than nomothetic (realist), its applications tentative and pragmatic, the focus of studies determining their boundaries and trustworthiness being the measure of data rather than conventional issues of validity and reliability.

5.7 Choosing ethnography

While ethnomethodology examines the world of everyday life, Garfinkel (1967: 27), one of its principal proponents, describing it as setting out:

‘to treat practical activities, practical circumstances, and practical sociological reasonings as topics of empirical study, and by paying to the most commonplace activities of daily life the attention normally accorded to extraordinary events, seeks to learn about them as phenomena in their own right’

a less rigorous ethnographic approach appeared to me to be best for examining the complex issues surrounding the problem in music education that I had identified. Not only did an ethnographic approach promise to allow me to construct a view of the reality of musical life for pupils and teachers in the school but also allow opportunities to obtain a great deal of data, allowing ‘thick description’ (Geertz, 1973) of the situations that I wished to observe. In undertaking this kind of project there are issues of recontextualisation of which one must be aware. The process of selection and rejection of data begins immediately upon commencement of research. The very acts of choosing a location for, which group of subjects to study and deciding which people will be asked to provide information involves choices upon the part of researchers. Moreover, once information is obtained processes of analytic selection and rejection will begin to which researchers bring their own subconscious, interpretive frameworks. One must be aware, therefore, that it is possible to turn

this kind of research into a platform for proselytising personal prejudice. It is, therefore, as important to investigate and elaborate upon data which runs contrary to previously held hypotheses or emerging theories as to examine that which supports these claims. The integrity of methodology in collection and interpretation of data must be ensured by being open to external scrutiny and considerations of subjectivity and objectivity. Although it is laudable to present as honestly as possible the views of one's research subjects on a given phenomenon, one also has to question the subjectivity of each participant's account. Researchers constantly refocus different participants' accounts of a phenomenon through the lens of their own observations to try to arrive at decontextualised explanations of phenomena observed.

A further element which requires care is the effect of observers on the observed. The presence of observers immediately changes the situation under observation. Brown and Dowling (2001: 47) refer to this as the 'epistemological paradox'. This has an impact on ethnographic researchers at whichever end of the non-participant/participant scale they seek to locate themselves. Writers question whether it is possible for researchers to be either a complete participant or a complete non-participant observer. Advice seems to suggest (Brown and Dowling, 2001) that the best one can do is to be as aware as possible of the effects of one's presence on the situation being observed and the impact this has on the integrity of the data. One also needs to be conscious of the image one presents as an observer. Research needs to be designed in such a way as to minimise effects that may compromise the study. One approach to this is to habituate participants to the presence of the observer before data collection actually begins.

5.8 Case study

Stake (2000: 435) asserted that:

'(C)ase study is not a methodological choice but a choice of what is to be studied. By whatever methods we choose to study the case [...] we concentrate, at least for the time being, on the case.'

Case study as a research design has become popular with social science researchers as a means whereby multiple methods, such as interviewing, observation, documentary analysis and questionnaires can be juxtaposed by a

single researcher to produce rounded, holistic, pieces of research. The essential criteria for such research are that the 'problem' is conceived in theoretical terms, employs means informed by them and analysis that is conceptually cogent, as well as descriptively faithful. It also fits well into an ethnographic design in focusing on detailed description of a bounded research context.

According to Stake (1995: xi) '(C)ase study is the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances.' He differentiated three types, intrinsic, instrumental and collective. An intrinsic case study is described as one where the research is undertaken:

'because, first and last, the researcher wants better understanding of this particular case. Here it is not undertaken primarily because the case represents other cases or because it illustrates a particular trait or problem, but because, in all its particularity *and* ordinariness, this case itself is of interest.' (Stake, 2000: 437).

An instrumental case study, on the other hand, is studied because it is 'instrumental to understanding something else' (Stake, 1995: 3). Often it originates from a research question to which one wishes to discover an answer:

'I call it *instrumental case study* if a particular case is examined mainly to provide insight into an issue or redraw a generalization. The case is of secondary interest, it plays a supportive role, and it facilitates our understanding of something else. The case is still looked at in depth, its contexts scrutinized, its ordinary activities detailed, but all because this helps the researcher to pursue the external interest.' (Stake, 2000: *loc.cit.*)

But as with so much research examining social phenomena, however, things are not quite as clear cut as this:

'Because the researcher simultaneously has several interests, particular and general, there is no line distinguishing intrinsic case study from instrumental case study; rather a zone of combined purpose separates them'.

This observation helped to clarify the tension I had been experiencing between my general, theoretical interests and their investigation through this particular case, on the one hand, and the growing conviction that there was much of interest and importance concerned with the case in itself. The realisation that this was not an unnatural situation to find oneself in was reassuring. It further helped

justify my rejection of the initial design for the study which had been based on Stake's (1995, 2000) collective case study methodology where, because there is 'even less intrinsic interest in one particular case, a researcher may jointly study a number of cases in order to investigate a phenomenon, population, or general condition' (Stake, 2000: *loc. cit.*). On reflection, having undertaken my fieldwork, I am content that the instrumental case study mode I chose allowed me to delve more deeply into the issues surrounding my topic than would have been the case had I attempted a collective case study. I would also have missed much that was of particular interest about this particular case in an intrinsic sense.

There has been controversy within the research community as to the extent to which single intrinsic/instrumental case study can be helpful to understanding larger issues. As Stake (2000: 439) observed:

'The search for particularity competes with the search for generalizability [...] Most academic researchers are supportive of the study of cases only if there is clear expectation of generalizability to other cases. Case-by-case uniqueness is seldom an ingredient of scientific theory'.

He immediately presented a rebuttal of this view citing supporting work from other researchers suggesting that:

'(A)t least as I see it, case study method has been too little honoured as the intrinsic study of a valued particular [...] Generalization should not be emphasised in all research (Feagin, Orum and Sjöberg, 1991, Simons, 1980).'

He further argued, however, that even intrinsic case studies cannot avoid generalization:

'Certainly they generalize to happenings of their cases at times yet to come and in other situations. They expect readers to comprehend the reported interpretations but to modify their (the readers') own.' [...] Even intrinsic case study can be seen as a small step toward grand generalization (Campbell, 1975, Vaughan, 1992), especially in the case that runs counter to the existing rule.'

In the context of the present study, the question under consideration was the nature, transmission, acquisition and evaluation of pedagogic discourse as factors in pupil choice of Music, post-fourteen. A case-study of a particular school

was instrumental to my understanding of these issues in relation to and within the field. The case was in itself of interest as it 'ran counter to the existing rule', in that 20% of pupils in the target group chose to study music as a KS4 subject compared to 8% in Wales as a whole. The case was, however, also instrumental to understanding some of the larger issues relating to the shape of curriculum subjects and their modes of transmission, acquisition and reception by pupils in secondary schools in the UK.

5.9 Putting it into practice

Ethnography requires 'immersion of the researcher in the practices in the empirical setting and sustained interaction with participants', whose putative advantages are that:

'the actions of participants are studied in the context in which they naturally occur. Furthermore, the researcher is making no attempt to manipulate what happens, but merely to observe and record.' (Brown and Dowling, 2001: 43)

in recognition of which I attended music lessons of the case study class throughout the period from September 2003 to April 2004 when students were required to make their option decisions. I carried out participant and non-participant observation, interviewed teacher and pupils, conducted focus group interviews with pupils and interviewed the school senior management team. I also reviewed school documentation, such as timetables, option choice booklets and music department schemes of work. My aim throughout this process was to establish as complete a description of the situation that I was researching as possible.

There are, however, as discussed previously, considerations that require care in such ethnographic inquiry. In any observational data collection method 'recontextualisation' is involved. (Brown and Dowling, 2001: 44). Data is collected and, perhaps even more importantly, described through the filter of the observer. It is, therefore, important that principles for the selection and recognition of information are made explicit from the start, to defend the validity and reliability of the data produced. Brown and Dowling (ibid) suggest that the following, paraphrased, questions are often left unanswered in reporting on ethnographic

enquiry:

- Why has a particular empirical setting been chosen for the research?
- Why have certain people been chosen as guides and informants?
- How is the genuineness and typicality of what is observed established?
- When conducting observation, why does the researcher notice some features of what happens and not others?
- How does the researcher decide what to record from their observations?

It is in this respect, following Bernstein (1996), that they argue theory should play an important role in providing guidelines for the collection of data, allowing articulation of situations observed, rationales for their observation and a framework for analysis of material collected. To clarify my methodology and ensure, hopefully, that I do not fall into the traps listed above, I deal with each of these points in turn.

5.9.1 Why has a particular empirical setting been chosen for the research?

When formulating my original 2x2 research design I had selected the case study school, referred to as Aberquaver for purposes of anonymity, as one of the research locations. I considered Aberquaver and its Music Department to be a good location for my fieldwork as I knew that it provided a very good standard of music education for its pupils, as judged by inspectorate and music advisory feedback. As I explained in Chapter One, having abandoned my original idea of comparing departments that differed in terms of the publicly acknowledged quality of the music that they offered and the socio-economic background of their pupils, I settled for the idea of investigating a context where 'things went well'. This, I hoped, would allow me to develop understanding of pupil choice untrammelled by curriculum weakness, poor pedagogy or behavioural difficulty. I had visited the school a few times as tutor to student music teachers but did not have close personal association with the head of music, henceforth called Mrs. Metronome. I considered this to be an advantage in giving a greater initial measure of objectivity to my perspective on events that I was likely to witness in the school. Notwithstanding the relative social disadvantage of the catchment area, only 10% of its pupils received free school meals, as opposed to 20.7% in the authority as a whole (NAW, 2004) and 17.7% nationally in Wales (see

Section 6.2) the uptake of Key Stage 4 music was on average 25% of the cohort. It appeared interesting, therefore, to investigate in this context the factors that motivated pupils to continue with their study of music after age fourteen.

I had approached the head teacher of Aberquaver to request permission to conduct research in the music department prior to conducting the pilot study in the summer of 2003. After revision of my approach, I re-contacted the head teacher to discuss my intention to carry out an ethnographic approach and request anew permission to conduct such a project in his school. He asked me to discuss the new approach with Mrs. Metronome and, subject to her approval, was content for me to proceed. I assured him of confidentiality and anonymity of respondents and the institution. Mrs. Metronome was willing for me to conduct the research in her department and was given similar assurances of confidentiality and anonymity. She and the school had the right to withdraw from the project at any stage, under which assurance the fieldwork proceeded. The school was within a twenty minute drive of my workplace and receptive to the research. Both of these were important factors given that I was conducting fieldwork around a full-time lecturing position. The proximity of the school meant that it was possible for me to spend a morning each week with pupils and teacher and still arrive at work in time to commence afternoon lectures. It also allowed me to make short visits at other times during the week to talk to Mrs. Metronome in one of her free periods or interview members of the senior management team.

5.9.2 Why have certain people been chosen as guides and informants?

In approaching Mrs. Metronome to discuss the proposed research, I explained the purpose of the project and asked if she could identify a Year 9 class that I would be able to use for the case-study. Given the constraints of combining my own lecturing commitments with Mrs. Metronome's school timetable, we arrived at the choice of the class called for this study 9C. It was, in fact, the only Year 9 lesson occurring at a time when I was able to visit the school on a regular basis with enough leisure to spend time with pupils and staff before and after the lesson. It had the coincidental advantage of begin the class with whom I had conducted my pilot study in the previous summer term. The class that I had used then as my pilot group, 8C, now became 9C, my proposed research class. It was a brave and unbiased decision by Mrs. Metronome to allow me to use this as my research class as she indicated that this was not the

most musically able group of pupils she taught. She considered, however, that in terms of seeing 'the real picture' in terms of what Music was like for pupils who did not have advantageous access to additional instrumental tuition outside of the music class, it was probably one of the best of her classes to study. The class was also unusual for the year group in that it contained a rather imbalanced gender ratio-almost two girls to one boy (19 girls to 11 boys). This particular year group had a slight male/female imbalance that had to be reflected in of the tutor groups and it happened to be 9C. Though the previous year group had contained an even more considerable gender imbalance in the opposite direction that Mrs. Metronome felt had affected the educational experience of the girls outnumbered quite substantially by boys, she did not feel that such a situation existed in 9C. Whether pupils shared this view is, of course, another matter. Given, however, that the purpose of this research was not to choose a class as representative of a range of others but rather to study it in depth to arrive at a better understanding of the issues in relation to this specific group of pupils I did not consider this fatal to the research design. In the realities of part-time research conducted alongside other immovable commitments I decided that I had to proceed with the research class to which I could obtain access and 9C was such a class.

In reporting on Music within the school, it was also necessary to discuss at length Mrs. Metronome's approach to teaching her subject, her scheme of work, and other organisational and material factors concerning the running of the department. To establish a fuller, contextual picture of Music in the school, it was also necessary to speak to members of senior management about timetabling, resourcing, their view of the role of music in the school and organisation of GCSE option choices.

5.9.3 How is the genuineness and typicality of what is observed established?

Brown and Dowling (2001: 47) refer to a phenomenon which they term 'the epistemological paradox'. This refers to the impact of the observer on the observed. The very act of observing something impacts on the context being observed so that it is no longer the same. Since the 1930s this has also been called 'the Hawthorne effect' (Brown and Dowling, 2001: 39) and is a phenomenon well known to quasi-experimentalists in educational research, as well as those of more ethnographic bent. To deal with this issue, it is necessary

to define one's position as an observer. There is a continuum, upon which one needs to locate oneself between complete participant and complete non-participant observer. Of course it is questionable whether one can actually achieve the situation of complete participant, as the act of observation always places one outside 'participation' and in 'observation' to some extent. There are equal problems to attempting to be a complete non-participant, as one's mere physical presence in the room still has effect on the subjects of observation. When observing teachers, as with almost any other conceivable occupational group, there are particular implications in terms of where data ends up. Teachers may well behave differently or untypically if they believe that the fruits of observation will be reported back to school management or if they believe researchers to be in some sort of inspectorial role.

I attempted to put in place such measures as I could to ensure that the observation I conducted minimised these confounding effects on the picture that I developed of this class of pupils' music lessons. It transpired that I habituated pupils and teachers to my presence in a non-observational capacity over a period of some months prior to data collection beginning by conducting the pilot questionnaire in the research location in the summer term of the academic year prior to data collection proper beginning. I also visited 8C/9Cs music lessons on a number of occasions as a non-participant observer during the same period. The conduct of the pilot study in the same location as the full study was useful in this respect, as it enabled me to begin visiting the school some four months before I began formal data collection. The subjects were well used to my presence by the time I began observation for the purpose of this study. I would discuss the lesson before and after each observation with the teacher both to clarify her aims and objectives and to verify my impressions of what had gone on. When the chapter of this thesis in which the material derived from classroom observation was written up, I sent it in draft to her for comment in terms of her view of its accuracy, inviting addition of anything that would add to the account of her intentions, perceived activities and outcomes and their evaluation. Having done this, in some places in Chapter Six I added insights from her commentary on my perspective of events in the lessons. This seemed important as good ethical practice, as reciprocity that celebrated her knowledge and autonomy and as a means of 'completing' an account as far as possible that took her meanings seriously. It can only be a matter of regret that such practice was not also possible with pupils, although interview notes were read back to them at the conclusion of each

interview and they were asked to verify that they were an accurate record of their comments. If there was any misunderstanding, a rare occurrence, the notes were corrected accordingly.

I made every effort to interview every child in the class at some point in the research period to ensure that my data was not skewed by unrepresentative opinion. These interviews were also recorded to ensure accuracy, which subsequently enabled me to confirm or clarify points about which I was unsure with pupils. I also interviewed them in groups and pairs to allow opportunities to speak to those who might find a one to one interview intimidating.

When I met with senior management, I took detailed notes of meetings and was able to further verify factual data against school documentation, such as option choice booklets, the school prospectus and the last inspection report. I also confirmed points relating to the music department with Mrs. Metronome. Again her commentary on some of these issues has been included in the relevant section of this report.

5.9.4 When conducting observation, why does the researcher notice some features of what happens and not others?

It is very difficult to establish a basis of complete objectivity when recording classroom observation. I brought to the study my own concerns and questions which obviously inclined me to privilege observation of certain factors within lessons more than others. Part of my intellectual apparatus was Bernstein's (1971) three message systems within the classroom - curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation. I was able to abstract from this the observational categories of Table 5.1 to guide my activity in lessons. The message systems of pedagogy and evaluation were sub-divided as observational categories to distinguish between instructional discourse (ID) and regulative discourse (RD) within pedagogy (cf. Section 4.6.2) and teacher evaluation of knowledge and pupil evaluation of knowledge (cf. Section 4.6.5). I then used a process of network analysis (Bernstein, 1996; Brown and Dowling, 2001) to expand these categories to produce relevant sub-categories, as shown in Table 5.1 below. Each of these sub-categories was then used to inform lesson observation and to retrospectively code and analyse data. I decided not to use these categories as a formal observation schedule, as I felt this would be both onerous and artificial but

adopted the approach of recording descriptively against a two-minute time spine as much as I could of what was happening within the classroom, using these categories to inform my observation. I was therefore left with a series of detailed accounts or stories of lessons to be subsequently encoded. The sub-categories are explained below using each sub category as a heading.

Message system	Curriculum	Pedagogy Instructional Discourse	Pedagogy Regulative Discourse	Evaluation Teacher	Evaluation Pupils
Description	Content and Mode of transmission	Mode of interaction	Mode of interaction	Mode of evaluation of knowledge	Mode of evaluation of knowledge
Sub-category 1	Curriculum content-musical genre	Teacher/pupil interaction	Teacher/pupil interaction	What is recognised as being good	What is recognised as being good
Sub-category 2	Curriculum content-musical activity	Pupil/teacher interaction	Pupil/teacher interaction	What is recognised as being bad	What is recognised as being bad
Sub-category 3	Organisation of pupils	Pupil/pupil interaction	Pupil/pupil interaction	What is recognised as being worthy of time/effort	What is recognised as being worthy of time/effort
Sub-category 4	Shape of lessons	Pattern of contact - whole class/ groups/ individuals?	Classroom rules and regulation, How is order maintained?	What is recognised as a waste of time/effort	What is recognised as a waste of time/effort
Sub-category 5	Curriculum time	Styles of questions used? Are they open or closed?	Control and management- who takes the decisions about what is done, how it is done and how it is regarded?		
Sub-category 6	Teaching strategies	Are the pupils allowed to make suggestions?	How are pupils brought to attend?		
Sub-category 7	Materials	Is difference accepted/ rejected/ cherished	Does the teacher deal with pupils individually or collectively, in public or private?		

Table 5.1 Lesson Observation Categories

5.10 Curriculum

Within this category, I examined the subject specific content of the lessons. In considering curriculum and knowledge content, I used the music-specific sub-categories of genre, (the style of music within or about which Mrs. Metronome was teaching) and area of musical activity, in terms of the National Curriculum Programme of Study for Music (ACCAC, 2000). I also considered organisation of pupils, the shape of the lessons, the amount of curriculum time given to the subject, teaching strategies and materials used in the lessons. This data was necessary to allow me to examine the musical situation in Aberquaver in comparison with Harland et al.'s (2000) discussion of lack of relevance, enjoyment and creativity in the music curricula which they surveyed. It would also allow me to discuss arguments debated over a period of years concerning the music curriculum and its reception by pupils in the UK (Green, 2001; Ross, 1995; Gammon, 1996, Swanwick 1979, 1988, 2000; Elliott, 1995).

5.10.1 Musical Genre

Within this sub-category I analysed the genre/s of music the teacher was using within the lesson. Broadly speaking, these may be described as Western Art Music, Jazz/Blues, Popular Music, Country and Western and World Music. Though these are very broad categories within which can be found a myriad of sub-categories, they provide a starting point from which to discuss the distribution of time spent on musical genres within the observed lessons.

5.10.2 Musical Activity

I took as a framework for areas of musical activity Swanwick's (1979) broadly adopted C (L) A(S) P model, standing for:

C=Composing,

(L)= Literature or knowledge *about* rather than through music,

A=audition,

(S) =skills acquisition and

P=Performing,

where () indicates those areas subsidiary to the main areas of performing, appraising (audition) and composing. The National Curriculum Programme of Study for Music in Wales, (ACCAC, 2000) features the areas of performing, composing and appraising, within which attention to skills acquisition and literature are subsumed

5.10.3 Organisation of Pupils

Here I examined the ways in which pupils were grouped for their work in lessons. This could include individual, pair, group and whole class organisation. There might be more than one pattern of pupil organisation within individual lessons.

5.10.4. Shape of Lessons

Within this sub-category, I was interested in the distribution of time between the various sections of the lesson. In particular, I wished to examine the length of the introduction, the amount of time spent on practical work, the length of the conclusion and the balance between RD and ID within lessons.

5.10.5. Curriculum Time

Here I analysed the amount of curriculum time pupils were allocated for music in comparison to their other KS3 curriculum subjects within Aberquaver. This was considered potentially important as affecting pupils' perceptions of the subject and KS4 option choice decisions.

5.10.6. Teaching Strategies

I examined the teaching strategies used by Mrs. Metronome in her music lessons, particularly the balance between formal, didactic pedagogy and less formal strategies drawn from the musical world involving pupils in informal demonstration,

copying and mirroring techniques. This was important in evolving a description of the pedagogic discourse and modes of transmission and acquisition of music in 9C in relation to Green's (2001) comments on the possible benefits of informal musical learning strategies within the music curriculum.

5.10.7. Materials

I noted the resources used in lessons including worksheets, printed music, audio recordings and instruments. I also noted use of ICT and audio equipment in describing the musical experiences of 9C and the pedagogic decisions of Mrs. Metronome.

5.11 Pedagogy

Within the category of pedagogy, I made an initial division between regulative discourse and instructional discourse. Bernstein termed the rules which create skills *instructional discourse* and those which maintain social order *regulative discourse*. He also observed that instructional discourse was always embedded within regulative discourse, with regulative discourse as the dominant discourse (Bernstein, 2000: 32). Nevertheless, to understand what was going on in the classroom I felt it was necessary to extract data relating to these two discourses separately.

5.11.1. Instructional Discourse

5.11.1.1 Teacher/pupil interaction

Within this category I coded observations relating to patterns of teacher-initiated interaction between teacher and pupil/s concerning learning and teaching. This data and that derived from the following sub-categories added to description of Mrs. Metronome's pedagogic discourse and allowed analysis of the balance of power and control within the classroom.

5.11.1.2 Pupil/ teacher interaction

Within this category I coded observations relating to patterns of pupil-initiated interaction between teacher and pupil/s concerning learning and teaching.

5.11.1.3 Pupil/pupil interaction

Within this category I coded observations relating to patterns of pupil or teacher initiated interaction between pupils concerning learning and teaching.

5.11.1.4 Pattern of contact - whole class/ groups/ individuals

Within this category I coded observations relating to patterns of teacher-initiated interaction with individual pupils, groups and the whole class concerning learning and teaching. Here I was looking for general patterns of contact and any possible differences between types of lesson and patterns of instructional contact.

5.11.1.5 Styles of questions: open and closed

I coded Mrs. Metronome's questioning sessions and use of questions during lessons, analysing the ways in which she used open and closed types and identifying possible patterns for the use of each. Again, this elaborated description of her pedagogic practice.

5.11.1.6 Pupil suggestions

I was interested here to find out whether pupils were allowed input as to the direction of their learning and whether there were differing circumstances in which this was allowed.

5.11.1.7 Acceptance, rejection or cherishing difference

The object of this category was to investigate how teacher and pupils responded to work or ideas which lay outside the realm of the expected or

conventional.

5.11.2 Regulative discourse

5.11.2.1 Teacher-pupil interaction

Within this category I coded observations relating to patterns of teacher-initiated interaction between teacher and pupil/s concerning classroom order, rules and regulations.

5.11.2.2 Pupil-teacher interaction

Within this category I coded observations relating to patterns of pupil-initiated interaction between teacher and pupil/s concerning classroom order, rules and regulations.

5.11.2.3 Pupil-pupil interaction

Within this category I coded observations relating to patterns of pupil-initiated interaction between pupils concerning classroom order, rules and regulations.

5.11.2.4 Classroom rules and regulation: maintenance of order

I coded here teacher's ground rules for pupils and the discipline strategies used during her teaching of the case study class.

5.11.2.5 Control and management: decisions about what is done, how it is done and how it is regarded

This category allowed me to observe power distribution within lessons in terms of where the balance of power lay concerning the control of the classroom and the learning.

5.11.2.6 Securing pupil attention

I wished to examine here how the teacher attracted pupils' attention when she wished to teach.

5.11.2.7 Dealing with pupils individually or collectively, in public or private

I wished to establish here whether there were preferred patterns of disciplinary interaction between Mrs. Metronome and her pupils and whether these varied between lessons or activities.

5.11.3 Evaluation of knowledge

Within the category of evaluation of knowledge, four sub-categories were devised. Each was examined from the perspective of the teacher and then from the perspective of her pupils. They are posed in interrogatory form.

5.11.3.1. What is recognised as being good?

This category was examined in terms of teacher and pupil response to outcomes and products of learning.

5.11.3.2 What is recognised as being bad?

This category was also examined in terms of teacher and pupil response to outcomes and products of learning.

5.11.3.3 What is recognised as being worthy of time and effort?

This category was examined in terms of teacher and pupil evaluation of lesson content, outcomes and products of learning.

5.11.3.4 What is recognised as being a waste of time/effort?

This category was also examined in terms of teacher and pupil evaluation of lesson content, outcomes and products of learning.

5.12 How do researchers decide what to record from their observations?

Following Bernstein I had attempted, as outlined above, to derive the categories of relevance to my 'problem' from a theoretical basis, in this case his notions of pedagogic discourse and, in particular, the pedagogic device. What I was unable to do was to attempt a detailed writing in advance of fieldwork of the range of possible phenomena – utterances or behaviours – that would be recognisable or count as exemplars or cases of theoretical items. There were two principal reasons for this. In the first instance, I came to Bernstein while I was already launched into fieldwork so that, in some degree, these categories were imposed *ex post facto*, or to be as accurate as possible, in play, in most instances as I collected information. Secondly, it is, as I found, inherently difficult to move from theoretical categories to surefooted imagination of what they would look like in practice. This facility came to me as I proceeded but I could not claim to have possessed it in advance of this fieldwork. In that sense, my initial recognition of the meaning and significance of what I was seeing and collecting might be regarded as being 'commonsense-professional', gradually becoming a more sociologically skilled form of recognition.

5.13 Presentation of data, languages of description and analysis

The distinction between recognising and recording during fieldwork and processing what one has is, of course, less than clear cut. Having established the observational categories above, I then had to use them as my analytical framework to transform what I had collected and coded into data. I was able to do this within Microsoft Word, by colour coding each of the data analysis categories above. I then began working through my initial lesson observation accounts highlighting passages

the school have been integrated into the 'thick description' of the context of the study.

Data concerning timetabling and option choices of KS4 music were presented with commentary from Mrs. Metronome as she differed in opinion from members of the senior management team in her views on these matters. My interview with Mrs. Metronome concerning her pedagogic practice is presented verbatim, giving access to her views in an uncoloured fashion. Pupil questionnaire responses were pre-coded and presented under coding headings in a similar process of elaborated description to that used for lesson observations. Open questions and interview responses were analysed using network analysis (Bernstein, 1996) where networks of subcategories of responses to each question were drawn up through repeated listening to audio recordings or reading of transcripts until it was considered that an exhaustive list of subcategories had been arrived at addressing all answers received. These subcategories were then presented in tabular form under each question heading with examples of pupil responses and numbers of similar responses stated.

The theoretical concepts that have arisen from and guided the study were examined in detail in Chapter Four. Table 5.2. shows how this theoretical framework was applied to the data collected during the study and the organisation of presentation of results. The main theoretical language throughout is that of Bernstein's (1996 ff.) theories relating to the formation, structure, transmission and acquisition of pedagogic discourse. Bourdieu's (1984 ff) concepts of habitus and varying forms of capital give points of departure for some propositions but it is Bernstein who provides the tools for empirical investigation and analysis of these questions. The data is presented in Chapters Six and Seven with brief analysis and discussion. Chapter Eight draws together these different strands and focuses the discussion under the headings of the research questions.

Data Source	Unit of analysis	Language of description (representation)	Language of analysis (internal/theory)	Presented in Chapter
Classroom observation data	Class music lessons	Elaborated Description (1976) Thick description (Geertz, 1973)	Bourdieu (1984) cultural capital and <i>habitus</i> Bernstein (1996) pedagogic device theory Bernstein (1979) Code Theory Bernstein(2000) Totally Pedagogised Society Bernstein (2000) Democracy, inclusion and enhancement	Chapter 6
School management interviews	Interview transcript	Elaborated Description (Luria 1976) Thick description (Geertz, 1973)	Bourdieu (1984) cultural capital and <i>habitus</i> Bernstein (1996) pedagogic device theory Bernstein (1979) Code Theory Bernstein(2000) Totally Pedagogised Society Bernstein (2000) Democracy, inclusion and enhancement	Chapter 6
Document analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scheme of work for music • School curriculum documentation • Option choice booklet • Literature referring to development of National Curriculum for Music 	Elaborated Description (Luria 1976) Thick description (Geertz, 1973)		Chapter 6

Teacher interview	Teacher responses	Narrative Elaborated Description (Luria , 1972) Thick description (Geertz, 1973)	Bourdieu (1984) cultural capital and <i>habitus</i> Bernstein (1996) pedagogic device theory Bernstein (1979) Code Theory	Chapter 6
Pupil questionnaire s	Pupil responses	Elaborated description (Luria, 1976) Thick description (Geertz, 1973) Network Analysis (Bernstein 1996)	Bourdieu (1984) cultural capital and <i>habitus</i> Bernstein (1996) pedagogic device theory Bernstein (1979) Code Theory Bernstein(2000) Totally Pedagogised Society Bernstein (2000) Democracy, inclusion and enhancement	Chapter 7
Pupil interviews	Pupil responses	Elaborated Description (Luria , 1976) Thick description (Geertz, 1973) Network Analysis (Bernstein 1996)	Bourdieu (1984) cultural capital and <i>habitus</i> Bernstein (1996) pedagogic device theory Bernstein (1979) Code Theory Bernstein(2000) Totally Pedagogised Society Bernstein (2000) Democracy, inclusion and enhancement.	Chapter 7

Table 5.2 Structure of data analysis and relationship to theory

5.14 Methods

The data presented in this and the following chapters arose out of four investigational methods:

- i) observations of music lessons with the case study class;
- ii) a questionnaire distributed to the case study class;
- iii) analysis of school and state documentation in the form of the school prospectus, the most recent school inspection report, the scheme of work for the music department and documentation surrounding the formation of the National Curriculum for Music (ACCAC, 2000); and
- iv) interviews with senior management, Mrs. Metronome. and pupils from the case-study class individually, in pairs and as groups.

Denzin and Lincoln (2000: 370) claimed that:

'The strategy of inquiry comprises the skills, assumptions, enactments and material practices that the researcher-as-methodological *bricoleur* uses in moving from a paradigm and a research design to the collection of empirical materials. Strategies of inquiry connect researchers to specific approaches and methods for collecting and analyzing empirical materials. The case study, for example, relies on interviewing, observation, and document analysis. Research strategies locate researchers and paradigms in specific empirical, material sites and in specific methodological practices - for example, making a case an object of study.'

As can be seen from this quotation, the methods I chose to use for data collection were dictated to a certain extent by the research paradigm within which I had already chosen to work. Having elected for ethnographic case study (see Sections 5.7 and 8) as the research paradigm within which it seemed best to work, the choice of observation, interview and document analysis followed fairly naturally. The addition of questionnaire was seen as a means of obtaining initial contact with the field and providing some simple quantitative data for baseline information and triangulation with other methods. As Stake (2000: 443) observed:

'I have yet to meet any case researchers who are unconcerned about the clarity and validity of their own communications. Even if meanings do not transfer intact but squeeze into the conceptual space of the reader, there is no less urgency for researchers to assure that their senses of situation observation, reporting and reading stay within some limits of correspondence.'

This multiple method research design is one way of making this attempt by providing triangulation of the phenomena presented. Stake (ibid) describes triangulation as 'a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation.' However, he further expounds on this commonly accepted definition to assist those working within the qualitative field by adding the caveat: '(B)ut, acknowledging that no observations or interpretations are perfectly repeatable, triangulation serves also to clarify meaning by identifying different ways the phenomenon is being seen' (Flick, 1998, Silverman, 1993). This provides a further justification for the use of multiple methods in studies such as my own.

The logic of recording and analysing observations has been discussed in some detail above. Other means of gathering information that were used during fieldwork were a questionnaire, interviews and documentary analysis. Brown and Dowling (2001:66) observed that: '(S)elf-completed questionnaires hold a number of attractions for the researcher who wishes to collect information from a large number of people but has limited time and resources.' Its use in the case of the present study was as a source of amplificatory material in addition to other methods, such as observation and interview. Interviews with individual pupils were conducted using a semi-structured schedule derived from the questionnaire, again for triangulation purposes. A freer interview format was adopted when conducting group interviews, such that, hopefully, allowed pupils to respond as openly as possible to the issues under discussion and to amplify initial data. The teacher was also interviewed initially using a semi-structured interview schedule based around early organisational and resource questions to which answers were required. Other more conversational interviews were conducted at later stages in the project and yielded much useful data. All these interviews were tape recorded and transcribed for subsequent analysis. Those with school senior management were also based around a semi-structured schedule utilising questions designed to extract information related to

resource, organisation and managerial issues concerning the role of music within the school. Detailed notes were taken at these interviews and the information was cross-checked with each interviewee. The music teacher's view of this information was then elicited to allow triangulation of the data, yielding some interesting anomalies (see particularly Section 6.2. concerning discussion of setting arrangements and option block decisions).

5.14.1 Pupil questionnaire

The pupil questionnaire (Appendix 1) was organised into sections, each focussing upon a different aspect of the research topic. Sections A and B were designed, respectively, to investigate pupils' attitudes to music in their everyday lives and to music as a school subject. Pupils were also asked to describe their aspirations towards involvement in musical activity and their self-perceptions of their own musicality. This was considered important in establishing relationships between the subject group's views compared to those reported by Sloboda (2003), Green (2001) and Harland et al. (2000). As can be seen below, questions were subsequently coded blue if they required a quantitative answer capable of numerical coding and red if the answer required qualitative information. All quantitative questions were coded with a numerical value and answers were recorded on a spreadsheet using Microsoft Excel. It was then possible to run calculations with the data using the formulas function of the spreadsheet programme and to produce charts to illustrate data where required. Qualitative responses were transcribed and then used to produce analytical categories using a process of network analysis (Bernstein, 1996; Brown and Dowling, 2001). For each question, pupils' responses were read to establish categories and sub-categories of response, which allowed them to be recorded in the tables reported in Chapter Seven, showing categories and the number of responses relevant to each that were obtained. Examples of representative pupil comments were also presented in the tables to allow readers to see the type of comment typical of the category or sub-category in question. The thinking behind this method of data representation was that readers should be as fully informed of the picture painted by the data obtained as possible. This would allow them to enter Chapter Eight, where the data is discussed in relation to the

research questions, capable of making their own, informed decisions about the relevance and accuracy of the arguments being made in relation to the information obtained from the study. The schedule was coded as follows:

Section A

A1. How important to you is music in everyday life?

Very important 3

Quite important 2

Not important 1

2. Why do you say this?

3. Would you say that you are musical?

Yes 1

No 0

4. Why do you say this?

5. Would you like to be involved in music in any sort of way when you leave school?
(for fun or work)

Yes 1

No 0

6. If you said yes to question 5, in what way would you like to be involved in music?

Section B

B. 1 How important to you is music as a school subject?

Very important 3

Quite important 2

Not important 1

2. Why do you say this?

3. What do you enjoy in music lessons at school?

4. Do you think of the music you do in class lessons as 'real' music?

Yes 1

No 0

5. Why do you say this?

Section C of the questionnaire was inspired by the research into pupil voice conducted by Rudduck et al (2004) and Finney (2003a) with respect of Music, through the Teaching and Learning Research Project at Cambridge University. I was interested to find out what sort of music curriculum pupils would design for their peers were they to be given the choice. These questions are presented below and coded as for sections A and B:

C. 1 If you could make up your own music course for pupils in years 7 to 9, which of the following would it include?

Using computers for music 1

Singing 2

Playing instruments 3

Listening to music 4

Composing music 5

Deejaying 6

Using decks 7

2. What else would you include?

3. What types of music would you like to study?

4. What instruments would you like to play?

Section D of the questionnaire turned to the question of Music as a GCSE subject. Pupils were asked whether they were going to take Music as a GCSE subject and asked about factors affecting their decisions:

D. 1 Are you taking GCSE music next year?

Yes 1

No 0

2 Why did you make this decision?

3. Have the option choices affected your decision?

Yes 1

No 0

4. If yes why?

5. Were there any other factors you would like to tell me about that affected your decision?

In Section E, some basic data was obtained, such as gender, level of musical involvement both within school and outside, level of perceived instrumental and vocal expertise and musical stylistic interests and preferences. It was important to have this information in order to amplify responses to Section A and allow further exploration of the results of this study in relation to the findings of Green (1997, 1998, 2001), Sloboda (2001a) and Harland (2000), as discussed with reference to Section A..

E 1 Which of these describes you?

Male 1

Female 0

2 Are you involved in music in school apart from in music lessons?

Yes 1

No 0

3. If yes, what type of music?

4. Are you involved in any sort of music outside of school?

Yes 1

No 0

5. If yes, where and what type of music?

6. Do you play an instrument (it doesn't matter to what standard)

Yes 1

No 0

7. If yes, which instrument?

8. Do you have lessons on an instrument?

Yes 1

No 0

9. If yes, where do you have lessons?

In school 1

Out of school 0

10 Do you like singing?

Yes 1

No 0

11 Do you have singing lessons?

Yes 1

No 0

12. If yes, where d you have lessons?

In school 1

Out of school 0

Section F explored the effects of career goals and aspirations on pupils' decisions concerning GCSE music study. They were also asked to indicate whether they had received career advice on employment-related outcomes to music study post-16. Finally, pupils were asked to indicate which of a series of factors they considered relevant to a career in music. GCSE Music was included in this list to find out how many pupils considered it to be of importance to work in the sector.

F 1 Are you interested in a career in music or the music industry?

Yes 1

No 0

2 If yes what sort of career?

3 Have you had any information about careers in music given to you in school?

Yes 1

No 0

4 Which of the following do you think are important to success in the music business?

Talent 1

Good teaching 2

Skill 3

Luck 4

Hard work 5

GCSE music 6

Other

5.15 Document Analysis

'As with all the forms of study we have discussed, there is a need for clarity about what constitutes relevant information and explicitness concerning the manner in which the information is organised and analysed as data. It is also important to be clear about the conditions under which the information has been produced and the status which is being accorded to it.' (Brown and Dowling, 2001: 64)

The documentary evidence examined in the case of this particular study was: school and state documentation in the form of the school prospectus; the most recent school inspection report; Mrs. Metronome's scheme of work for the Music Department; Aberquaver's pupil option choice leaflet for KS4 study (see Appendix 3) and documentation surrounding the formation of the National Curriculum for Music, Wales (CCW, 1992; ACCAC, 2000). The latter took the form of consultation documents and articles published in refereed journals. The status of each document was considered alongside the purpose for which it was produced and the circumstances surrounding its production. Many of the documents reviewed were primary rather than secondary sources, that is, they were 'original to the problem under study' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000: 161). These authors (*ibid*) categorise primary sources as either those 'remains or relics of a given period' or 'those items that have had a direct physical relationship with the events being reconstructed.' In the case of school documentation, all documents reviewed were primary sources originating from the school and 'original to the problem under study'. The documents concerning the development of the National Curriculum for Music were a mixture of primary and secondary sources. It was not possible to access the papers of the National Curriculum Working Group for Music, though some documents from the original consultation process were available for review. Other sources consulted included newspaper reports of debates and discussions and academic journal articles reflecting on the process and outcomes.

5.15 Interviews

Initial individual pupil interviews were conducted using the schedule given in Appendix 2. This was derived from the same categories as the questionnaire but phrased in more informal language aimed at amplifying pupils' responses to qualitative questions and encouraging them to provide further detail.

The initial teacher interview was conducted in May 2004. This sought to obtain basic factual information about the organisation of the department, resourcing, staffing, numbers of pupils taught at KS3 and KS4, and so on. After this initial interview a more conversational modality was adopted as I sought to become familiar with her philosophy of music education and the story of her life in her music department. The most formal of these conversations was tape recorded, transcribed and the final data returned to the teacher for verification. When I came to analyse these data, it became apparent to me that I could use the initial factual information in my elaborated description of the research context in a fairly straightforward way. The conversational material, however, was harder to 'analyse' in a formal sense without losing the coherence and internal referentiality of the original and I feared that to do so might undermine the validity of the data. While I, therefore, decided to incorporate excerpts and perspectives from pupil interviews into the elaborated description of the research context and its subjects in Chapter Six, I considered this teacher interview so important to the understanding of her practice in terms of her motivation towards and philosophy of music education that I concluded that it was necessary to include the transcript of this conversation in Chapter Six as part of the description of the research context and subjects. As Kearney (2005: 117) asserted: 'this cultural form of narrative is the major way in which we make sense of the inchoate simultaneous experience of day-to-day living.' Suzanne Langer (1941: 262) pointed out that this is the way we shape reality; by narrating our memories.' Kearney (p. 118) referred to Reissman's (1993) criteria for checking the validity and reliability of her accounts of narrative data. She suggests the following criteria for checking the validity of narrative inquiry:

'persuasiveness: is it reasonable and convincing?

correspondence: can it be taken back to the researched?
coherence: does it provide a coherent picture of the situation described?
pragmatic: to what extent can we act upon it?

I hope that these issues have been addressed in my discussion of methodology and the methods adopted to actualise it above. By incorporating the teacher's own account of her practice within the elaborated description of the research context I hoped to give a persuasive and coherent account of context and location. By returning data to principal respondents for verification and amplification I hope to have proven its correspondence with their perceptions while still retaining the notion that what we know of ourselves is not all there is to know. By arriving at conclusions relating to the problems facing music education within the context of the case study location in this way, I also hoped to have arrived at pragmatic suggestions as to future good practice within the field.

This leads me to considerations of reliability. How can we assure the reliability of data reliant upon memory? Kearney (ibid) found Reissman's (ibid) statement central to this issue:

'The historical truth of an individual's account is not the primary issue. Narrativisation assumes point of view [...] Narratives are laced with social discourses and power relations over time [...] Trustworthiness not 'truth' is the key semantic difference. The latter assumes an objective reality, whereas the former moves the process into the social world.'

For Kearney (p. 119), having grasped that, it came down to:

'a matter of honour and authenticity [...] I realised that my main problems were not of notions of objective truth but how faithfully and ethically to represent and analyse the information I had been given.'

This was illuminating for me in writing the current study. I have felt the heavy weight of the burden of responsibility to this teacher and her pupils to reflect an accurate and faithful picture of the situations which I observed by adopting an appropriate methodology, constructing adequate methods and reporting findings with due sensitivity and ethical regard.

5.16 Ethical considerations

In accordance with BERA's *Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research* (2004: 5), the fieldwork for this project was conducted, hopefully, within an ethic of respect for 'the person, knowledge, democratic values, the quality of educational research (and) academic freedom'. Having read and understood the entire BERA ethical research document, I attempted to comply with all of its advice. I also ensured that I complied with the legal requirements necessary for working with children, as a registered teacher with the General Teaching Council of Wales, having been police-checked and cleared to work in such circumstances. I ensured that I took steps to minimise any unease or discomfort experienced by the research subjects and to minimise their sense of intrusion. I even cherish the notion that involvement in the exercise might have increased participants' awareness of the character of their music education in positive ways.

The voluntary, informed consent of all participants was sought and received prior to commencement of the research. The head teacher, music teacher and pupils were informed of its nature, the reasons for conducting it in this particular school, how their participation would be required and the manner in which the work would be reported. They were assured of confidentiality and I guaranteed to anonymise the school and the participants. No deception was involved at any point in the study. As required in the BERA guidelines, the research was compliant with Articles 3 and 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. As required by Article 3 the research was conducted under the understanding that the best interests of the child were paramount and no disruption to their education was caused by the study. In accordance with Article 12 of the convention, all children involved were accorded the opportunity to express themselves freely on the subject of their music education as a democratic right on a subject concerning them.