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Progression in instrumental music making for learners from disadvantaged communities

A literature review



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Key emerging issues

There are many potential progression routes for young musicians, formal and informal.

Motivation to continue to engage with music is complex.

Young people who continue to make music are passionate about it, have strong musical identities and friendships related to music. They are able to withstand negative peer pressure.

Defining culture is problematic particularly in multi-cultural societies.

Families play a crucial role in supporting young musicians. The challenges facing families of low-socio-economic status in providing support are considerable.

Educational systems can be more or less supportive of music education. In the UK, the unintended consequences of major educational changes are having a negative effect on music provision.

Transitions can be supported by partnerships between teachers, parents and initial and next-steps organisations.

Where musical progression is through informal routes, its extent is difficult to determine.

To support progression, teachers need strong musical and pedagogical skills and must be able to develop positive, supportive relationships with young learners.

A coherent way of documenting possible progression routes is needed.

Music Education Hubs are charged with ensuring that clear progression routes are available and affordable to all young people.

Positive action needs to be taken to ensure that barriers to participation for those in areas of high deprivation can be overcome.

Executive summary

There are many potential progression routes for young musicians. Some of these are not through traditional formal education but through informal activities. This can make it difficult to assess the extent to which young people are continuing their engagement with music.

Motivation to continue to engage with music is complex as are the reasons for young people dropping out. Models have been developed to express this complexity. The motivation to engage with music in young people from deprived areas is no different to young people from more affluent backgrounds. The challenges that they face are similar in many ways with the exception of the financial demands of participating in musical activities.

Young people continuing to play musical instruments typically love music, have a strong musical identity and have friendships related to music. They enjoy performing and the positive feedback that they get from it. They have developed effective learning strategies, have positive beliefs about their musical capabilities and have realistic goals and aspirations. They embrace new challenges. They have developed resilience in relation to their learning.

Although some have high levels of commitment to music, young people in areas of high deprivation face a number of financial and practical challenges in being able to progress in music.

Short term music projects have shown that music can provide opportunities for vulnerable young people, who frequently live in areas of high deprivation, to acquire a range of transferable skills and enhance their confidence and aspirations. The short-term nature of these projects means that issues of progression have not been addressed in the research.

Defining culture is extremely problematic. The values underpinning culture at the individual level are closer between countries than within them. Engagement with cultural activities is stronger amongst those from higher socio-economic status groups with higher levels of education, although geographical location and age are also important determining factors.

There are currently concerns about the extent to which employment in the creative arts is dominated by those from more affluent groups. The diminishing role of the arts in compulsory education is seen as a possible contributory factor.

Sales of records, downloads and streamed music in the UK suggest that most people value music and the role that it plays in their lives.

Families play a crucial role in supporting young musicians, particularly in the initial stages of learning. As young people become more independent they continue to need practical support to actively engage with making music.

The challenges facing families of low-socio-economic status in supporting their children's musical activities are considerable. The cost of tuition and participating in extra-curricular ensembles may be more than they can afford. They may also face challenges in transporting their children to activities.

Peer pressure is particularly strong in adolescence. To sustain musical engagement when it is not considered to be 'cool' to play an instrument requires young people to have a strong musical identity and friendships which are supportive of musical activity.

Educational systems can be more or less supportive of music education. In the UK, there are considerable challenges to the provision of music in schools. The National Curriculum is no longer compulsory in schools which have become academies or free schools. In both primary and secondary schools, music provision is variable, while some is of very high quality, much is considered by Ofsted as unsatisfactory.

Increasing financial pressures have challenged schools in terms of what they can offer. At secondary level, music provision is declining in many schools, in part due to the unintended consequences of other policies, and financial restraints.

The implementation of Whole Class Ensemble Tuition has provided the opportunity for all children to learn to play a musical instrument. The programme has had mixed success although it can be successful when the senior staff in the school are committed; the teaching is inspirational and of high quality; and where there are affordable progression routes within the school to ensure that children can continue to learn to play when the programme ends.

The best programmes include musicianship classes prior to the WCET followed by ongoing whole class tuition paid for by the school or large group electives which enable parents to afford the lessons.

Evaluations of the *In Harmony* programmes have shown a positive impact on the participating children and their families. The data on the extent to which children from the programmes continue to engage with music when they leave primary school is limited.

Where long term data are available there is variability between cohorts in progression. Successful progression requires there to be available and suitable progression routes, excellent partnerships with transfer organisations and a strong commitment to music from the young people themselves.

The transition between primary and secondary school is a critical time for young people to make decisions about whether to continue with playing an instrument. Having a strong musical identity, positive self-beliefs about music, and friendships within musical activities contribute towards young people's ongoing engagement. Positive transitions can be supported by teachers, parents and music education providers, be they schools or other organisations.

Informal learning, because of its relatively low cost and the use it can make of technology may be a favoured musical progression route for young people from disadvantaged backgrounds, although it does have limitations.

The importance of developing partnerships between organisations for young people to successfully progress in music cannot be over stated. There are many possible progression routes which young people can choose to follow. No single organisation can provide them all. Music Education Hubs have a critical role in ensuring that they are aware of and include all local providers within the hub.

Music Education Hubs have the potential to resolve many issues relating to musical progression. It is part of their remit to ensure that clear progression routes are available and affordable to all young people. While there is some exemplary practice, in many cases, hubs have not adequately met this challenge.

To conclude, for young people to progress in making music they need to be committed and have a strong musical identity. There need to be appropriate, accessible and affordable progression routes for them locally and they and their parents need to know about these routes and be offered guidance about how to negotiate them. Young people from areas of high deprivation also need financial support to enable them to have lessons and participate in ensembles and holiday courses.

Introduction

Progression has been conceptualised in a range of different ways several of which can be applied in the context of music education. For instance, the Oxford Dictionary defines progress as ‘forward or onward movement towards a destination’; ‘advance or development towards completion, betterment, etc.’; or ‘improvement’. Progression is defined as ‘the act or an instance of making progress.’

Reflecting these definitions musical progression might include working towards meeting a short term learning goal, developing or improving a range of musical skills, continuing to play an instrument in the transition from primary to secondary school, taking a particular examination or pursuing a specific career path.

This review focuses on what factors contribute to continuing engagement with music or its discontinuation. Although it does not directly focus on progression in relation to the development of musical skills or understanding these are related to students’ self-beliefs about their musical capabilities which do influence whether they wish to continue playing a musical instrument and engage in musical activities including singing.

One of the problems in considering progression in music is that there are so many potential musical activities and ultimately careers that individuals can progress to. The music profession includes musicians who make music in a wide range of different genres; in different combinations; who teach, compose, and arrange music and contribute in various ways to its technological production; and who write about, analyse and critique music.

Musicians also work in different musical cultures. Within these the nature of the music itself differs; the kinds of behaviour associated with making, teaching and listening to it; and ideas about music and its place in society. Different genres are also associated with different expectations of performance from those where participation is regarded as normal for all players to those where only the most expert and technically able perform.

The speed of technological change has also impacted on musicians in different ways depending on their genre and specialism. Many digital devices now support music sound files and software is available to support editing, notation, graphics-based composition, CD/DVD creation, video/podcast presentations, and teaching and learning (Webster, 2011) in addition to the many developments in interactive musical networking communities (Webb and Seddon, 2012).

Discussions about musical progression have been ongoing for some time in the UK. The Musical Progressions Roundtables which took place between 2012 and 2014 following the release of the government document ‘The importance of music: A national plan for music education’ (2011) set out the issues and identified barriers and common threads (Sandbrook, 2012, 2014a, b, c, 2015a, b). The discussions revealed the complexities of progression and the need for multiple pathways to meet the needs of different groups of children and young people.

This presents particular challenges for organisations which are tasked with monitoring progression from formal educational initiatives, for instance, *In Harmony*, Whole Class Ensemble Tuition. While it may be straightforward to assess the number of young people progressing into other formal musical activities provided through the educational system, the number who progress to private tuition or who are involved in informal music making is more difficult to monitor.

This review focuses on literature which may be able to inform the progression of children who have participated in *In Harmony* programmes at primary school so that they continue to actively engage with music, playing an instrument or singing, when they transfer to secondary education.

The review initially sets out a model of motivation which addresses its complexities in a musical context. Elements of the model relevant to whether the child continues to engage with music or not will then be discussed including factors pertaining to the child, cultures and sub-cultures, the family, institutions and other music education providers, and teachers. Particular attention will be paid to the UK context for music education.

Although much of the literature has been concerned with the motivation and engagement of all children and young people, the principles that have emerged from this literature apply to those from communities with high levels of deprivation, although those children and young people may face psychological and practical barriers which do not necessarily apply to others. These issues will be addressed throughout the review.

Models of motivation

Motivation is complex. It depends on the characteristics of the individual and the way that the individual interprets the interactions that they have with the environment. Ecological and bio-social theoretical frameworks suggest that individual and environmental characteristics interact in a reiterative manner and determine individual development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Hettema and Kenrick, 1992).

Alongside these overarching models several have been developed which focus in more detail on motivation for music (see Asmus, 1994; Austin, Renwick and McPherson, 2006; Evans et al., 2013; Hallam, 2002; 2009; 2016; Sichivitsa, 2007; MacIntyre et al., 2012). These models recognise the interactions which occur between environmental (cultural, institutional, familial and educational) and internal factors (cognition and affect) serving to enhance or reduce motivation.

Figure 1 sets out a framework which illustrates the complex interactions which occur over time. Certain aspects of our individuality are pre-determined, for instance, biological temperament, sex, and age. These are shaped through interaction with the environment to develop personality, gender identity, cognitive processes, and self-perceptions.

Individuals are motivated because they desire social approval, particularly from those they admire and respect. Such praise from others is internalised, raises self-esteem, and enhances confidence. Some environmental influences are internalised to such an extent that they come to affect the individual's functioning over time in a fairly consistent way. Individuals set themselves goals which determine their behaviour. These goals are influenced by individual and self-perception characteristics as well as environmental factors. Where the environment satisfies the needs of the individual and facilitates personal goals motivation is likely to be enhanced. Where the environment presents obstacles, the individual may give up or be spurred on to greater efforts to overcome them, perhaps by finding a more conducive environment.

Behaviour is the end link in the chain but at the time of enactment it too can be influenced and changed by environmental factors. There is interaction between the environment and the individual at every level and in the long and short term. Individuals can act upon the environment to change it, or seek out new environments more conducive to their needs. The model recognises the importance of cognitive factors and self-determination in behaviour, while also taking account of the power of emotions. While individuals have needs and

desires, they are aware that they need to consider the consequences of actions before attempting to satisfy them.

Cognition plays a role in the ways in which individuals attempt to enhance self-esteem leading success or failure to be attributed to causes which will allow them to maintain a consistent self-view. When a learner has completed a learning task successfully this has a positive emotional impact and, subsequently, impacts on self-esteem and motivation which will be carried forward to subsequent learning tasks.

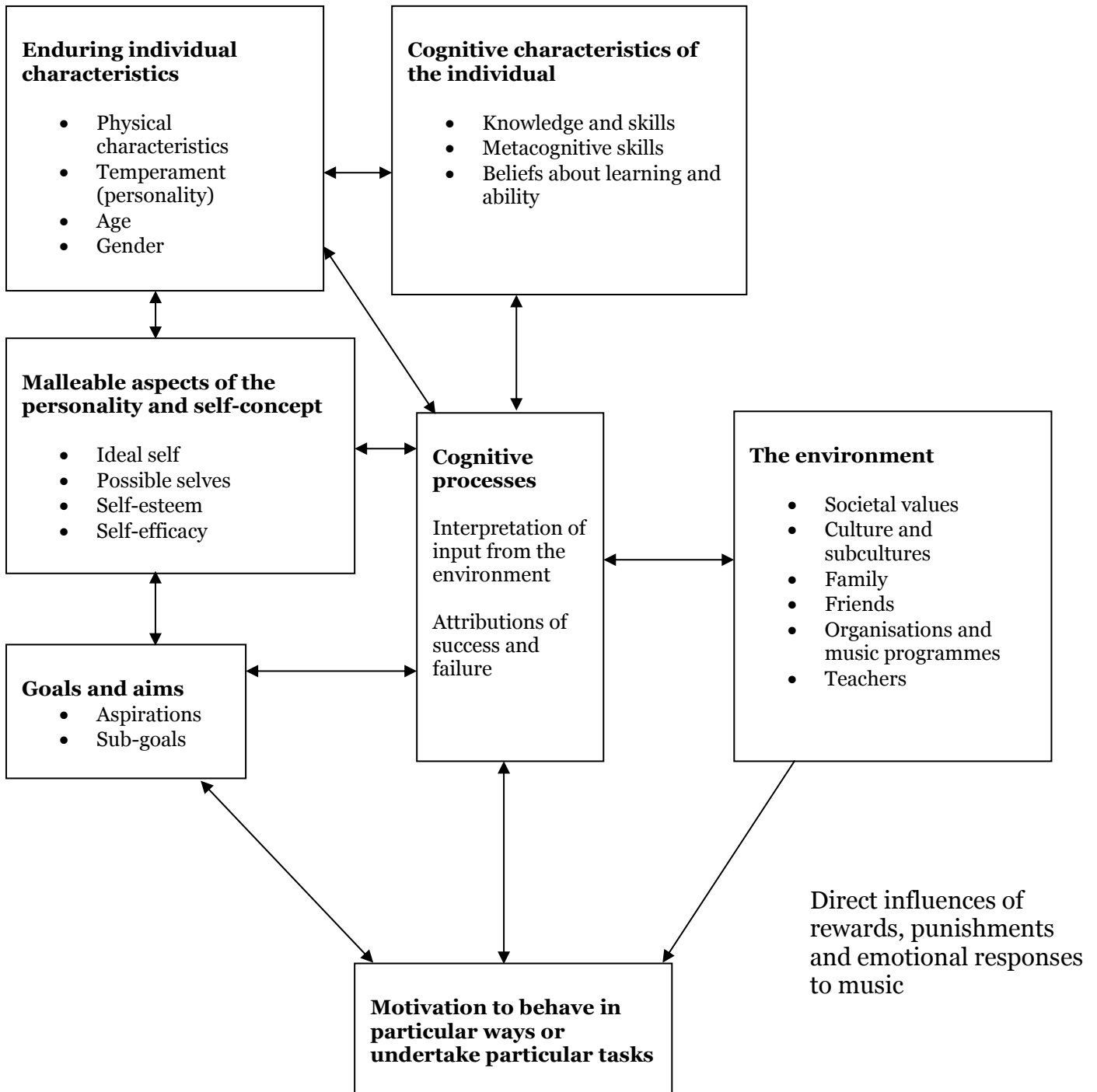
Conversely, when learning outcomes are negative, motivation may be impaired. It is important to understand motivation to engage and continue with musical activities as well as the factors which act as disincentives or barriers and may lead to children and young people discontinuing their engagement. The next sections present the evidence relating to these focusing on the child, society and sub-cultures within it, the family, peers, organisations, music programmes and teachers.

Summary

There are many potential progression routes for young musicians. Some of these are not through traditional formal education but through informal activities. This can make it difficult to assess the extent to which young people are continuing their engagement with music.

Motivation to continue to engage with music is complex as are the reasons for young people dropping out. Models have been developed to express this complexity. The motivation to engage with music in young people from deprived areas is no different to young people from more affluent backgrounds. The challenges that they face are similar in many ways with the exception the financial demands of participating in musical activities including lessons and ensembles.

Figure 1: Interactions between individual and environmental factors in determining musical motivation



Children and young people

Love of music

There are considerable differences in the level of commitment that individual children make to music. For many children playing an instrument is viewed no differently from other activities which they undertake in their free time (McPherson and McCormick, 2000). Many give up playing simply because of a lack of interest (Evans et al., 2013; King, 2016; Solly, 1986).

In contrast, some children, in the very earliest stages of learning to play an instrument show dedication, commitment, determination and a willingness to make sacrifices for their music (MacNamara et al., 2006). Kemp (1996) found that the most accomplished young classical musicians that he studied were self-motivated almost to the point of obsession. This reflects the high level of intrinsic motivation required to make a commitment to engaging with music making over a long period of time (McPherson and Zimmerman, 2011; McPherson, 2012). Intrinsic motivation is a crucial aspect of developing an identity as a musician.

Enjoyment of music is the key element of developing a musical identity. This may be through playing alone for pleasure, engaging in group activities, listening to music or attending concerts (Driscoll, 2009). When beginning to play an instrument, those who are committed to continuing to play tend to focus on the instrument, the repertoire and their enjoyment of music in determining their attitudes towards music, while less motivated children refer to participation in band, or the opinions of their parents and friends (Pitts et al., 2000).

A contributory factor to enjoyment of music, listening and playing is the impact it has on emotions. It has the capacity to satisfy emotional needs (Nagel, 1987; Persson et al., 1996; Pitts et al., 2000; Markris and Mullet, 2009). This is one reason why teenagers spend a great deal of time listening to music (Hargreaves et al., 2003).

In addition to the love of music, young musicians can derive satisfaction from the positive responses that they get from successful performance (Nagel, 1987; Persson et al., 1996). Hallam and colleagues (2016) found a strong relationship between the level of expertise a young person had reached on an instrument and the satisfaction that they derived from performance. Indeed, enjoyment of performance, along with having a strong musical identity, was the best predictor of the level of expertise attained. Few students at higher levels of expertise indicated that they did not enjoy performance. Experiencing positive feelings about performance may relate to the excitement of the performance itself or positive audience feedback (Nagel, 1987; Persson et al., 1996), although there are some students, where performance anxiety can negatively affect enjoyment (Papageorgi et al., 2007).

Not surprisingly, as children and young people become more advanced on their instruments their musical aspirations are enhanced. As their level of expertise increases, they need to make a greater commitment to music as they need to spend more time practising to meet technical demands and a larger repertoire (Hallam et al., 2012). This requires high levels of motivation. It is not clear whether aspirations drive motivation or aspirations increase to justify the expended effort.

There seems to be a decline in overall motivation at moderate levels of expertise after children have been playing for a few years (Burns and Bewick, 2013; Hallam et al., 2016). Evans and colleagues (2013) showed a decline between one to three years after starting to learn. These changes may be related to the effectiveness of practice which shows a similar pattern (see Hallam et al., 2012).

As children develop expertise on their instrument, the repertoire becomes more difficult and more systematic practice strategies are required to successfully master it. If learners do not acquire effective strategies they are unlikely to be successful. This may impact on their self-beliefs and their enjoyment of performance which in turn may lead to them giving up playing.

The value that most children place on participation in music in school declines as they get older (Wigfield et al., 1997; Mota, 1999; McPherson and O'Neill, 2010; Amundsen, 2012). This does not mean that they no longer value the musical activities that they participate in outside of school. Commitment to music is challenged when musical activities are in competition with other interests and activities (Brown, 1985; Driscoll, 2009; Demorest et al., 2016) or when they are perceived as too time consuming (Brown, 1985). For instance, Demorest and colleagues (2016) in the USA found that those who elected to take music in Year 7 were significantly more positive about music and about themselves as musicians, and saw music as less likely to interfere with other pursuits.

Some children learn to play an instrument and continue to do so because their parents want them to and have little personal interest in music. This almost inevitably leads to drop out (Pitts et al., 2012; Evans et al., 2013). For some giving up playing an instrument may not indicate a lack of love of music but simply a wish to play a different instrument (King, 2016).

Overall, having an initial interest in music and developing a love for it is the most important factor in children continuing to engage in music making, particularly in the long term. While parents, peers, teachers and organisations may support musical learning unless individuals experience enjoyment and pleasure from music they will not develop the intrinsic motivation needed to overcome any challenges they may face.

Developing and maintaining musical identity

Alongside developing a love of music, it is crucial for ongoing commitment that young people develop an identity as a musician (Austin 1991; Austin and Vispoel 1992; Eccles et al., 2005; Wigfield et al., 1997). An individual's identity represents the way s/he thinks about him/herself and his/her relationships with others. It plays a crucial role in motivation.

The goals that individuals set for themselves are also related to their identity. Developing an identity as a musician not only includes actively making music, but music becoming part of an individual's social life, having friends who share a love of music, listening to music and going to concerts. Hallam and colleagues (2016) showed that there was a strong positive relationship between music being part of a young musicians' social life and their level of expertise.

In adolescence, the peer group is very powerful and can exert positive or negative pressure in relation to musical activities (Driscoll, 2009; Howe and Sloboda, 1992; Hallam, 2013b). To withstand negative pressure musical identity needs to be well developed before young people transfer to secondary school. The development of a strong musical identity is particularly important in young people from low socio-economic status (SES) families as they are particularly at risk of feeling isolated and excluded in musical ensembles (Davies et al., 2008).

Young people develop different musical identities related to genre and the instruments that they play (Austin et al., 2006; Burland and Davidson, 2004). Some of their choices are strongly influenced by cultural factors. This is particularly the case in relation to gender. Historically, girls tended to play flute, violin and clarinet while drums, trombone and trumpet tended to be played by boys (Abeles and Porter, 1978). This trend has continued, although girls typically select a wider variety of instruments along the feminine-masculine

continuum than boys (Sheldon and Price, 2005; Hallam et al., 2008; Abeles, 2009). Gendered choices also occur in non-Western cultures (Ho, 2001) and are shared by parents (Abeles and Porter, 1978; Delzell and Leppla, 1992).

Girls tend to take up playing instruments more than boys (Sheldon and Price, 2005; Hallam et al., 2008). They also have more positive attitudes towards music and musical activities (Ho, 2009; McPherson and O'Neill, 2010). Boys tend to be more interested in and confident about music when it is linked to technology (Hanley, 1998; Ho, 2001) or when musical instruments depend on technology (Hallam et al., 2008).

Through the school years, singing is increasingly designated as a feminine activity (Green, 1997; Hanley, 1998). This may be exacerbated by the changes that occur in boys' voices during adolescence which coincide with other major social, academic and physical changes. Collectively these may discourage boys from participation in group singing (Freer, 2007).

Instrumental and class teachers have a key role to play in supporting the development of musical identities as do family members. Teachers and families can provide opportunities for young people to explore different musical identities and offer support as they develop, both practical and emotional. They can also disrupt their development by being overly critical or unsupportive. These issues will be considered later in this review.

Self-belief

How individuals perceive their aptitude for music and whether they believe that they are likely to succeed in it has a crucial impact on motivation to continue to participate in musical activities (Asmus and Harrison, 1990; Austin, 1990; Klinedinst, 1991; Lamont et al., 2003; Clements, 2002; Siebenaler, 2006; Hallam et al., 2016; Vispoel and Austin, 1993; McPherson and McCormick, 2006).

Those actively engaged in music making through playing an instrument or singing have higher levels of musical self-belief than those who do not (Ritchie and Williamon, 2011; Ivaldi and O'Neill, 2010). It is important to maintain self-belief over time as expertise develops (Hallam et al., 2016; McPherson and McCormick, 1999; 2000; 2006). However, being good at something and believing that you are does not necessarily transfer to interest in it, although conversely lack of self-belief in musical competence does influence giving up musical activities. Long term engagement with music seems to stem from love of it and sufficient proficiency to be able to participate in a meaningful way.

Unsurprisingly, self-efficacy (belief that one can achieve a particular goal) has been found to be the most important predictor of examination success (McPherson and McCormick, 2000; 2006) as it depends on feedback from teachers and family, comparisons with peers and self-assessment of progress in completing a task (Hendricks, 2013). Music teachers are one of the main sources of children's developing musical self-concepts. Too often children develop a negative view of themselves from teacher feedback, particularly when they experience difficulties with singing (Abril, 2007; Whidden, 2010).

Levels of success or failure in previous musical performance can affect self-belief (StGeorge, 2010). Transitions between educational environments or joining different groups may lead to temporary lowering of self-beliefs as comparisons are made with high attaining others. This process is influenced by whether the context is supportive or critical (Creech et al., 2008; Long, 2013). Where there is repeated success the impact on self-belief is likely to be cumulative. Of course, the actual level of musical skills acquired and the potential for ongoing improvement may not be reflected in self-beliefs which may be over or under inflated.

Those who give up playing tend to have lower expectations of success (Chandler et al., 1988; Pitts et al., 2000) and are less confident about future outcomes largely because of unsuccessful earlier experiences (StGeorge, 2010). In a longitudinal study, Evans and colleagues (2013) found that 41% of the total original sample was still participating in a school band programme after five years. After 10 years when the children were 18-20 only 16% were still playing an instrument. For many ceasing to play an instrument came about because they believed that they lacked musical ability. They assigned a trait like internal nature to it. This was often arrived at because of comparison with others.

In contrast, a small group felt that their abilities exceeded those of their peers and participating became boring. Demorest and colleagues (2016) also found that musical self-concept was an important predictor of those continuing with music after Year 6. There also seemed to be a relationship between singing ability and musical self-concept.

Musical self-beliefs are crucial for maintaining motivation to succeed in playing an instrument. Where children and young people do not believe that they have musical potential, or see others out performing them their self-beliefs diminish and they may give up playing, perhaps to take up another activity where they feel they can achieve more. Of course, if their love of music is strong they may explore other ways of engaging with music which do not require high level instrumental skills.

Acquiring effective approaches to learning music

Learning to play a musical instrument requires effort and commitment. There are ways of approaching learning which can maximise the rewards from that effort. Adopting mastery learning goals with a focus on constant improvement and maintaining the desire to acquire new skills, master new tasks and understand new things is important in supporting motivation to learn (Chaffin and Lemieux, 2004; Schmidt, 2005; Smith, 2005).

In contrast, adopting performance goals where the aim is to be better than others is usually counter-productive. In music, research examining the relative importance of mastery as opposed to performance goals has had mixed results (Austin, 1991; Lacaille et al., 2007; Sandene, 1998; Schmidt, 2005). However, children who are successful in learning an instrument tend to adopt mastery goals as their dominant approach to learning (O'Neill, 1997; Miksza, 2011).

For instance, Schmidt (2005) found that instrumental students defined their success in relation to mastery and co-operative orientations. They placed less emphasis on competitive and ego orientations, although the context of learning, particularly teacher behaviour, played a part in the type of goals adopted (Sandene, 1998). Studying advanced students and professional musicians, Bonneville-Roussy and colleagues (2011) found that mastery learning was related to what they described as a 'harmonious passion' for music, while 'obsessive passion' tended to be related to the adoption of performance goals.

Overall, the way in which learning is approached can support or negatively influence motivation. To sustain motivation for practice requires a constant desire to want to improve and achieve desired goals. This requires a mastery approach (O'Neill, 1997). In addition, to maintain high levels of self-belief, the goals set to be mastered need to be realistic (Burland and Davidson, 2004; Creech et al., 2008a, 2008b; Coulson, 2010; MacNamara et al., 2006). Actively making music provides the opportunity to set high standards and achieve them (Burland and Davidson, 2004; Creech et al., 2008; MacNamara et al., 2006), but if goals are unrealistic and unachievable this will act to reduce motivation.

Goals and aims

The goals and aims that individuals strive to attain in playing an instrument are related to their musical identity, self-concept, self-efficacy and what they believe is possible for them. If an individual perceives him or herself as successful and attributes this success to high ability they may come to include in their self-concept a 'positive possible future self' in that domain (Markus and Ruvolo, 1989).

Possible selves can be powerful motivators providing long term goals and encouraging the setting up of interim goals which need to be achieved en route. If an individual does not have a positive possible self as a musician in the long, medium, or short term they are unlikely to maintain their interest in music. Such musical identities can develop at any time, during the school years although for some they never develop (MacNamara et al., 2006; Hallam, 2013a; McPherson and McCormick, 2000).

Different musical aspirations, including wanting to be a professional musician, an amateur or seeing active engagement with music as contributing to other career aspirations, can emerge early in life (Hallam, 2013a; McPherson and Lehmann, 2012). Those who decide early on that they wish to pursue a career in music show immense commitment and determination (MacNamara et al., 2006).

Goals in different areas of life can sometimes conflict with each other and their fulfilment can be disrupted by other goals (Harnischmacher, 1997). For instance, clashes with other activities, e.g. sport, may mean that trade-offs between goals have to be made. One frequently reported cause of dropping out is when children have to leave other school lessons to attend a music lesson (Gamin, 2005). There may be some activities which have to be undertaken in order to improve and achieve a particular goal which may not be particularly enjoyable. For instance, many young people do not enjoy individual practice but recognise that it is necessary if they want to advance on their instrument (Hallam et al., 2012).

There is much evidence from subject areas other than music that there is a relationship between students' theories of intelligence and their goal choices. Where students hold an entity theory of intelligence, viewing it as fixed and immutable, they are more likely to adopt performance goals while those holding an incremental view of intelligence, seeing it as malleable, are more likely to choose a learning goal (Dweck and Leggett, 1988). In music, there is some support for this. Nielsen (2012) found that advanced music students who believed that ability was fixed were less likely to adopt multiple learning strategies including those to sustain effort, although the relationships were not strong.

To achieve musical goals, learners have to practice. There is considerable evidence that the amount of individual practice undertaken is a key predictor of whether students will discontinue instrumental lessons (Costa-Giomi et al., 2005; Driscoll, 2009; Gamin, 2005; Hallam 1998; King, 2016; McPherson, 2001; McPherson and Davidson, 2002; Sloboda et al., 1996). Children's attitudes towards practice and whether they report intending to practise also predict drop out (Hallam, 1998). Children who have a long-term commitment and realistic expectations about how much they should practise achieve more (McPherson, 2001).

While most beginners report enjoying practising this declines as expertise develops (Hallam et al., 2012). Being able to practise effectively so that it leads to clear improvement without too much time being spent is important in sustaining motivation (Hallam et al., 2012; Jorgensen, 2004; Jorgensen and Hallam, 2016; Manturzevska 1990; McPherson and Renwick, 2001; McPherson and Zimmerman, 2002). If children do not know what they are aiming for in terms of the sound of the music that they are learning, they may practice in mistakes which can be difficult to unlearn. If they are unable to make progress in particular learning tasks they may become frustrated.

Children can learn to practise effectively and most do, but this takes time (usually by graded instrumental examination Grade 5 most children are using effective practising strategies) (Hallam, 2001). Those who have learned to make best use of their practice time perform better and are more likely to continue playing for longer (McPherson, 2005).

The nature of practice tasks is also important. If a task is too easy learners become bored, if it is too difficult they may give up. Practice is most effective when there is the right level of challenge. When the task requires effort but is not overwhelming, even quite young learners can be 'in the zone', a state of 'flow' when practising (O'Neill, 1999; Custodero, 1999). States of 'flow' are more readily achieved when the learner has high musical self-concept or musical skills, the task is interesting and challenging and they engage with it.

There may be a relationship between being able to practise effectively and more general learning skills. Hallam (1998) found that the generalist class teachers' assessment of a child's ability to understand instructions in normal school life was the best predictor of their success on an instrument. A number of studies have suggested that students' overall scholastic ability contributes towards their success in learning to play an instrument (Klinedinst, 1991; Gamin 2005, McCarthy, 1980). Some research has suggested that those who chose to play a musical instrument tend to be of higher academic ability (Kinney, 2010; Kuhlman, 2005; Corrigan et al., 2013). However, Gordon (1968) concluded that academic achievement contributed little to predicting success in playing an instrument. The nature of the musical activity may be an important mediator here and whether it relies on reading musical notation.

The aspirations that young people have for their musical development and what they believe is possible for them determine the goals that they set for themselves. These goals may be more or less realistic. Their level of motivation to achieve these goals will determine how hard they are prepared to work and how much practice or rehearsal they commit to and undertake. The goals that they set will to some extent be determined by their knowledge of the field and what is required. Families will differ in the extent to which they are aware of the career, or even amateur pathways which are available for their children. Teachers therefore have a crucial role to play in ensuring that goals are realistic and that young people are aware of what they need to do to achieve them and what the challenges are.

Cognition: individual characteristics and processes

Most models of motivation take account of the way that behaviour is influenced by individuals' perceptions of events in their lives which in turn depend on their prior experiences. Perceptions of the world are mediated by beliefs. This includes the extent to which the individual perceives that s/he has control over situations (Rotter, 1966). Sandene (1998) studied children in Years 6 to 8 in school and found that students who dropped out of music tuition had a greater external locus of control. In other words, they generally felt that they had less control of their lives.

Young musicians need to be able to demonstrate resilience. In learning to play an instrument there will, from time to time, be negative feedback from teachers or others (Duke and Heninger, 1998). This can evoke strong emotions. Part of becoming a musician means being able to manage these strong feelings. The way that success and failure are dealt with and reflected on is crucial. The most effective attribution strategies for success and failure are those which focus on effort, practice and strategy use rather than those which focus on musical ability (Asmus 1986a, 1986b; McPherson and McCormick, 2000; Vispoel and Austin, 1993).

For instance, if a performance has not gone well, it is better for future motivation to explain this in terms of not having done sufficient practice, the piece of music being too difficult or not receiving sufficient guidance from a teacher rather than being unmusical. The latter

affects self-belief which plays a key role in whether students continue to engage in musical activities.

The evidence from research on the way attributions are made in music suggests that students tend to explain their successes and failures in terms of effort, musical background, classroom environment, musical ability and love of music (Arnold, 1997; Asmus, 1986a; 1986b; Legette, 1998). Where the research has focused on performance in an examination the findings show that attributions are typically made in relation to effort in preparation, effort in the examination, nervousness, luck, and task difficulty (McPherson and McCormick, 2000).

Highly motivated students tend to make effort attributions, while students with low motivation tend to cite musical ability (Asmus, 1986a, 1986b; Austin and Vispoel 1998; McPherson and McCormick 2000). Ability attributions seem to become more frequent as children get older (Arnold 1997; Asmus 1986a, 1986b).

Beliefs, about the nature of musical ability, whether learners believe that musical ability can be enhanced rather than being fixed (incremental beliefs) are important insofar as those holding such beliefs tend to have more effective practice habits and higher attainment (Nielsen, 2012).

Metacognitive strategies are crucial for effective learning. They are concerned with the planning, monitoring and evaluation of learning. There are considerable differences between beginners, novices and experts in their knowledge and deployment of different practising and meta-cognitive strategies (Hallam, 1997; Pitts et al., 2000). There are also individual differences among musicians and novices at the same level of competence (Austin and Berg, 2006; Nielsen 1999; 2001).

Professional musicians have well developed metacognitive skills, including self-awareness of strengths and weaknesses, extensive knowledge regarding the nature of different tasks and what would be required to complete them satisfactorily, and strategies which could be adopted in response to perceived needs. These encompass technical matters, interpretation and performance and issues relating to learning itself, concentration, planning, monitoring and evaluation. Novices demonstrate less metacognitive awareness (Hallam, 1997).

Knowledge about learning is related to the adoption of more effective practising strategies (Miksza et al., 2012). There are also relationships between beliefs about metacognition, the nature of knowledge and conceptions of musical ability.

Students holding complex beliefs about the nature of learning are more likely to use elaboration, organisation and metacognitive strategies, while those who believe that ability is fixed are less likely to adopt metacognitive and effort regulation strategies (Nielsen, 2012).

Other learning approaches have also been identified, constructive, expedient and impetuous. Impetuous approaches usually lead to lack of progress or failure (StGeorge et al., 2012).

High levels of concentration and focus are crucial for effective practice and seem to depend on self-reported individual differences rather than increasing expertise (Hallam et al., 2012; Mikszka, 2011). However, it is possible to reduce distraction in practising by raising awareness of it as it occurs (Madsen and Geringer, 1981).

Nielsen (2001) suggests that students can enhance their focus by thinking about how to proceed, monitoring their progress and noting concentration lapses and changes in motivation. Focusing on the task in hand is crucial to avoid mindless repetition.

Metacognitive skills and those related to resilience to some extent develop with age and experience, although the extent of their development depends to a great extent on educational opportunities. Teachers can directly support children and young people in developing learning skills, for instance, demonstrating how to approach the learning of a new piece of music and to practise it. They can also support children in managing their motivation in the face of criticism or failure.

Children from areas of high deprivation and vulnerable children

Children born into areas of high deprivation face considerable life challenges. Typically, they only acquire low level skills and qualifications and in adulthood, they are less likely to be employed and more likely to have lower earnings than those from more affluent areas. (Blanden et al., 2008). Other long-term consequences include those relating to health, mental and physical, and involvement in criminal activity (Feinstein et al., 2006).

Parental involvement in their child's education, lack of cultural and social capital, negative experiences at school, low aspirations and exposure to multiple risk factors are all implicated in the relationship between deprivation and poor educational outcomes. In relation to music, there is some evidence that children from deprived areas are less likely to have played a musical instrument (Scharff, 2015) and are more likely to have negative experiences with instrumental teachers, interpreting this as their own failure and feeling less comfortable and confident learning classical music (Bull, 2015).

A range of musical projects have focused on the role that music can play in enhancing the lives of vulnerable children and providing them with a range of transferable skills. Positive benefits have been found for 'looked after children' in the UK (Dillon, 2010) and young people who have had experienced serious and multiple life stresses in Norway (Waakter et al., 2004), while in Australia, group music making has been shown to support the social inclusion of refugee children (Marsh, 2012a, 2012b). Key outcomes for students included feelings of belonging to the school community, the wider Australian community, as well as to a global music community disseminated through various technological media (Marsh, 2012a, 2012b).

Music can also play a role in supporting those who have experienced severe trauma, for instance in war situations (Hesser and Heinemann, 2010). Creative musical activities have been shown to be particularly effective (Osborne, 2009; Gonsalves, 2010; Heidenrich, 2005; Sutton, 2002; Zharinova-Sanderson, 2004). Some successful projects have also included dance (Harris, 2007; Jones et al., 2004; Lederach and Lederach, 2010; Pesek, 2009).

A systematic review of research on the impact of active music making on young people at-risk within the criminal justice system undertaken by Daykin and colleagues (2011) showed that music offered the potential for improvements in self-efficacy, self-esteem and self-concept. Overall, music and arts programmes provide a safe means for young offenders to express difficult emotions and anger, although very short projects where participants are unable to meet their goals can lead to frustration (de Roeper and Savelsberg, 2009).

Group music making offers the opportunity to engage in wider cultural experiences, explore new ideas, places and perspectives and support social cohesion through broadening experience (Israel, 2012). These not only benefit participants but also increase parents' attendance at cultural events and their exposure to culture more generally (Creech et al., 2016).

Participating in group music making can encourage tolerance and the development of social ethics. Music participation can increase the acceptance of children with intellectual impairments (Humpal, 1991; Jellison et al., 1984) and can enhance community ethics

including having strong friendships, helping others and working to correct social and economic inequalities (Miszka, 2010).

Music can be a vehicle for re-engaging young people in education and supporting those who are at-risk in making changes in their lives. The context within which projects operate is important in their success as are the musical genres adopted and the quality of the musical facilitators. Deane and colleagues (2011) found that whilst music making acted as a 'hook' in terms of initial project engagement, it was frequently the building of a trusting and non-judgemental relationship between a young person and their mentor that supported change.

Summary

Developing a love of music is crucial for children continuing to engage in music making, particularly in the long term. While family, teachers and peers may support musical learning, unless individuals experience enjoyment from the music itself they will not develop the intrinsic motivation needed to overcome any challenges they may face. To maintain engagement, children need to develop an identity as a musician, have friends who share musical interests and a social life where music is important.

Positive musical self-beliefs are crucial in the development of musical identities as are beliefs that musical ability is not fixed but can evolve over time. Having positive aspirations and wanting and believing that it is possible to improve and achieve desired goals are important as is setting goals that are realistic. Progress is enhanced by the adoption of effective practice strategies, having strong metacognitive skills and resilience.

Schools and organisations engaged in providing musical activities for young people need to provide an appropriate learning environment for love of music and an identity as a musician to develop and for children and young people to acquire the relevant beliefs and musical and learning skills needed for success.

Those from areas of high deprivation who are committed young musicians are likely to need additional support to maintain their musical progression, particularly in relation to the costs of instrumental lessons and participation in ensemble activities.

Short term music projects have shown that music can provide opportunities for vulnerable young people, who frequently live in areas of high deprivation, to acquire a range of transferable skills and enhance their confidence and aspirations. The short-term nature of these projects means that issues of progression have not been addressed in the research.

Culture and subcultures

The concept of culture is highly contested. As early as 1934, Lowell, commented that attempting to define culture was 'like trying to seize the air in the hand, when one finds that it is everywhere except within one's grasp'.

While it might be relatively easy to define cultural heritage within any single country, the values that underpin culture have been shown to be more similar between countries than they are within them (Fischer and Schwartz, 2011). This challenges the prevailing conception of culture as based on shared meaning systems, with high consensus, in which values play a central role. There does not seem to be consensus within countries regarding values.

Despite this, there are cultural differences, internationally, in relation to the value placed on music. In some cultures, music is banned and perceived as evil, in others, governments or religious organisations attempt to control music, while in others music is highly valued. In the UK, most young and older people value music. They spend a considerable amount of their time listening to music (Laukka, 2007; North et al., 2000) and use it to change moods and manage emotions (DeNora, 2000, 2007).

This demand for music is reflected in reports about the state of the music industries in the UK. According to the British Phonographic Industry report, in 2015, 122 million albums (or equivalent) were purchased on physical format, downloaded or consumed via streaming. This was an increase on the previous year.

Data from 2014 showed that the total gross value added from music was £4.1 billion and of this £2.2 billion was exports. The music industry generated £3.7 billion in music tourism and brought in about 10.4 million tourists.

In a range of roles, the music industries employed 117,000 fulltime employees, most of whom were in creative activities, composing, creating and recording. Musicians, composers, songwriters and lyricists contributed £1.9 billion to the economy. Despite this, the 2017 report expressed concerns about recent educational reforms and stressed that compulsory, creative learning needed to continue to provide the skills that were needed (UK Music, 2017).

Cultural tastes and consumption practices in the UK tend to be divided by socio-economic status (Bennett et al., 2009; Miles and Sullivan, 2012; Warwick Commission, 2015; Marsh et al., 2010; Bunting et al, 2008).

'The wealthiest, better educated and least ethnically diverse 8% of the population forms the most culturally active segment of all: between 2012 and 2015 they accounted for at least 28% of live attendance to theatre, thus benefiting directly from an estimated £85 per head of Arts Council England funding to theatre. The same 8% of the population also accounted for 44% of attendances to live music, benefiting from £94 per head of Arts Council music funding. For the visual arts, this highly engaged minority accounted for 28% of visits and £37 per head of public funding' (Warwick Commission, 2015)

Socio-economic status and geographical location have a major influence on who is able to access the arts (Widdop and Cutts, 2012; Brook, 2013). Those who have higher incomes more regularly go to the theatre, museums, art galleries, stately homes, opera, cinema, musicals and rock concerts (Bennett et al 2009).

This has been explored in more depth by the Audience Agency which developed a segmentation tool which provides a more detailed analysis of cultural engagement. They segmented the UK population into ten distinct groups based on cultural values:

- Metroculturals (prosperous, liberal, urbanites interested in a very wide cultural spectrum);
- Commuterland culture buffs (affluent and professional consumers of culture);
- Experience seekers (highly active, diverse, social and ambitious, engaging with arts on a regular basis);
- Dormitory dependables (from suburban and small towns with an interest in heritage activities and mainstream arts);
- Trips and treats (enjoy mainstream arts and popular culture influenced by children, family and friends);
- Home and heritage (from rural areas and small towns, engaging in daytime activities and historic events);
- Up our street (modest in habits and means with occasional engagement in popular arts, entertainment and museums);
- Facebook families (younger suburban and semi-urban who enjoy live music, eating out and popular entertainment such as pantomime);
- Kaleidoscope creativity (mix of backgrounds and ages, occasional visitors or participants, particularly in community-based events and festivals);
- Heydays (older, often limited by mobility to engage with arts and cultural events).

Full descriptions of each of these classifications are set out in the appendices. What they show is that socio-economic status, education, age and the accessibility of cultural events determine the types of cultural activities which are engaged with. Those on low incomes more frequently engage with activities which are cheap, free or community based.

In addition to issues about who is able to engage with cultural activities, there are issues about who is involved in artistic creation. The *Acting Up* report (2017) links consumption with production and says that the performing arts, whether stage, television or film, are increasingly dominated by individuals from the highest economic status groups.

O'Brien and Oakley (2015) argue that consumption plays a critical role in creating and sustaining inequalities. The relationship between who consumes and who creates and what is considered to be legitimate culture at any point in time is at the heart of inequality. Indeed, culture has been viewed as a form of capital that allows the dominant class to legitimize its position (Bourdieu, 1984).

In the UK, the arts have long been viewed as a civilizing influence (Hewison, 2014). This has led to debates about whether they should be used instrumentally to bring about change or whether they should be valued for their own sake (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008; Warwick Commission, 2015). Education has a central role to play in ensuring that all young people have access to a wide range of artistic activities. Those from deprived areas face particular challenges, not least because there is a close fit between formal education and middle-class culture (Reay et al., 2011).

Summary

It is problematic to define culture. The evidence suggests that the values underpinning it at the individual level are closer between countries than within them. Engagement with cultural activities is stronger amongst those from higher socio-economic status groups with higher levels of education, although geographical location and age are also important determining

factors. There are current concerns about the extent to which employment in the creative arts is dominated by those from the more affluent groups and the diminishing role of the arts in compulsory education. Sales of records, downloads and streamed music in the UK suggest that most people value music and the role it plays in their lives.

Families

The role of the family in supporting children and young people in music making cannot be overestimated. The family is crucial in the early development of understanding of musical sound. The structures for processing sound including music are present prior to birth (Parncutt, 2016). These provide the basis for perceptual learning and enculturation, the process by which the child develops internal schemata of the music of its culture. This process is mediated by the learning environment.

In early infancy, parents and the family play a key role in musical enculturation through pre-verbal quasi-musical interactions and the singing of lullabies and other songs (Adachi and Trehub, 2012). Infants are similar to adults in their sensitivity to the pitch and rhythmic grouping of sounds but they need to learn the tonal framework of their culture in the same way that they learn their native language. This takes time to develop and depends on the type and extent of exposure to music, although by the age of five most children in Western cultures can sing songs and maintain tonality (Lamont, 2016).

Children who go on to develop extremely high levels of musical expertise tend to be early singers (Davidson et al., 1996). They generally start learning to play an instrument when they are very young and show a strong interest in music (McPherson, 2007). Their parents recognise their interest and potential in music and provide an enriched musical environment to support them (Hallam, 2013b).

Children with musically enriched environments learn to sing in tune earlier (Tafari, 2009). Such environments are more likely to be provided by parents with higher educational levels. First born children may also be advantaged as they benefit from more singing interactions than their later born siblings (Custodero et al., 2003).

Families who have musical skills and are interested in music seem to be able to transfer these values and interests to their children (Moore et al., 2003; Pitts et al., 2000; Zdinski, 1996). Family members can act as role models through their enjoyment of listening to and playing music in addition to providing financial and moral support for lessons and practice (Pitts, 2009). Robinson (2015) explored the involvement of families in *In Harmony* Liverpool and noted the crucial role played by the family in terms of musical awareness which supported child engagement.

The support of family, emotional and for practice, is very important if children and young people are going to continue making music in the long term. The evidence for this is overwhelming (Austin and Vispoel, 1998; Burland and Davidson, 2002; Demorest et al., 2016; Creech, 2010; Davidson et al., 1996; Sloboda and Howe, 1991; Lamont et al., 2003; Legette, 2003; MacNamara et al., 2006; Moore et al., 2003; Patrick et al., 1999; Zdinski, 2013; Uptis et al., 2016; Robinson, 2015; Siebenaler, 2006; Sichivitsa, 2004).

The nature of family support changes as the young learner gains greater skills and seeks more independence in the teenage years (Asmus and Harrison, 1990; Zdinski, 1996). Young children seem to require more external rewards for participation whereas older students tend to be intrinsically motivated by love of music. This changes the nature of parental support. Davidson, Sloboda, and Howe (1995-96) showed that children who received significant parental support before the age of eleven, but later became more autonomous in their practice, were more likely to continue studying music.

On the other hand, children who received little parental support early in their lives, but were pressured to study music during the teenage years tended to drop out. Parental support is most important for beginners declining in perceived importance as expertise develops (Creech and Hallam, 2011; Hallam, 2013b).

As children become more expert their musical identity is strengthened and support and social affirmation from families is perceived as less important, while a musical social life, enjoyment of a wide range of musical activities (listening to music, attending concerts) increases as does enjoyment of playing, lessons and performing (Hallam, 2013b).

Lack of parental support is a contributory factor in dropout (Boyle et al., 1995). Where parents are indifferent or less involved, children are more likely to give up playing (Davidson et al., 1996; Pitts et al., 2000; Creech and Hallam, 2010, 2011). Some parents may have negative attitudes towards music (Driscoll, 2009). Conversely, some young people may give up playing because they only began to learn an instrument because of pressure from their parents (Lorenzo Socorro et al., 2015).

The home environment is important for practice. Children can make greater progress when they experience an unthreatening home environment where they can experiment and practise freely (Davidson et al., 1996, McPherson and Davidson, 2002). Young children generally appreciate the involvement and support of their parents as they practise (Upitiset al., 2016). However, this can be perceived as interference as children seek more independence later and are more intrinsically motivated.

The quality of the relationship between the teacher, learner and parent is also important in the extent to which children make progress. Creech and Hallam (2010; 2011) found that in the context of individual string lessons the quality of the student-teacher-parent relationship predicted the level of expertise attained in addition to the enjoyment of music.

Challenges for families from deprived areas

Economic factors have a major impact on musical engagement as they impact on opportunity to begin and continue to learn to play a musical instrument (Driscoll, 2009; Hallam and Rogers, 2010; Corenblum and Marshall, 1998; Elpus, 2014; Elpus and Abril, 2011; Kinney, 2010).

Children from stable families with higher socio-economic status (SES) are more likely to have instrumental tuition (Kinney, 2010). While providing a musically enriched environment or support for children does not depend on social class, there is evidence that children from higher SES homes tend to persist in active music making while those from lower SES homes tend to drop out (Kinney, 2010; Klinedinst, 1991; McCarthy, 1980; Corenblum and Marshall, 1998).

In the UK, children from lower socio-economic groups continue to be significantly disadvantaged compared with their peers from more affluent backgrounds. The ABRSM report, *Making Music* (2017) showed that adults who had private lessons as children and took a graded music exam were much more likely to continue to play an instrument. The higher the level of expertise they attained the more likely they were to continue playing.

The cost of tuition and the variability of provision regionally were identified as barriers. When instrumental teachers were asked to identify what prevented children from continuing to play or sing after participating in whole-class ensemble programmes, the majority (64%) cited the cost of instruments and lessons. Seventy per cent of secondary state schools believed that the cost was the primary reason why learners did not continue, although 20%

cited lack of parental support or interest. Only 30% of students indicated that their parents were involved in their decision to play an instrument.

In a study in the USA, Ammerman (2016) pointed out that students from low SES families experience additional barriers to other students. These include a lack of resources relating to transport and finance and possible family responsibilities, for instance, providing care for younger siblings while parents work.

Davies and colleagues (2008) reported how one participant, a single parent, described frustration at the many activities that her child could not engage with because of their situation. For many low SES households, the priority is necessity leaving little to no financial resource for anything else (Miksza, 2007).

The expense of a child playing an instrument may be too much for low SES families (Burns, 2016; Burns and Bewick, 2011; 2012; 2013; GCPH, 2015; Harkins, 2014; Robinson, 2015). The children may lack transportation to events and have less support from parents making participation in social and after school rehearsals and performances difficult (Albert, 2006; Solly, 1986). The home environment may not be suitable for musical practice. This may have to be provided by the school or the programme.

Bates (2012) argues that while it is difficult to get low SES students to participate in instrumental music it is even harder to get them to continue. Kozel (1991, p2) describes the gap between high and low SES communities as so great as to be “segregation” (1991, p2). Even when a child from a low SES environment has developed an identity as a musician in a group learning situation, if they wish to progress to a high level of expertise they are likely to need to have individual tuition. This is expensive and clearly will be a barrier for many low SES families (Duerksen, 1972; Evans et al., 2013).

Schools can also be unsupportive as students from lower SES communities tend to score lower on standardized tests and may be discouraged from missing any core classes in case their grades or test scores suffer (Brooks, Gunn and Duncan 1997; IES, 2007; Ford 2011).

Summary

Families play a crucial role in supporting young musicians, particularly in the early stages of learning. As young people become more independent they continue to need practical support to actively engage with making music. The challenges facing families of low-socio-economic status in supporting their children’s musical activities are considerable. The cost of tuition and participating in extra-curricular ensembles may be more than they can afford. They may also face challenges in transporting their children to activities.

The influence of peers

In adolescence, the peer group is very powerful and can bring negative pressure to bear in relation to engagement with music. There is increasing evidence of the importance of peers in young people continuing with instrumental music at secondary school (Allen, 1981; Sichivitsa, 2007; Siebenaler, 2006; Clements, 2002). Evans and colleagues (2013) found that peer relationships were particularly important where playing a musical instrument was not seen as 'cool.'

Burns (2014) presented a case study of a child in secondary school who had hidden his engagement with music from his peers as a means of controlling their reaction and protecting his own involvement. Clearly, for some young people playing an instrument can lead to being socially isolated.

Demorest and colleagues (2016) found that those who chose to do music after elementary school were likely to see music as more positive in terms of peer relationships and less likely to interfere with other pursuits. Where friends were engaged in music making they were more likely to elect to participate in musical activities. Young people involved in the arts more generally are appreciative of the support they receive from their peers (Burland and Davidson, 2004; Patrick et al., 1999).

A survey of teachers in the Canary Islands (Lorenzo Socorro et al., 2015) showed that 63% thought that peer influences were important in dropout. To ensure that young people can cope with negative peer pressure in relation to musical engagement they need to have a strong musical identity and friendships within the context of their musical activities.

Summary

Peer pressure is particularly strong in adolescence. To sustain musical engagement when it is not considered to be 'cool' to play an instrument requires young people to have a strong musical identity and friendships which are supportive of musical activity.

The English education context

The cultural value placed on music within society affects music education as do changes in the political make up of governments who may give it more or less importance. Where music is seen to be valued within education, children and young people who participate in it are more likely to take it seriously and to feel that the activities that they are engaged with are valued.

Historically, music has been part of formal education since the introduction of compulsory schooling, typically with a focus on singing. This changed with *The Education Reform Act* (HMSO, 1988) which established the core subjects of English, maths and science, and designated ten foundation subjects, one of which was music, as the National Curriculum (NC).

Since then there have been several iterations of the National Curriculum but broadly it sets out that children's musical experiences in school, primary and secondary should be based on listening, appraisal, performing and composition.

Currently, state funded schools are required to follow the National Curriculum, but academies and the newly established free schools do not have to do so. The DfE paper '*Educational Excellence Everywhere*' (2016) gave a commitment that all schools would become academies by 2020. Even if this is not enacted in its entirety it indicates a clear direction of travel. This means that the National Curriculum in its current form may not inform the music curriculum going forward.

This has implications for the musical progression of children who attend secondary schools where there is limited musical activity. For children from areas of high deprivation, where parents cannot afford private tuition or attendance at extra-curricular ensemble activities this is critical.

Despite this, the Culture White Paper (2016) affirmed the Conservative government's commitment to the arts:

'The national curriculum sets the expectation that pupils will study art and design, music, drama, dance and design and technology. New, gold-standard GCSEs and A levels have been introduced in these subjects. Ofsted inspectors take account of pupils' cultural development, including their willingness to participate in artistic, musical, sporting and other cultural opportunities. Inspectors expect schools to provide a broad and balanced curriculum and extra-curricular opportunities that extend pupils' knowledge, understanding and skills in a range of artistic, creative and sporting activities' (p21).

The paper indicated that the government would work with the Royal Society for Arts to encourage schools to use the pupil premium to promote cultural education as a means of raising the educational attainment of disadvantaged pupils and with Arts Council England to understand the barriers that prevent people from lower income households and under-represented groups from becoming professionals in the arts.

In the DfE document '*Educational Excellence Everywhere*' the stress was on giving education leaders greater autonomy including going beyond the national curriculum within the existing framework of qualifications, assessment and accountability. The national curriculum was to be viewed as a benchmark which would set out the sort of knowledge-based, ambitious, academically rigorous education which every child should experience.

However, as there are to be no more Ofsted subject reports in music, it is difficult to see how schools will not be held accountable for their provision of music education.

Since the Education Reform Act there have been a number of government initiatives which have had a profound effect on music education in England: the setting of the Widening Participation Programme (now Whole Class Ensemble Tuition); the establishment of Music Education Hubs and the setting up of the *In Harmony* programme.

Whole Class Ensemble Tuition (WCET)

In 2001, the government set out in the White Paper *Schools Achieving Success* that over time all primary school pupils who wanted to should have the opportunity to learn to play a musical instrument. Focusing on pupils at Key Stage 2 (ages 7-11), this built on and extended the statutory entitlement to music education provided by the National Curriculum and became known as the 'Wider Opportunities' programme.

A range of instrumental and vocal models were piloted to support the development of the Wider Opportunities programme. These were evaluated by Ofsted (2004) and Youth Music (2004).

The three common elements of the programme were: taster sessions (a variety of live and hands on musical experiences to stimulate interest and broaden musical perspectives); foundation activities (general musicianship experiences across a range of instruments and voice to develop disciplined musical skills, knowledge and understanding); and specialist instrumental tuition (the opportunity to go on and learn to play a musical instrument generally in a whole class setting, including ensemble playing, composition and performance and specialist tuition in small and large groups). Ofsted (2004) recommended that the tuition phase should last for at least one year.

Further evaluation of the pilot projects was extremely positive. Ofsted commented that the Wider Opportunities policy was 'leading to the significant transformation of music education for all pupils in Key Stage 2' (Ofsted, 2005). New musical traditions had been introduced into schools and more children wished to learn instruments. The quality of teaching was judged to be better than that in conventional Key Stage 2 sessions. Lessons were planned and taught by a combination of freelance and community musicians, Music Service tutors, classroom teachers and teaching assistants.

This provided opportunities for Continuing Professional Development (CPD) for all of those participating. Classroom teachers could learn instrumental skills from visiting musicians while the musicians developed an in-depth understanding of the school context, classroom management and the wider music curriculum.

Participating schools took advantage of a wide range of local specialist provision including that from Music Services, voluntary and community music groups, a range of independent providers, Youth Music Action Zone resources, visiting composers, local orchestras, opera companies and bands. In some cases, strong partnerships were also established with music industry bodies including instrument makers and retailers (Ofsted, 2004; Youth Music, 2004).

In 2007, the DfES surveyed the progress of the Widening Opportunities programme (Hallam et al., 2007). This showed that Music Services had made considerable progress in providing every child with the opportunity to play an instrument. Whole class instrumental tuition was the most commonly reported strategy followed by whole class vocal tuition.

There were challenges to implementation. The most frequently mentioned were insufficient staff, lack of instruments, conflict with other priorities, timetabling difficulties, inadequate

accommodation and the lack of expertise of primary school teachers. Where head teachers were supportive and music education was highly valued implementation was easier and the outcomes were more positive.

The role of Local Authority Music Services in taking forward the programme was confirmed in the Ofsted report *Making more of Music* (2009). At its best, the programme was reported as having a considerable impact in raising expectations and standards, encouraging wider participation, and increasing classroom teachers' confidence and subject knowledge. Other evaluations supported these conclusions (Bamford and Glinkowski, 2010; Hallam, 2016b).

The most recent key data report on Music Education Hubs (Sharp, 2015) noted that just under a third of pupils continued to learn an instrument after receiving whole class instrumental tuition in the previous year. This continuation rate was influenced by a number of factors, including the willingness of schools and parents to encourage, support and pay for children's instrumental learning.

However, there are issues in the way that the data is collected as it only takes account of elective continuation of lessons at school. No account is taken of children going on to private tuition or continuing to engage with music informally at home or with friends (Hallam, 2016b). Although all children have the opportunity to learn to play an instrument, many schools do not provide opportunities for children to practice at school during break times even though there may be challenges with practising at home. This may disadvantage some children (Hallam, 2016b).

Overall, it is possible for WCET to be successful. However, it requires the total commitment of the senior staff in the school; inspirational and high quality teaching, where instrumental tutors can develop strong positive relationships with the children and have high expectations; opportunities for performance to ensure the engagement of parents; and affordable progression routes within the school to ensure that children can continue to learn to play when the programme ends.

The best programmes include musicianship classes prior to the WCET followed by ongoing whole class tuition paid for by the school or large group electives which enable parents to afford the lessons.

The development of Music Education Hubs

In 2004, the Music Manifesto was launched with the intention of bringing together interested parties who would sign up to its aims which were to:

- provide every young person with first access to a range of music experiences;
- provide more opportunities for young people to deepen and broaden their musical interests and skills;
- identify and nurture the most talented musicians;
- develop a world class workforce in music education; and
- improve the support structures for young people making music.
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The manifesto, which had 2000 signatories, provided support for the original government commitment.

In February 2011, The Henley Review was published and recommended the establishment of Music Education Hubs to coordinate the strategic operation of music education in local and regional areas. Following this, a national plan for music education was published in November 2011.

The document *'The importance of music: A national plan for music education'* (2011) generated by the Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government clearly set out the importance attached to music. *'Our vision is to enable children from all backgrounds and every part of England to have the opportunity to learn a musical instrument; to make music with others; to learn to sing; and to have the opportunity to progress to the next level of excellence.'* (p 9).

The document went on to state that *'All schools should provide high quality music education as part of a broad and balanced curriculum'* (p 9). Building on the work of Local Authority Music Services, Music Education Hubs were to be created which were tasked with augmenting and supporting music teaching in schools so that more children experienced a combination of classroom teaching, instrumental and vocal tuition and input from professional musicians.

Each hub was expected to draw on local expertise beyond that available in schools from a range of educational and arts partners, charities and other music groups. The hubs were expected to drive the quality of service locally and improve partnership working which in turn was expected to enhance the opportunities for young people.

The hubs were expected to provide children with enjoyable musical experiences from the earliest stages of musical learning with high expectations and well-planned progressive experiences. These were to enable all children to succeed including those who did not have the encouragement or support from their parents/carers, or who needed additional support for other reasons.

Hubs were to support progression through providing opportunities for different specialisms, instruments, genres and styles, compositions and technologies, providing progression opportunities beyond those which individual schools could offer. School and hub offerings were to complement each other providing for different needs and routes of progression. While the document recognised and valued local innovation, core values were set for Music Education Hubs to ensure national consistency and equality of opportunity. The core roles were to:

- a) ensure that every child aged 5-18 had the opportunity to learn a musical instrument (other than voice) through whole-class ensemble teaching programmes for ideally a year (but for a minimum of a term) of weekly tuition on the same instrument;
- b) provide opportunities to play in ensembles and to perform from an early stage;
- c) ensure that clear progression routes were available and affordable to all young people;
- d) develop a singing strategy to ensure that every pupil sang regularly and that choirs and other vocal ensembles were available in the area (p11).

Accountability was to be through the Arts Council with Ofsted also playing a key role in reporting on the success of the plan.

The 2012 Ofsted report welcomed the government's rationale for the approach to organising aspects of music education through area music partnerships and the government's commitment to continuing funding for the hubs but reported that these had not brought about sufficient improvements in the quality of provision over the past three years.

Local decisions, including those made in individual schools and academies, proved to be crucially important in the quality of music education. The national plan for music education had made it clear that schools were important in the development of the Music Education Hubs.

Significant improvement was needed in the quality of teaching in schools and central to this was more effective musical leadership and management by heads and other senior staff in schools.

The report challenged the DfE to rigorously and independently hold all publicly funded music education initiatives, including Music Education Hubs, to account for the quality and effectiveness of their work and ensure that headteachers were better informed about funding and organisational arrangements for the delivery of extra-curricular music education provision, particularly through local Music Education Hubs, and that they were encouraged to play a full part in evaluating and challenging the quality of the hub provision.

Ofsted (2012b) reported on partnership working. This report was based on visits to 65 schools. Most of the schools surveyed were using partnerships to offer a greater range of activities than the school could provide by itself, but, in many cases, they were not well managed and did not result in significantly improved long-term outcomes for all groups of pupils, particularly the most disadvantaged. Five key elements of successful partnerships were identified.

First, significant, sustained levels of funding were matched by rigorous monitoring and evaluation enabling swift action to be taken when funding was not being used well. Second, schools ensured that all groups of pupils benefited from the partnership, particularly the most disadvantaged. Third, provision was linked to individual pupils' needs, interests and abilities. As a result, projects complemented, augmented and supported other music work in the school. Fourth, partnerships were used to develop both school teachers' and visiting musicians' practice. Finally, headteachers and senior leaders used the partnership to strengthen their own knowledge and understanding of the quality of music education enabling them to monitor and evaluate music provision more thoroughly.

Pitfalls were also identified, lack of monitoring of the partnership by school leaders, disadvantaged pupils not benefitting as much as other students, partnership programmes not being sufficiently aligned with the school's day-to-day musical provision or the prior knowledge of students, school staff and visiting musicians not working together, and senior leaders not being well enough informed to ask critical questions or make judgements about the quality of music education.

In 2013 Ofsted reported on the role of Music Education Hubs. The report acknowledged that there was much to celebrate about music education in England and that the hubs frequently brought new energy, collaborative approaches and vitality to working with young people. They also continued to provide instrumental teaching and support orchestras, a range of ensembles, choirs, festivals and holiday music courses.

However, the report pointed out that this essential work did not reach all pupils. It acknowledged that key recommendations from previous Ofsted survey reports appeared to have been ignored by many schools and that schools expected too little of pupils failing to ensure that they had a basic understanding of and ability to put into practice simple musical concepts.

At primary level, pupils were viewed as not being ready for learning involving musical theory and there was a fear that they would not enjoy it. At secondary level, in Key Stage 3 (11-14

years) schools gave students a range of musical experiences of different styles but learning was disjointed and superficial.

Classical music was rarely introduced. At Key Stage 4 and 5 (15 – 18 years), music was a specialised activity for a minority of students. Ofsted argued that the problem arose because senior leaders in schools were unable to challenge their own staff and visiting teachers to bring about improvement. The quality of music was evaluated too optimistically. In the schools visited, HMI observed a lesson with a senior leader and in only 5 of the 31 lessons observed did the senior leader judge the quality of the teaching accurately by referring to pupils' musical learning.

Ofsted argued in the report that Music Education Hubs should not be treating schools as consumers and asking what they need or offering services. Rather they should act as champions, leaders and expert partners arranging systematic, helpful and challenging conversations with each school about the quality of the music education and how the school and hub could work together to improve it. Ofsted acknowledged that some hubs were beginning to realise this ambition and many showed the potential to do so.

Two core functions of Music Education Hubs, the First Access programme and the singing strategy provided the opportunity for Music Education Hubs to reach out to schools. The report went on to state that in too many cases, the First Access lessons did not relate to other music teaching in the school and were ineffective. Many of the hubs were failing to reach out to all eligible schools, despite receiving funding to do so. Singing strategies were rarely influential or well-established.

For most Music Education Hubs, the work needed to change and go beyond that provided by former Local Authority Music Services, although some hubs had begun to improve the quality of the dialogue about music education with the school.

In most schools, leaders did not understand that they had weaknesses in their provision or that the hub could be a source of expert advice and help them. In some schools, hubs found it difficult to engage head teachers and did not persist. Their role was non-existent or irregular. Too often hubs sold services to schools without asking about the schools existing provision and failed to challenge the school to improve it.

Teaching for the First Access programme was often separated from the school's own provision, it was not part of a coherent curriculum provision. The more successful hubs had begun to tackle school weakness by having periodic discussions about how it could support the school in improving music education.

The report pointed out that Arts Council England required hubs to provide considerable amounts of numerical monitoring data related to their roles but that this had not helped hubs to assess the quality of their work or indeed to enable that quality to be judged independently. Generally, hubs could not show how their work in schools provided best value for public money. The report recommended that each hub should:

- prepare a school music education plan that enabled them to promote themselves with schools as confident, expert leaders of music education in their areas not simply as providers of services;
- expect and ensure that all schools engage with them and the National Plan for Music Education;

- have regular supportive, challenging conversations with each of their schools about the quality of music education for all pupils in that school;
- support all schools in improving the music education that they provide, especially in class lessons, and support them in evaluating it robustly;
- offer expert training and consultancy to schools, which supports school leaders and staff in understanding what musical learning, and good progress by pupils in music, are like;
- ensure that their own staff and partners are well trained and ready to do this work;
- spend a suitable proportion of their staff's time on working with school leaders strategically, alongside their work in teaching pupils directly;
- publicise their work effectively to schools and explain how it can contribute to school improvement;
- facilitate school-to-school support as appropriate;
- promote high-quality curriculum progression in schools and ensure that hubs' work in schools is integral to this;
- robustly evaluate the impact of their own work on pupils' music education.

In turn schools were encouraged to make better use of the provision and funding provided through hubs as part of the National Plan for Music Education, expect music education hubs to provide them with expert advice and challenge and act on this, and evaluate their musical provision more accurately, especially teaching and the curriculum, and seek training and advice as needed.

Arts Council England, supported by the Department for Education was exhorted to take rapid action to improve the reporting and accountability framework for Music Education Hubs, to ensure that it contained evaluation of the quality of the work of the hubs in schools and the overall evaluative examination of hubs' work. It should challenge hubs to achieve the best value from the public money they received and guide them in developing and implementing their school music education plans.

The Arts Council responded to the Ofsted recommendation that Music Education Hubs should develop a School Music Education Plan to enable them to have challenging conversations with schools about the quality of music education in the school by publishing a policy statement (ACE, 2014) and providing a peer development programme, seminars and training (Sharp and Rabiasz, 2015).

At the time of the most recent key data analysis the plans had been in place for a full year. The most recent key data report (2015) focused on the number and percentage of pupils receiving Whole Class Ensemble Teaching (WCET); playing regularly in ensembles provided by the hub, receiving instrumental tuition outside of WCET, singing in choirs/vocal groups, and the number of state schools they are engaged with in at least on key role. There was no analysis of the wider activities of hubs.

Derbyshire (2015), supporting the Ofsted research, argued that Music Education Hubs were pivotal to the delivery of the National Plan for Music Education. However, although they are required to operate through partnership and collaboration in recognition of the huge range of possible musical progression routes, she found that the sector, to date, had failed to recognise this and was not taking account of the myriad of different ways in which young people engage with music. While there were examples of good practice, mechanisms needed

to be put in place to support Music Education Hubs in encompassing the range of progression routes which young people wished follow.

The National Plan for Music Education continues until 2020, although it was not mentioned in the two most recent and relevant government papers, *The Culture White Paper* (DCMS, 2016) and *Educational Excellence Everywhere* (DfE, 2016).

Overall, Music Education Hubs have the potential to resolve many issues relating to musical progression. It is part of their remit to ensure that clear progression routes are available and affordable to all young people. While there is some exemplary practice, in many cases, hubs have not adequately met this challenge. While they do provide ensemble opportunities the nature and level at which these operate varies considerably. Typically, they do not have sufficient funds to provide instrumental tuition or ensemble activities for free or at reduced rates for children from low SES families.

Sistema-inspired programmes and *In Harmony*

El Sistema was founded in 1975 as Social Action for Music by Jean Antonio Abreu. It was premised on a utopian dream in which an orchestra represents the ideal society, and the sooner a child is nurtured in that environment the better for society. It has survived 34 years with 10 different administrations and is financed by the government through Social Services ministries. Its network of 102 youth and 55 children's orchestras (numbering approximately 100,000 young people) is now managed by the Ministry of Family, Health and Sports. The goal of El Sistema is to use music for the protection of childhood through training, rehabilitation and the prevention of criminal behaviour.

When the model was implemented in the UK, first in Scotland, led by Richard Holloway, and then through the *In Harmony* programme in 2009, there was some scepticism about how well it would transfer to a different context. The longevity of the model, the fact that it had been state supported over a 35-year period and the possible geo specificity of the model raised some issues about implementation elsewhere (Service, 2008).

Sistema Scotland was established in 2008 and its clear emphasis on social development through music adhered to the original Sistema ethos:

'Deprivation takes many forms, and we live in a very different country from Venezuela, but the circumstances which can lead to the alienation of a child, and the attributes of playing in an orchestra which can counter them, are essentially the same.' (Sistema Scotland, 2008)

In 2008, Schools Minister Andrew Adonis launched *In Harmony*, which was presented as a community development programme aimed at using music to bring positive change to the lives of children in some of the most deprived areas of England, delivering benefits across the wider community. The programme was inspired by *El Sistema*.

The pilot programmes were primarily social programmes using music through the model of a symphony orchestra to improve the lives of individuals and communities. The projects were rooted in the community and aimed to have the support, goodwill and commitment of parents and carers, children and young people, and community and voluntary organisations in the area.

Stress was placed on their being mutual trust between the community, its local schools and the local authority officers, music services, music teachers, music organisations and orchestras. The children to be involved were to be aged at around four years old and the areas of implementation were to have above average levels of deprivation. The children were

to be involved in the long-term and their involvement was to be intensive with regular commitment from children and parents. The social development of the participants was seen as more important than ‘musical’ skills, although the projects were also to excel musically.

The projects were to have a charismatic leader to work closely at the local level. The aim of the pilot projects was to explore ways in which active, sustainable and cohesive communities could be developed using the power and disciplines of community-based orchestral music-making and learning. The plan was that the *In Harmony* projects would use the unique power of music making to enthuse and motivate ‘at-risk’ children, families and communities so that:

- children could improve their skills, attainment and ‘life-chances’;
- families could improve their well-being;
- communities could improve their cohesion, mutual respect and could champion social justice.

Following a bidding process, three pilots were established in Liverpool, Lambeth and Norwich. The projects were funded until March 2011. Burns and Bewick (2009) compared the three pilot projects concluding that they were different in four main respects. The number of schools involved along with the potential numbers of children engaged differed greatly between the projects.

The projects were led by very different organisations: the Liverpool project was led by an orchestra whilst the other two were led by a Local Authority music service and a community music provider. Previous engagement by the lead organisation with the community differed and there appeared to have been more engagement in Liverpool than with the other two pilots. The ways in which the three projects were described in the press and on their websites differed and they appeared to have somewhat different unique ‘selling points.’

The Department for Children, Families and Schools funded the three pilot projects for an initial period of two years but the May 2010 General Election resulted in a coalition government between the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats and a subsequent spending review with unprecedented cuts to public spending and government departments. Despite this, in 2011, a year of transitional funding was secured from the then Department for Education (DfE) and the Department of Media, Culture and Sport (DCMS) to support a third year of the pilots.

In 2012/13 the responsibility for *In Harmony* shifted to Arts Council England and a decision was made to continue to fund two of the initial pilots, Liverpool and Lambeth. A call for proposals to lead four new programmes was launched in late May 2012. In July 2012, four new programmes were funded to start in September 2012 for an initial three year period. Telford and Stoke, Nottingham, Newcastle (Sage Gateshead) and Leeds (Opera North) were selected. By this time, the core principles of *In Harmony* had changed slightly.

In Harmony was seen as being inspirational for children, families, schools and communities and raising the expectations and life chances of children through a high quality music education. There was less emphasis on the community in the criteria set for the four new programmes.

The *In Harmony* programmes were designed to take place in geographical areas and communities that were in the top Lower Super Output Areas (LSOAs) on the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD). Deprivation levels are assessed in relation to income,

employment, health and disability, education skills and training, barriers to housing and services, living environment and crime. Together these create a poverty cycle which is reflected in social exclusion from the ordinary patterns, customs and activities of society, i.e. cultural deprivation.

The *In Harmony* programmes were designed to address this inequality. They were set up in 'areas identified as having a high proportion of the most disadvantaged children.' The language of 'deprived communities' and 'anti social behavior, drug abuse and crime' (ACE 2012) used to describe those areas targeted by the programmes made the focus on deprivation very clear. They were initially designed as social development programmes working through music with the intention of impacting on family life where it was assumed that at least some families were troubled.

There have been a number of evaluations of the *In Harmony* programmes. Some have carried out research across all of the programmes, while others have focused on individual or groups of programmes. At a national level, Hallam and colleagues (2011) demonstrated the way that the programmes not only supported children's musical development, but also their social wellbeing. The National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) (Lord et al., 2013; 2015; 2016; White et al., 2016) undertook a series of studies using a range of research methods.

Overall, this research reported positively on the impact of *In Harmony* on the children's personal and social development, indicated the raised aspirations of parents and families and increased parental engagement with schools. Across all of the programmes, *In Harmony* was inclusive in relation to school curriculum activities, but children with Special Educational Needs and boys were under represented in extra-curricular activities.

The programme had the most impact on attainment in the early years of its implementation. The final report concluded that there was a positive contribution to social and musical outcomes for children from disadvantaged backgrounds who may not otherwise have had the opportunity to learn an instrument (Lord et al., 2016). An interview study with the head teachers of the participating schools reported positive views of the impact of *In Harmony* on their school, its pupils and parents (White et al., 2016).

Focusing on the programme in Lambeth, Lewis and colleagues (2011) reported that the participating primary schools had improved their attainment since the start of the programme and argued that, in part, this could be attributed to the children's involvement with *In Harmony*. They explored mechanisms that would support longer term engagement and advocated a monitoring focus on commitment and behaviour. They reported a dip in motivation amongst the children involved in the *In Harmony* programme after approximately one year, when the demands of learning an instrument became greater.

In research based in Norwich, Telford and Newcastle, Rimmer and colleagues (2014) identified that the interest of the parents in the programme had a strong influence on the children. The ongoing role of musical and cultural socialisation within homes, families and educational environments influenced children's valuing of their involvement.

A study of *In Harmony* Telford and Stoke (Rushton, 2016), which particularly focused on children with Special Educational Needs, found that the programme provided opportunities for self-expression and social communication for those who found verbal communication difficult. The structure and predictability of the music and the individual attention provided by the *In Harmony* staff supported this and helped the children to find a positive role in the ensemble and integrate socially.

In Harmony Liverpool is the most researched programme (Wilson, 2012; Burns, 2013; Burns and Bewick, 2013; Robinson, 2015, Burns, 2016). Burns and Bewick (2013) concluded that:

'there continues to be strong evidence that In Harmony Liverpool is exceeding its expected outcomes and outputs. In Harmony Liverpool provides compelling evidence of a holistic and enriching musical education resulting in a positive impact on the personal, social, emotional and educational development of children and young people.' (Burns and Bewick, 2013, p. 4)

Similar conclusions were drawn in a later evaluation (Burns, 2016). There was further evidence of good progress in academic attainment at Key Stage 2, of musical attainment and children's perceptions of their social and emotional wellbeing. Parents and carers noted changes in musical ability, communication, confidence, focus and concentration and behaviour. The way that families engaged with the musical activities and the children took home new skills and shared them with other family members had a direct impact on family life.

Burns (2016) concluded that over the years it was clear that, as the children became more engaged and change in them was evident, the impact on families and family life, individual aspiration and community pride also changed creating a virtuous cycle of change. In what was perceived as a severely deprived area, residents now saw some hope:

'It has challenged how people see our community - it makes people think twice about the area instead of just writing us off.' (Local Resident)

'Everyone just seems to feel full of hope for the future' (Parent)

In Harmony Liverpool achieved 71% continuation rate of children leaving primary school and transitioning into school-based instrument lessons and/or West Everton Super Strings early on, but by 2017 this was reduced to 56%.

Over the years *In Harmony* Liverpool has existed, a total of 29% of all eligible children who have transitioned since 2009 have continued to engage with music. This is attributed to the well-defined progression routes available in ensembles and orchestras and strong partnerships with the Liverpool Music Support Service and heads of music in the local secondary schools. However, it is also clear that it is related to the commitment of the pupils themselves to continue making music. (Burns and Bewick, 2012).

Overtime, there were increasingly differentiated levels of musical attainment, while successive evaluation reports noted a decline in motivation between 2-3 years of starting to play. As the programme became 'normal' it was valued less and motivation decreased. However, the leadership and mentoring strands were particularly effective in retaining engagement (Burns and Bewick, 2011, 2012, 2013).

Robinson (2015), also working in Liverpool, focused specifically on families and found that parents participating in the research were actively supporting their children and felt that their lives had been transformed as their children had new skills and opportunities, had greater experiences of other places and a greater appreciation of music.

Internationally, some Sistema-inspired programmes have focused on progression in their evaluations trying to establish why young people leave and addressing arising issues (see Creech et al., 2016). In the Columbian programme, Batuta, drop out at the age of 12 was

recognised as a significant issue to be addressed and this led to an investment in teacher development and the creation of flagship youth orchestras (Booth and Tunstall, 2011).

Booth (2012) suggested that in order to maintain engagement, programmes needed to stay focussed on both fostering intrinsic motivation amongst young people and responding to individual needs and circumstances as they emerged.

Sistema Scotland also raised concerns over transition over a number of years in Raploch, Stirling (Allan et al, 2010). The children in the programmes in the newer sites are too young for transfer. Pastoral support is suggested as a possible strategy for ongoing engagement post transition.

There are other similar projects where attempts have been made to develop mechanisms to support transition and retention within the programme. For example, in London, Music First delivers an afterschool programme in two secondary schools that serve as 'hubs' for children from feeder primary schools. Secondary school aged children are invited to continue in the programme, with additional responsibilities as mentors.

Monitoring children's engagement on transition is important and planning progression routes with them is critical. Where there are high retention rates this seems to be because there are well-defined progression routes, effective communication with secondary school music departments, as well as the commitment of the students themselves (Harkins, 2014; GCPH, 2015).

Creech and colleagues (2016) suggested that good practice in this area involves careful planning and monitoring of commitment and behaviours amongst students as they approach the transition.

Other factors that appear to support transition are noted as investment in teacher development, well defined progression routes and effective communication with secondary school music departments as well as the commitment of the young people themselves and the support of their family.

In England, the charity Sistema England has adopted a national remit to build and serve the Sistema and 'music for social change' community, working closely with four *In Harmony* programmes¹ and two independent Sistema programmes² for shared teacher training needs, international cultural exchanges and to deliver the Sistema England Young Leaders programme with the most committed young musicians from each programme. It works in partnership with other organisations who are active in this field and acts as a major instrument donation bank, transferring used instruments into the hands of young musicians.

Overall, the evaluations have shown that the *In Harmony* programmes have had a positive impact on the children and families where they are located. There is limited data on the extent to which children from the programmes continue to engage with music when they leave primary school. Where long term data are available, on average almost a third have continued to be involved in music, although there is variability between cohorts.

Successful progression requires there to be available and suitable progression routes, excellent partnerships with transfer organisations and a strong commitment to music from the young people themselves.

¹ The *In Harmony* projects in Leeds and Nottingham have chosen not to be members of Sistema England.

² The Nucleo Project and Sistema in Norwich

The role of schools in supporting engagement with music

However, music is valued in wider society, children are affected by the value which their school places on music education. The school environment has been demonstrated to impact on musical motivation. Studies in Spain at primary level (Arriaga Sanz and Madariaga Orbea, 2013) and Australia at secondary level (McEwan, 2013) have shown that school cultures influence active participation in music, class teachers playing an important role in motivating students.

An ideal school environment for encouraging engagement with music is one where there are plentiful engagement and performing opportunities, teachers are inspiring, and at primary level where there are opportunities for participating in singing (Pitts, 2009) and other ensemble activities (Hallam, 2016b). The quality of specific musical activities is also important (Sichivitsa, 2007).

Music in primary schools in England

There have been many challenges in relation to music education in primary schools in the UK. These have been well documented in a range of Ofsted reports. In 2009, Ofsted reported that, based on observations carried out between 2005 and 2008 in a representative sample of 84 primary schools, the level of achievement and teaching in music was good or outstanding in only about half of the schools. Where the music tuition was of high quality, the music curriculum was inclusive, with strategies in place for supporting the personal and musical development of every pupil.

Strong subject leadership supported by commitment to excellence in music amongst the senior management of the school was key to high quality teaching along with the use of Local Authority Music Services to support the curriculum, particularly in relation to whole class instrumental tuition. Generally, music lessons were most effective in schools where a specialist music teacher was deployed but where there was strong subject leadership, classroom teachers could deliver outstanding music lessons.

In 2012, Ofsted reported that just over a third of primary schools were providing a good or outstanding music education, a reduction from 2009. Head teachers in the schools with high quality music education were key to ensuring high quality. They ensured that music had a prominent place in the curriculum and that partnership working was successful.

For good musical progression, it was important to give sufficient and regular curriculum time, have robust curriculum plans and ensure that different initiatives, including whole-class instrumental tuition and vocal programmes were part of the overall curriculum plan.

The length and quality of the whole class instrumental lessons was variable, and continuation rates were too low. Some schools and groups of pupils benefitted far more than others from these programmes. There were wide differences in the continued participation and inclusion of pupils from different groups, for example, children with special educational needs.

Music in secondary schools in England

Ofsted have frequently commented on the wide variability in quality in secondary school music provision. This was reflected in the reports of 2009 and 2012. The most effective teaching tended to occur in extra-curricular activities and instrumental lessons where, in the best examples: the teaching had a clear musical learning focus; teachers had high expectations; there was an emphasis on quality; students knew what to do to improve;

teachers made excellent use of demonstration; the work was related to real-life musical tasks; questioning was effective; and students felt that everyone was treated as a musician (Ofsted, 2009).

However, the range of extra-curricular provision varied widely, and frequently did not match the interests and abilities of the students. The 2012 report identified students' musical achievement as weakest in Key Stage 3. Poor curriculum provision and weak teaching accounted for this. Nearly 300 lessons were observed and only around one in ten were above average or high.

In about a quarter of lessons students made inadequate progress. There were few lessons where students made outstanding progress. About 12% of students were benefitting from additional instrumental or vocal tuition and 11% were participating in extra-curricular activities. Whole-school decisions to reduce the time spent on music in Key Stage 3 music lessons meant that it was not possible to cover sufficient breadth or depth of music across the key stage.

The Paul Hamlyn Foundation review of music education, 'Inspiring Music for All', while indicating that music in schools had improved in terms of its inclusivity, diversity and quality also indicated that there was huge variability in quality supporting the Ofsted reports (Zeserson, 2014).

There are issues in England in relation to progression in music beyond Key Stage 3. Relatively few students take GCSE music in comparison with other subjects. For instance, in 2014, the percentage of students taking GCSE music was 7.1% compared to 13.9% taking Art and Design, 17.1% taking Physical Education and Sports Studies, 11.8% taking Drama and Theatre studies and 8.9% taking Media/Film/TV studies (Gill, 2015). Although the level of take-up of music is relatively low, the percentage taking music at GCSE in the 21st century has remained remarkably stable.

However, when factors concerning school type, overall attainment and levels of deprivation are considered, the pattern shows that most students taking music at GCSE are amongst those with the highest levels of overall attainment, the lowest levels of deprivation, and attending schools with an academic focus (see Table 1).

Table 1: Percentage of students taking GCSE music between 2000 and 2015

	2000	2006	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Percentage of students taking music GCSE	6.9	8.6	7.4	7.1	6.8	6.8	7.1	7.4
Percentage of boys taking GCSE music	5.9	8.8	7.7	7.3	6.9	6.7	6.9	6.8
Percentage of girls taking GCSE music	8.0	8.5	7.0	6.9	6.7	6.8	7.3	8.0
Percentage of students taking GCSE music in academies	N/A	N/A	4.0	7.0	6.6	6.7	7.0	7.2
Percentage of students taking GCSE music in comprehensive schools	6.3	8.4	7.1	6.7	6.3	6.3	6.7	7.0
Percentage of students taking GCSE music in grammar schools	10.7	13.3	12.8	12.1	12.0	11.1	11.5	11.1
Percentage of students taking GCSE music in independent schools	9.7	11.5	11.2	10.7	10.4	10.4	12.3	10.2
Percentage of students taking GCSE music in secondary modern schools	6.0	7.4	4.9	4.5	3.6	4.1	4.5	4.9
Percentage of students taking GCSE music with low overall attainment	3.6	4.6	3.5	3.3	3.1	3.2	3.8	4.2
Percentage of students taking GCSE music with medium overall attainment	6.0	8.0	6.7	6.5	6.1	6.0	6.4	6.9
Percentage of students taking GCSE music with high overall attainment	11.0	13.3	12.0	11.7	11.3	11.2	11.2	11.1
Percentage of students taking GCSE music with low levels of deprivation	7.3	9.3	9.2	9.1	8.7	8.6	8.7	8.8
Percentage of students taking GCSE music with medium levels of deprivation	7.1	8.6	7.2	6.8	6.5	6.5	6.9	7.1
Percentage of students taking GCSE music with high levels of deprivation	6.0	7.1	4.9	4.6	4.4	4.5	5.1	5.6
Percentage of students taking GCSE music in boys' schools	7.8	9.7	9.1	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.9	8.8
Percentage of students taking GCSE music in girls' school	9.1	9.9	9.1	9.4	9.3	9.3	9.4	9.5
Percentage of students taking GCSE music in mixed schools	6.8	8.5	7.1	6.8	6.4	6.4	6.8	7.1

*Data derived from reports by Cambridge Assessment based on National Pupil Database

*Levels of overall attainment were assessed in relation to overall GCSE points

*Levels of deprivation were derived from national databases

It has proved difficult to persuade young people to continue with music beyond the age of 14 as there has been a widely-held perception that it is necessary to have considerable expertise on an instrumenting order to take national examinations at age 16 and 18 (Lamont et al., 2003; Wright, 2002). Typically, music teachers are trained in the western classical tradition and some tend to discourage pupils with no instrumental skills from continuing with music as an option (Ofsted, 2009).

A further reason for the relatively low level of take-up is that young people with high-level instrumental or vocal skills may see no need to continue with music at Key Stage 4 unless they wish to pursue a career in music (Little, 2009). This is in part as music is perceived to have little value in career terms in the wider community (Lamont et al., 2003). Parents also sometimes dissuade their children from taking music (Button, 2006). Despite this, young people in secondary schools, report enjoyment of music lessons (Lamont et al., 2003).

The Musical Futures approach, which introduced the informal learning of popular music into the secondary school curriculum, has generated enhanced motivation for music (Hallam et al., 2015, 2016, 2017) and increased up-take for music in Key Stage 4. Pupils and teachers reported that there was greater progression in terms of music skills, particularly for those students who previously had not learned to play an instrument and whose engagement with making music had been limited (Hallam et al., 2015, 2016, 2017).

Despite this there was evidence that some of the teachers continued to identify talent, but now also embraced the skills required for learning popular music genres, including a need to introduce more vocational examination options. Findings from evaluations of Musical Futures projects round the world have also demonstrated increased motivation and progression in students (see Benson, 2012; Evans et al., 2015; Jeanneret, 2010; John and Evans, 2013; Ofsted, 2006; O'Neill and Bespflug, 2011; Wright et al., 2012; Younker et al., 2012).

It is clear that being given opportunities to learn informally, working with friends, having control of what is learned and how it is learned increases students' pedagogical capital (Wright, 2015; Hallam et al., 2015, 2016, 2017) and encourages them to take more responsibility for their learning.

A further challenge for secondary school teachers is the huge diversity in children's prior musical experiences when they transfer to secondary school at age 11. Some are highly competent advanced instrumentalists and others have few musical skills, the latter because of the wide variation in provision and its quality at primary school (Ofsted, 2009, 2012).

Music in secondary schools may also have been affected by the unintended consequences of the introduction of the English Baccalaureate (EBacc), which does not require students to take any arts subjects. The EBacc performance measure shows the proportion of pupils in a school entering and achieving a good GCSE in English, mathematics, science, history or geography, and a foreign language.

A survey of secondary school music teachers carried out by Sussex University showed that 60% of those responding indicated that the EBacc had had a negative impact on the provision and uptake of music in their school, within and beyond the curriculum. The number of schools offering GCSE music at the start of the 2016/17 academic year was 79%. This meant that some students did not have the opportunity to take music GCSE. Of the schools offering GCSE music 11% taught music outside core curriculum time. There was also a 70% reduction in schools offering BTEC at Level 2 between 2012/13 and 2016/17.

Schools with high numbers of students who were eligible for the Pupil Premium were more likely to have had their music curriculum time decreased. At the same time, in some schools, young people in the highest ability groups were discouraged from taking music GCSE because of the EBacc, while in other schools, students in lower ability groups were prevented from taking music so that they could concentrate on EBacc subjects.

The combination of the EBacc and changes in available options, frequently related to the EBacc, were the most common reasons for students not taking music. Music departments were also negatively affected by the provision of booster classes in other subjects, shortened lunchtimes and less extra-curricular opportunities.

In some schools, there was no Key Stage 3 music provision. Carousel provision was becoming more common with a decreasing amount of time spent on music. In an increasing number of schools, music had become optional in Year 9. Accompanying these changes in provision there were reductions in music staff (Daubney and McCrill, 2016).

In contrast to the evidence from the Daubney and McCrill (2016), the Department for Education (2017) in an analysis of trends in art uptake in state-funded mainstream schools where the EBacc has seen a large increase, shows no decrease in entries for arts subjects. The report states that the proportion of pupils entering at least one arts subject has remained broadly stable, that there is little correlation between the change in EBacc entry and arts uptake and that the spread of distribution of schools with respect to arts entry has reduced. Fewer than in 2010/11 have very low or very high arts entry rate.

Whether the EBacc has had an impact on the provision of music in secondary schools, the table setting out entry rates for GCSE music over the years shows quite clearly that children from deprived backgrounds are much less likely to take GCSE music than those from more advantaged backgrounds. For children from *In Harmony* programmes who wish to pursue music in the longer term this is unhelpful.

The Pupil Premium

The Pupil Premium is additional money given to all schools for every child that has been in receipt of free school meals over the past six years. This is designed to ensure equality of opportunity for disadvantaged pupils and to ensure that they reach their potential. The Culture White paper (2016) makes it clear that the pupil premium can be used to broaden cultural experiences:

“The government provides around £2.5 billion of additional funding each year through the pupil premium to support schools in raising educational standards for the most disadvantaged pupils. Many schools already use the pupil premium to broaden their pupils’ cultural experiences. We will encourage more schools to use the pupil premium to give their disadvantaged pupils a greater understanding of our shared heritage and culture.” (The Culture White Paper, March 2016.)

Music Education Hubs, which are committed to children and young people having access to high quality music provision and tuition, believe that no child should be disadvantaged due to personal circumstance. They have encouraged schools, in line with Arts Council England (ACE) and Department for Education (DfE) guidance, to ensure that pupil premium funding is used to fund music tuition (and any associated expenses e.g. instrument hire or purchase) for any eligible, interested and/or talented pupil premium pupil, to enable and encourage them to participate in instrumental lessons and music making activities.

Music Education Hubs collect data for Arts Council England on the number of pupils accessing the Pupil Premium for instrumental tuition. In 2015, of those having instrumental tuition in large groups, 7.3 per cent were in receipt of the Pupil Premium, while for those receiving individual tuition the percentage was 3.7 per cent.

This in the context of national eligibility for the Pupil Premium of 27.2 per cent (Sharp and Rabiasz, 2016). The pupil premium would not seem to be widely used to support a child having instrumental tuition.

Transition from primary to secondary school

Transitions between schools and within key stages represent points in time when pupils may experience difficulties, both socially and academically. For pupils from deprived backgrounds, transitions have a particularly significant impact on their progress and motivation (Galton et al., 1999; 2000; Evangelou et al., 2008). Where there is good home-school liaison, the process tends to be more effective (Ofsted, 2004; Sanders et al., 2005), but pupils from deprived backgrounds are less likely to have parents who are involved in their education.

This lack of support is compounded as pupils originating from primary schools with high proportions of pupils eligible for free school meals are more widely dispersed than pupils from other schools on transfer to secondary school.

The peer groups of children from low socio-economic status families are therefore more likely to be disrupted on entering secondary schools. This may impact on how they settle in (Burgess et al., 2007). They are also more likely to be low attainers, which is a risk factor in itself for falling behind at transition or transfer (Galton et al., 2000; Sanders et al., 2005).

The point of transition from primary school to secondary school is crucial in relation to drop out from musical activities (Driscoll, 2009). Children often give up playing an instrument at the point of transfer or soon after.

In the UK, Lamont and colleagues (2003) found a large reduction in participation in a range of different musical activities following transfer to secondary school, although, typically, students saw the move to secondary school as opening a wider range of musical opportunities and possibilities including the opportunity to play a more diverse range of instruments.

Despite the decline in participation in school activities, 41 per cent of pupils reported that they wanted to have instrumental lessons.

A small-scale study including seven primary schools, three secondary schools and 25 young people focused specifically on transition issues (Symonds et al., 2011). The research found that schools provided the main source of musical activity for most students, although a few had instrumental lessons outside school.

Music in the primary school was reported to be mainly singing and playing percussion instruments and was infrequent. Perhaps, as a result of this, most students were impressed by their secondary school's provision of musical resources including a greater variety of instruments and extracurricular musical activities.

They also appreciated the increased complexity of music teaching and the specialist experience of their teachers. This inspired some students to consider a career in music for the first time, and strengthened existing musical career aspirations for others.

However, a few felt uncomfortable learning music theory and wanted a return to more practical lessons. The secondary school teachers took a 'start from scratch approach' in the

first term, starting with basic music theory, moving on to learning instruments and finally creative activities. For those who already played instruments this created frustration, although some became student assistants which ameliorated this to some extent.

On transition, students were encouraged to sign up for instrumental lessons, although in some cases there were waiting lists which sometimes had a negative impact on motivation. The majority of extra-curricular activities required some musical skills and students had to audition to participate.

Most who were successful in the first term had been taking instrumental lessons out of school. Their success enhanced their self-beliefs and some reported increased musical career aspirations. Those who failed suffered a loss in musical self-concept and some began to describe themselves as 'non-musical'. Those who joined in the activities later in the year reported wanting to join their friends.

A third of the young people who had described themselves as 'musical' at primary school and in term one at secondary school, no longer did so by terms two and three. The main reasons for this were not playing an instrument or not being involved in extra-curricular activities.

Before transition most of the children reported being engaged in musical creative activities where they composed, performed and learned music informally, alone or with friends at home and at school.

The start from scratch approach encouraged some young people to begin composing at home for the first time in term one, but this declined in terms two and three. Informal music making tended to be singing with friends to music played on mobile phones, although a few had created bands by the end of the year.

Following transition, musical identities in terms of preferred music became stronger. Alongside greater clarity in musical preferences, several students reported gaining more independent control over technologies for downloading and sharing music. Families were important.

Mothers usually provided transport to lessons and supervised practice while fathers and older siblings were influential in introducing different types of music. The influence of family was consistent across transition. Reflecting the reports of the students, teachers reported a dip in social confidence in term one, with it returning later in the year.

Ashworth and colleagues (2011) highlighted the issues in ensuring a smooth transition from the perspectives of primary and secondary school teachers. The most successful transition support activities were reported to focus on primary and secondary pupils engaging in making music together preferably over a period of time. This met a perceived need to generate a sense of belonging.

Primary teachers were often enthusiastic about the benefits of the Wider Opportunities programme and Sing Up. Secondary teachers wanted more information about pupils' involvement in these initiatives. All teachers reported appreciating opportunities to learn and share more about their respective pedagogies. Teachers wanted schools and Local Authority Music Services (prior to hubs) to develop their potential to improve networking and communications for transition support.

A major challenge for primary secondary transfer relationships was the wide variety of different secondary schools that children attended.

The quality of instruments which can be loaned from schools or other providers may have a detrimental effect on motivation as the sound that can be produced may be inferior to that from more expensive instruments. At transfer to secondary school, when peer pressure can be substantial and young people are sensitive to comments from their peers this may lead to young people dropping out.

Certainly, students who own their own instruments enjoy playing their instruments more and are more likely to continue to participate in musical activities (Ester and Turner 2009). Not having an instrument of your own may influence participation as the student knows that, ultimately, they will have to return it.

One study in the USA focused specifically on how progression from elementary school to high school might affect students from low-SES families (Ammerman, (2016). Although the educational context is different from that in the UK some of the principles remain the same. The outline below takes the perspective of the student:

1. Teacher recruits me into orchestra.
2. Teacher provides an instrument during the school year, books, bow, music stand.
3. Teacher lets me practice at school because practising at home might upset the neighbours in my apartment complex.
4. I have to find a friend to drive me to extra rehearsals, concerts, and practice sessions.
5. My mom watches my concerts from the video that the other parents took because she has to work.
6. I decide to continue in orchestra and I have developed friends and relationships with the musicians and the teacher, but I always feel behind.
7. Each summer I have to give back my instrument only to get a different one the next year.
8. In high school, I never ever get the full points for tone quality on my auditions. They say it is because my instrument is not very good.
8. I often cannot afford to do the extra activities like District Orchestra or Regional Orchestra unless someone else pays for them.
9. I love music and want to pursue it as a career.
10. It is graduation time and my teacher must take away my instrument.

While these experiences do not totally reflect the experiences of young people in music programmes in the UK, there are certain commonalities and lessons to be learned.

Overall, there are many reasons why children give up playing an instrument when they transfer to secondary school. They may have lost interest or taken up a different recreational activity. Lack of musical activity in the summer holidays may reinforce this particularly if there is no contact with music teachers during this time (Solly, 1986).

Some young people may give up one instrument because they want to play a different one. In some cases, there may be a wait for a vacancy for lessons or there may not be a suitable teacher. Having to leave a class lesson to attend an instrumental activity can lead to drop out (Gamin, 2005; Lamont et al., 2003.) The increased pressure at secondary school in terms of homework and from Year 9 to do well in national examinations can mean that musical activities cease.

Transitions between out of school musical programmes

Some research has focused on transitions between different out of school programmes aimed at supporting vulnerable young people. Sound Connections undertook a survey of music organisations in London that worked with vulnerable people who were perceived to have barriers to accessing music (Carter and Raven, 2015).

The findings showed that there was often inadequate staff capacity to prepare young people for progression activities because of limited funding. In addition, funders sometimes preferred programmes to work with a new cohort of young people rather than providing progression routes for existing participants.

A number of factors were identified which supported progression. Initially, the project where the young people began to engage with music had to build trusting, respectful, meaningful and committed relationships with them. It was important to have networks of support for participants and staff had to be committed to the transfer to another organisation. A range of barriers to young people accessing progression routes were raised: mental health issues; having access to facilities to prepare for an audition; access to teachers or tutors with the appropriate skills; lack of parental knowledge and practical support and in some cases resistance, finance, and lack of appropriate progression opportunities.

The greatest number of respondents reported parental lack of knowledge as the greatest barrier to progression followed by cost and parents being practically unable to support attendance.

Lack of confidence in meeting new people, travelling to and being in unfamiliar places, lack of support around travel issues, lack of phone or email access to communicate arrangements, the cost of travel and food for the day all presented challenges. There were issues about the availability of suitable programmes in different areas and lack of capacity. It was suggested that supporting progression should become a recognised cost to organisations working with participants facing challenging circumstances.

One project focused on progression routes for children and young people from refugee, asylum-seeking and new migrant families (Carter and Wakeling, 2014). Although this was a small study and focused on very vulnerable individuals it offers key strategies for supporting the transition process.

A key aim of the programme was to provide participants with the skills, confidence and support to take up musical opportunities beyond the original organisation that they were engaged with itself. The first stage was ensuring that the children enjoyed the activities in the organisation through offering creative, fun, high-quality musical activities ensuring that every child could take part in a fulfilling and positive way and was able to participate in performing to their parents. The staff needed to build up relationships with families through informal conversations and regular distribution of information.

Organisation of trips outside the centre built up confidence about travelling to new areas. Visiting new venues and arranging for families to travel as part of larger supported groups to unfamiliar spaces supported confidence.

Families themselves typically found it difficult to find suitable opportunities for progression through language difficulties, poor literacy and lack of access to the internet. They needed support in doing this.

There were frequently financial barriers in terms of fees and travel costs and some families were reluctant to use public transport to travel to unfamiliar places. Staff needed to identify individuals who might be interested in progression, identify local opportunities, tell parents about them and support parents with administrative requirements, payment of fees, and making practical arrangements relating to travel and food.

Working with next-step organisations over time ensured that the process of transfer worked smoothly and that relevant information about participants was shared to help in creating an environment in which the young people could flourish. The next-steps organisations supported the process by providing information about what participants could expect and any ground rules. The closer the relationship between the initial organisation which the young person participated in and the next-step organisation the greater the likelihood of success.

One study focused on studying the musical journeys of young people in outer London (Wired4music, 2015b) with a view to finding out what they wanted in the future and informing Music Education Hubs so that provision could be set up. The findings showed that the young people wanted networks and communication to connect with other creative young people, to share ideas and find new partners for collaboration and to receive information on all of the opportunities available both within their boroughs and London-wide.

They wanted opportunities to perform to and hear the music of their peers, and their activities to be celebrated and encouraged to build their confidence and develop their skills. They wanted access to free or low cost, high quality spaces and facilities to write and create music, collaborate, jam and to be inspired.

In addition, they wanted professional development opportunities to enable them to develop their skills, learn about the music industry and explore different career pathways. Organisations reported that more time was needed to build trust with local authorities, schools, youth projects and young people themselves, administration was time consuming and the retention of staff was an issue. Young people were often unaware of what was available locally.

It is clear from these studies that making transitions between programmes of any type requires careful thought and planning where vulnerable young people are concerned. The young people and their families need to be prepared for and supported in making the transition. Strong partnerships between the original and next-step organisation greatly support the process and facilitate communication at formal and informal levels.

Partnership working

Successful transition requires partnership working. Partnership working is not always easy. The DCSF recognised the importance of partnerships in 2007 and required Local Authorities to produce music plans (LAMPs).

These were designed to broaden the music offered to children and young people in a geographical area by becoming the basis for a comprehensive, inclusive and coherent music plan which would enable Local Authorities to audit and identify music provision as a whole in their area and identify available progression routes. The LAMPs were expected to include reference to Arts Council England 'Regularly Funded Organisations', the work of community musicians, Youth Music funded projects, Youth Music Action Zones and anyone involved in music in and out of school time.

The LAMPs were established on the basis of a three-year rolling plan to provide a framework for the strategic planning needed in music. A number of pathfinder programmes were set up and evaluated in relation to LAMPs. These found that successful partnership working could achieve much more than the capacity of one partner (Griffiths, 2008; Lamont and Greasley, 2009a, 2009b).

Key to the effective working of partnerships are context; good communication; time; leadership; mutual trust; clarity of roles and responsibilities; and the support of senior management. Training is important. Needs must be identified and addressed. Planning, monitoring and evaluation are crucial as is a shared ethos and sense of purpose (Hallam, 2011).

Working in the arts more broadly, Burns (2015) also found that it took time to build relationships and partnerships and that different contexts and pathfinder projects required different processes and approaches. A range of issues were important including clarity of roles, responsibilities and commitment; leadership and dedicated resources; allowing for time to get to know each other and reflect; having shared values and visions; and having a rationale for working together. As a result of the partnerships, participants developed new skills and organisations increased capacity and acquired wider networks.

Developing partnerships between organisations is crucial if young people are to successfully progress in music. There are many possible progression routes which young people can choose to follow. No single organisation can provide them all. Music Education Hubs have a critical role in ensuring that they are aware of and include all local providers within the hub.

Summary

Educational systems can be more or less supportive of music education. In the UK, there are challenges in primary education because of the wide variability of what is on offer and its quality. At secondary level, music provision is declining in many schools, in part due to the unintended consequences of other policies, and financial restraints. Fewer children from areas of high deprivation take GCSE music than those from higher socio-economic status families.

The implementation of Whole Class Ensemble Tuition has provided the opportunity for all children to learn to play a musical instrument for at least a term. The programme can be successful in engaging children in music making and encouraging them to progress, although the school needs to be supportive and there need to be affordable progression routes within to ensure that children can continue to learn to play when the programme ends.

Evaluations of the *In Harmony* programmes have shown a positive impact on the children and families where they are located. The data on the extent to which children from the programmes continue to engage with music when they leave primary school is limited. Where long term data are available, there is variability between cohorts. Successful progression requires there to be available and suitable progression routes, excellent partnerships with transfer organisations and a strong commitment to music from the young people themselves.

Short term music projects have shown that music can provide opportunities for vulnerable young people to acquire a range of transferable skills and enhance their confidence and aspirations. Issues of progression have not been addressed in relation to these projects.

The transition between primary and secondary school is a critical time for young people to make decisions about whether to continue with playing an instrument. Having a strong

musical identity, positive self-beliefs about music, and friendships within musical activities contribute towards young people's ongoing engagement.

Those from areas of high deprivation who are committed young musicians are likely to need additional support to maintain their musical progression, particularly in relation to the costs of instrumental lessons and participation in ensemble activities.

Music Education Hubs have a remit to ensure that clear progression routes are available and affordable to all young people. This can be achieved through having strong partnerships with other organisations including schools and other music education providers. While there is some exemplary practice, not all hubs have met this challenge.

The role of teachers and the quality of teaching

The support of excellent teachers is crucial in motivating learners (Asmus, 1989; Creech and Hallam, 2011; Davidson et al., 1996; 1998; Duke et al., 1997; Lamont 2002; Pitts, 2009; Sloboda and Howe 1991; Sosniak 1985; Szubertowska, 2005). The rapport between pupil and teacher and the sensitivity of the communication between them has a critical impact on learners' love of music and desire to engage in music making (Bakker, 2005; Cassie, 2008; StGeorge, 2010; Evans et al., 2013).

Student-teacher accord, warmth, understanding, patience and mutual respect are closely related to students' enjoyment, satisfaction, motivation and self-esteem (Creech and Hallam, 2010; 2011).

Pitts (2009) in a retrospective study identified some individuals whose primary influence in their engagement with music was the home, others where the school was the dominant element and some where it was both. The common element to all environments was an inspiring instrumental teacher. This is supported by evidence from pupils who give up playing which shows that they have poorer relationships with their teachers than their peers (StGeorge, 2010; Driscoll, 2009; Evans et al, 2013).

The influence of early teachers, who are viewed as warm and sympathetic, seems to be particularly important in encouraging the initial development of a positive musical identity (Sloboda and Howe, 1991). The first teacher can have long term consequences in terms of student motivation for practice and continued participation (Bates, 2012).

Musicians at the very highest levels of expertise tend to remember their first teacher as being friendly, relaxed, and encouraging. This 'warmth dimension' of the first teacher tends to be missing from reports of people who ultimately withdraw from music lessons (Woody 2004, p18).

Teachers are responsible for creating a positive motivational environment. Young students, in particular, tend to depend on teachers' approval (Siebenaler, 1997; Costa-Giomi et al., 2005). Where this is not in evidence they tend to drop out.

Davidson and colleagues (1995-96) suggested that having excellent pedagogical skills is not sufficient for teaching young students to love music and persist in learning, although when students can discriminate between the teachers' personal and professional characteristics they are less likely to drop out even when they have poor rapport with the teacher.

More musically advanced young people with a strong musical identity may view teachers in a different light, as role models and individuals to emulate. The need for 'warmth' may then be less important (Manturzewska, 1990; Pitts, 2009).

While the quality of the relationships between teacher and learner is important, the teacher also needs musical and pedagogical skills. Teachers need to be inspiring, have high expectations of their students, have a wide range of teaching strategies, be able to make good use of resources, adopt a pace suited to learners, provide constructive feedback, balance teacher and learner talk, demonstrate, and monitor and evaluate student progress. They should also be able to support a range of creative activities (improvisation and composition).

In the long term, they should look to making their pupils autonomous learners (Hallam, 2016a). Scaffolding by the teacher can support this process (Bruner, 1975; Wood et al., 1976). Van de Pol and colleagues (2010) set out three major characteristics of scaffolding:

contingency (support adapted to the current capability of the student), fading (gradual decrease of support) and transfer of responsibility (responsibility is given to the student). The nature of the curriculum is also important. When children can choose the repertoire that they learn they practise with heightened attention, persistence and enhanced strategy use (Renwick and McPherson, 2002).

Summary

To support the development of love of music, teachers need to have positive relationships with learners which are perceived as warm and caring. This is particularly important in the early stages of learning. As students' musical competence increases, they may have different needs, requiring teachers to be high status role models with high levels of expertise. The quality of teaching, musically and pedagogically needs to be high, and for students from low SES families, teachers need to ensure that they have high expectations. Encouraging learners to develop autonomy should be a key aim, also offering them some opportunities to choose repertoire and activities.

Informal learning

In the UK, many children learn to play instruments informally, without having tuition. The ABRSM (2017) reported that children, on average, started playing an instrument when they were seven years old and most who stopped playing had done so by the age of 11. By ages 16 to 17, almost a quarter of young people had never had an instrumental lesson but 97% had played an instrument.

Lamont and colleagues (2003) reported that 80% of the students in their sample had at least one instrument at home usually piano or keyboard, although some had recorders, guitars or violins. About three quarters of those with a piano or keyboard at home played their instrument.

Playing at home declined with age, although the percentage was higher than formal music making at school. From Year 6 onwards pupils were more likely to take control of their own learning. About half of the pupils in Years 6-9 who were learning an instrument reported that they taught themselves to play it. Family members were particularly important in facilitating and encouraging this.

There has been relatively little research about informal learning in the home or other social contexts, although this is clearly an area which is developing. We know that there are complex interactions which inform the development of musical skills in any single individual (Gaunt and Hallam, 2009).

Gaunt and Hallam (2016) devised a model based on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model of human behaviour and Hettema and Kenrick's (1992) bio-social model of interactions. Bronfenbrenner's systems model conceptualised interactions and interdependence between a micro system (an individual and their immediate environment), a meso-system (referring to the individual's interactions in a wider group of settings), and an exo-system (where the individual does not interact with others directly but in which another person close to the individual interacts).

In addition, the model identifies a macro system encompassing the sub-culture in which particular beliefs, values and ideologies of the lower order systems are embodied. **Figure 2** illustrates this in the context of a teenager learning to play the guitar. There are two meso-systems, the school and a youth club, an exo-system, one parent's workplace, and a macro-system the broader pop music culture in the community.

Hettema and Kenrick (1992) proposed a bio-social model of development and outline six categories of interaction and their impact:

- Static person-environment mesh (the individual is situated in an unchanging environment);
- Choice of environments by persons (the individual selects new environments which meet his/her needs);
- Choice of persons by environments (typified by a variety of selection processes, for instance in education and the work place);
- Transformation of environments by persons (individuals through their actions change environments, for instance, through leadership or disruption);
- Transformation of persons by environments (individuals are socialised into new environments);

- Person-environment transactions or mutual transactions in which both persons and environments change over time.

Each category represents different degrees of fit and influence between the individual and the environment.

Figure 3 illustrates this within the original macro-, meso-, exo- and microsystems. The extent to which the various environments fit the aims of the teenager learning the guitar are illustrated with the jigsaw like shapes. In this case the only perfect 'fit' is between the teenager and the pop band created with friends. There is a partial fit with the youth club which offers opportunities to perform and socialise but no fit with family or school. However, there is fit with a work colleague of a parent who is also in a band. Such interactions influence the development of individuals and the environments within which they find themselves.

Figure 4 shows how some interactions remain stable while others change over time. The relationship with the youth club has changed and created new opportunities for performing, the band itself continues to function well meeting the needs of the teenager, but there continues to be a poor fit between the aims of the teenager and his family.

The teenager has chosen to pursue his educational aims at a sixth form college which has provided a strong musical environment and a better fit for him and the band. This provides opportunities for increased skill development and a supportive environment which leads to change in the individual. There is also change in the exo-system as the parent's colleague is inspired by the teenager's activities and sets up a new band.

Figure 2: Possible macro-, meso- and exo- systems for a teenager learning to play the guitar

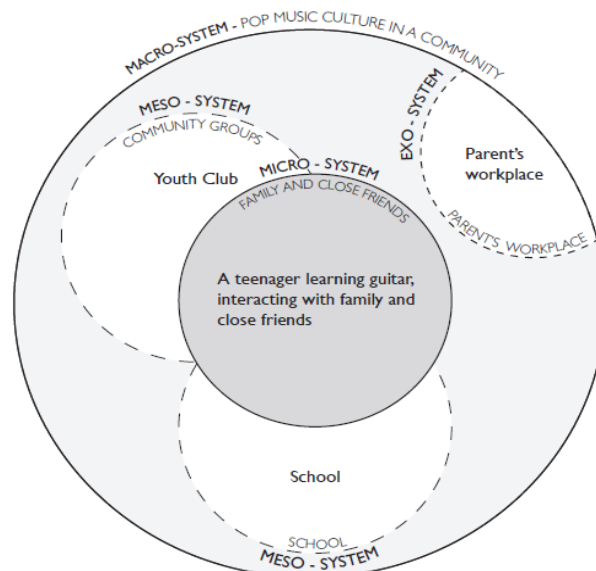


Figure 3: Systemic and bio-social developmental interactions for a teenager learning to play the guitar

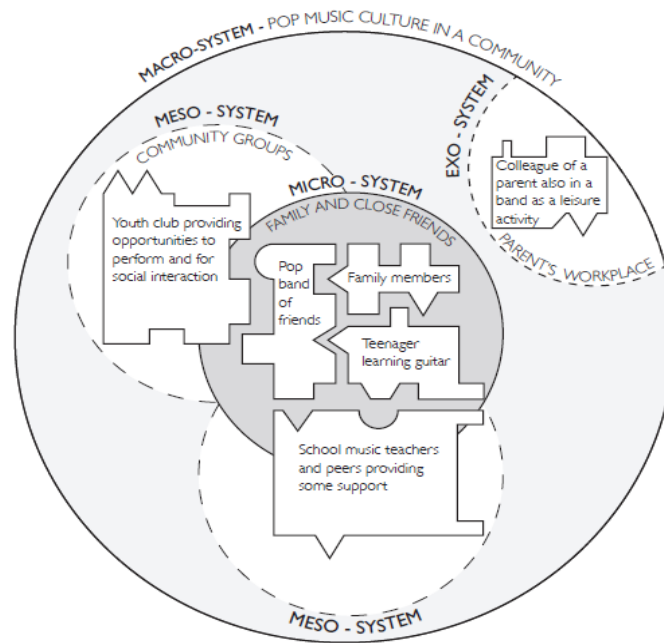
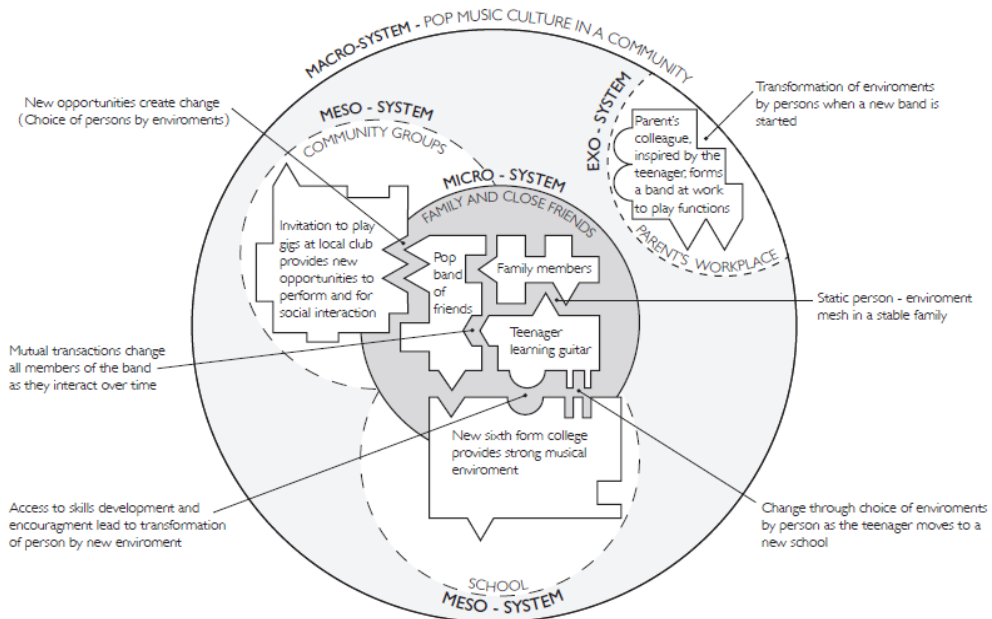


Figure 4: Changes within systems as the teenager develops increasing musical expertise



The role of technology

Technology has had a major impact on opportunities to make music offering chances to those who, perhaps, were previously denied them. Prospective instrumentalists can learn independently drawing on materials online. The internet includes many demonstrations of how to play a wide range of instruments in a variety of musical genres across a range of different levels of expertise (for a review see Webb and Seddon, 2012).

Interactive systems have been developed where engagement can be synchronous (in real time) or asynchronous (outside real time). Synchronous communication can be, for example, through Skype or MSM Messenger and may follow formal instrumental teaching patterns although other approaches are possible. For example, Koh studied the learning pathways of beatboxers and described how one recorded short clips of his work and sent it to friends online through MSN Messenger to get real-time feedback (Koh 2010).

Asynchronous programmes can also support musical development. For instance, learners can make recordings of their progress and receive feedback from a teacher by email (e.g. Seddon and Biasutti 2009). Ensembles can also be convened asynchronously. For instance, ensemble members can record their parts and submit these for selection, editing and mixing to develop a finished performance.

These new initiatives can all support musical development. Where families have low incomes, informal learning using technology may provide affordable musical progression routes. While these support independence in learning, they can at times be inflexible and sometimes the quality of tuition is not always high.

Summary

Informal learning, because of its relatively low cost and the use it can make of technology may be a favoured musical progression route for young people from disadvantaged backgrounds, although it does have limitations.

Conclusions

A key element in motivation to continue with musical engagement of some kind is the interest of the individual, their love of music and the pleasure it can give them. Alongside this they may find the challenge of playing an instrument and the rewards it can give them in terms of positive affirmation from performance additionally motivational.

Having a wide range of learning skills, both specific to music and more generally in relation to planning, evaluating progress, resilience and managing motivation will contribute towards the speed of progress made and the ease with which specific goals are attained.

Self-beliefs about having the capacity to succeed in making music play a crucial role in motivation and depend on feedback from teachers, peers and family members. However, believing that you are good at music does not necessarily translate into interest or love of it.

Children who give up playing a musical instrument do not have this level of commitment. There may be many reasons for this. They may be passionate about some other activity, their friends may be negative about their musical activities, or they may dislike practising and not be making sufficient progress to have positive self-beliefs about their musical competence. They may come to think of themselves as ‘non-musical.’

As they progress through school, there are opportunities to engage with a much wider range of extra-curricular activities and these may be more attractive and in some cases, may clash with musical activities. They may be unwilling to leave school lessons to have an instrumental lesson for fear of missing something important or may be discouraged from doing so by their school teachers.

As the amount of homework increases and important national examinations draw nearer they may have to reduce the number of extra-curricular activities that they engage with. Making music can be a casualty of that process.

Parental support is crucial, particularly for young children in developing musical skills. Initially, the extrinsic rewards offered by parents and others will provide motivation until such time as the individual has developed sufficient interest in music to sustain engagement and it has become part of their identity and social life.

Having friends engaged in making music makes a major contribution to continuation. However, where parents or friendships are the only motivating factor continuation is unlikely. The individual has to be committed to music.

Children from low SES families face particular challenges in terms of parental support because of financial constraints which can impact on transport, owning an instrument, attending additional programmes. Additionally, the home environment may not be conducive for individual practice.

Adolescent peer culture may not be supportive of young people making music, particularly where it is deemed to be ‘classical’ in nature. Some children may be bullied for their musical activities. Children need to have well-developed musical identities and self-beliefs to withstand such negative peer pressure. Where they have developed friendships out of school with other like-minded young people they are more likely to be able to withstand negative peer pressure.

The interactions between teachers and students play an important role in whether children wish to continue with playing an instrument. In some cases, they can compensate for a lack of parental interest providing the main motivation for musical engagement. In the early stages of learning teachers need to be relatively uncritical, offering much praise and support.

As musical skills develop the relationships change and teachers become role models and respected for their musical expertise. The musical activities on offer need to be at a level which is challenging but not so much that they are unachievable. Without challenge activities can be perceived as boring.

Young children are open eared and ready to accept any genre of music. While young people may be perceived to be only interested in popular music, when they actively make music they are less concerned with the genre and more concerned with its quality, complexity and the challenge that it offers.

Institutions and music programmes provide the most opportunities for engagement with music, although a few families can provide this independently for their children. For most children, it is outside influences that stimulate an interest in music and ultimately a love of it.

Once children have established a musical identity and wish to make a commitment to music as part of their life either as an amateur or professional musician it is those organisations which continue to provide the means for doing this. This means that providers need to consider the levels at which they offer musical activities so that there is the opportunity for progression between different musical groups.

The transition between primary and secondary school is a time when young people are particularly vulnerable to cease engaging with music. They face many challenges in moving to a new school, which has a complex organisation and requires them to be taught by many different teachers in different locations.

Music may not be valued in that school and curriculum access to music may be limited. If extra-curricular activities are on offer, to engage with them requires considerable commitment supported by the energy and persuasive skills of the music teacher.

The decline in the provision of music education in English secondary schools is a matter of particular concern. Of course, some young people may engage in musical activities with providers outside school. If there is no change in these activities they may provide stability and enable the maintenance of existing friendships and through this offer support.

To progress musically, children and young people need opportunities. These need to be at the right level for their current level of expertise, with an age group with which they feel comfortable. They need to be able to access these in terms of location, suitability and cost. In England, Music Education Hubs have been charged with the responsibility for ensuring that a range of ensemble activities are available and are affordable.

This does not mean that they have to provide these activities, but rather that they work in close partnership with those who can provide them. In this way, the skills and expertise of musicians and teachers in any geographical area can be utilised to provide appropriate, stimulating and rewarding musical activities for children and young people.

Working in partnership, Music Education Hubs can provide information for parents, young people and organisations about the range of musical pathways which are available in particular locations. Through the partnerships it should also be possible to identify where

there are gaps in provision. Over time, all children should be able to access musical activities which meet their needs and interests. Once pathways for individual children have been identified then initial and next-steps organisations can work together to ensure a successful transition.

The benefits of working in partnership are immense but it is not always an easy process. Effective partnerships require time to develop, in particular in relation to trust between the partners. However, there are clear benefits. In music, where young people have such different aspiration and there are so many different career paths it is difficult to see how any single provider could meet the needs of all young people. Partnerships are therefore essential.

Children and young people from deprived communities have the potential to become musicians alongside those from more affluent groups. However, they and their families face financial challenges which considerably limit their opportunities in terms of the provision of tuition, instruments, and opportunities to engage in ensembles and participate in performances and holiday and other extra-curricular musical activities.

While the Pupil Premium is designed to support young people in challenging financial circumstances, it is infrequently used to support musical activities. Given the benefits of active engagement with music this is unfortunate.

The wider benefits of actively engaging with music are well documented across the lifespan (Hallam et al., 2014; Creech et al., 2014). Not only can music enhance cognitive functioning but it can have positive benefits for social and personal development.

At a time when the number of children and young people with mental health issues is increasing, it is important that they can access music making activities which can provide them with a supportive social environment and opportunities to succeed and develop friendships.

Organisations which provide such activities need to work together to try to ensure that children and young people can successfully transfer between them.

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Appendix

Metro-culturals are prosperous, liberal, urbanites who are interested in a very wide cultural spectrum. They often choose a city lifestyle for the broad cultural opportunity it affords. They are likely to be working in demanding but rewarding professions, including arts professionals. They are highly educated and have a wide variety of other interests. They are a mixed age-range, some with children at home. They are three times more likely than average to engage with cultural activities as attenders and participants, from street arts and museums to digital art.

They have the highest propensity to visit heritage sites and are avid travellers, taking frequent foreign trips to a wide variety of destinations. They use the web and mobile extensively for leisure purposes. They are highly engaged in creative participation, ranking highest for amateur dramatics, singing in choirs and playing a musical instrument. Over 50% consider themselves to be arty.

Their most defining demographic feature is level of education. Over 70% have a degree level education and a significant proportion have further post-graduate or professional qualifications. They have high-status roles in key financial and professional organisations, as well as in politics, media and the arts.

They are cosmopolitan, with only 50% identifying themselves as white English. They have above average numbers of people of all other cultural backgrounds and ethnicities; the highest number of foreign nationals and people of mixed-race and mixed cultural heritage.

Culture is more than entertainment for this segment, for many it forms an important part of their identity, challenging and stimulating them intellectually and influencing the way they see the world.

Commuterland culturebuffs are an affluent and settled group with many working in higher managerial and professional occupations. They are keen consumers of culture, with broad tastes but a leaning towards heritage and more classical or traditional offerings.

Often mature families or retirees, living largely in provincial suburban or greenbelt comfort. Their motivations are multiple, ranging from social and self-improvement, to the pursuit of learning opportunities for older children.

Attending arts and cultural events form an integral part of their social and family lives. Plays/drama and art exhibitions are the most commonly attended events, along with musicals and live music. They are the keenest audiences for opera, ballet and classical music, and are audiences for some of the less widely attended artforms such as contemporary dance and jazz.

They lead highly active lifestyles and pursue a very broad range of leisure interests. They participate widely in performing arts activities and can be found wherever there are activities like ballet, singing and playing musical instruments. They have a much higher than average propensity to participate in street arts, carnivals and to practise circus skills.

They value the arts intrinsically and recognise the wider social impacts. They tend to be quite involved in local communities as volunteers through leading groups, membership of committees or organising or helping to run events. Over 70% in this group are aged between 46 and 70 years old.

The large majority are UK nationals with a white background, but there are representations of people from Jewish/Armenian, Sikh, Greek/Greek Cypriot, and Hindu backgrounds.

Experience seekers are highly active, diverse, social and ambitious singles and couples and younger people engaging with the arts on a regular basis, often students or recent graduates and in the early to mid-stages of their careers. They tend to live close to city centres. Their interests cover mainstream, contemporary and culturally diverse offers and attending is at the heart of their social lives. They are mostly in search of new things to do.

They tend to be single and couples in their 20s and 30s. They are open to a wide range of mainstream and alternative offers. They see plays, galleries, musicals, public art, live music and film – and compared to the population – they are the most likely to engage with culturally specific festivals, jazz, video, electronic art and contemporary as well as diverse forms of dance.

Visits to heritage sites, museums and galleries are frequent. Most stream music using sites such as Spotify on a regular basis. As a proportion are still students, leisure-time can be limited and may also be focused on supporting their educational interests.

As an active group, they are highly likely to be involved in a creative pursuit of some sort at some time in their lives – whether performing, writing or creating artworks. They are more likely than the average to have taken part in some sort of dance, acting, singing or playing a musical instrument and the most likely to have participated in some sort of street arts.

They are a highly engaged and educated group (49% have been through higher education). They share experiences by ‘chatting’ or posting content and a higher proportion use Twitter, have the latest smartphone/tablet, use SMS extensively and download the latest Apps. They spend a lot of time online, including downloading and streaming music from sites such as Spotify.

Although a fairly diverse group with a high proportion of younger people, this group contains a range of ages with 32% aged over 50, some families and ‘empty nesters’. They are also diverse in their professional development and jobs, though mostly more highly educated than the average.

They reflect the ethnic diversity of the country’s urban population with higher proportions than the average of non-British white people, and those of African or Indian backgrounds, as well as Turkish, Chinese and East Asian.

Dormitory dependables live in suburban and small towns and are interested in popular and more traditional arts. Many are thriving, well off mature couples or busy older families.

Life stage coupled with more limited access to an extensive cultural offer mean that culture is more an occasional treat or family or social outing than an integral part of their lifestyle. They make up one of the largest proportions of the population.

They are very keen on live music events and have a particular preference for the heritage offer. They form a significant proportion of many cultural audiences. They enjoy attending to be entertained and to socialise and relax with friends.

Whilst open to a broad range of arts and cultural activities, they have a marked inclination towards popular and mainstream offerings, with more than half taking in events annually. Their disposition towards contemporary and classical events is not quite as strong, but those artforms are still attended roughly in line with or slightly above the national average.

They have a marked leaning towards heritage sites. Their strong interest in musicals and other live music events is reflected in a relatively high propensity to play a musical instrument.

Their education profile is similar to that of the English population at large, with a third having attained a degree or higher level of qualification. A number have also gained higher educational qualifications below degree level, and around 4% have undertaken trade apprenticeships. The majority of households are living in privately owned semi-detached or detached houses in dormitory towns.

The trips and treats group like mainstream arts and popular culture influenced by children, family and friends. They are reasonably culturally active, despite being particularly busy with a wide range of leisure interests. They tend to be comfortably off and living in the heart of suburbia.

They have children of a range of ages and include some young people still living at home. They like musicals and familiar drama, mixed in with days out to museums and heritage sites. They are led by their children's interests and strongly influenced by friends and family.

Cultural engagement of some sort is part of their lives. Given that access to provision can be relatively low, considering where some of this group lives, they are more active than might be expected with some making planned efforts to attend. Live music, musicals, film, pantomime, circus, carnival, plays/drama, museums, galleries and street arts feature most highly in their choices. Family outings, including for special occasions, are reasonably frequent. At home, there is a focus on in-house entertainment – computer games and consoles being popular.

TV viewing takes advantage of Sky+ or Virgin Media channels and on demand options. Many are involved in craft, photography and playing a musical instrument. As busy families, these activities to a certain extent may revolve around the children, but are led by parents who believe that creative participation is important and possibly educational.

With an average level of education for the population, this group are mostly employed in mid-level professions or lower management, with some in supervisory roles in highly skilled trades (having undertaken apprenticeships).

Their salaries offer them a comfortable standard of living in the main. They are likely to have a car, or possibly a van which enables access to a greater level of provision given their suburban location. They believe culture does make some difference to their localities and people's lives and that access to it is therefore important.

Trips & Treats live in mostly semi-detached or terraced houses located in the suburban outer edges of cities and towns. 86% of this group own their homes with older members having lived in their local area for long periods of time, close by or near to other family and relatives and are established in their communities.

The group contains a broad spread of ages up to 60 years old with 58% aged between 31- 50. Most likely to be English, Western/Eastern European there is a higher than average number of Bangladeshi families included here.

Home and Heritage group members are older people, living outside of major towns and cities and in rural areas across the UK with the lowest proportion found in London.

They are not highly engaged, limited by physical access to an appropriate arts and cultural offer and the means to get there. They have clear preferences for familiar, mainstream programme offers and a leaning towards classical content across a range of artforms. They are most likely to make a visit to a heritage site and are slightly more likely than average to go to the theatre.

They are broadly positive about arts and culture, see themselves as arts-attenders and value the arts in general. Limited access locally and a reluctance to travel, especially in the evening, may mitigate more active engagement.

Television features heavily with a preference for costume drama and nature programmes. They also enjoy local and social participatory activities like singing in a choir and Amateur Dramatics.

Generally, they are homeowners, living in comfortable accommodation, often in bungalows.

The Up Our Street group members are often living reasonably comfortable and stable lives. Many are older and have some health issues. They are living on average or below average household incomes, so access in all its forms can be an issue. People in this group do engage with a range of cultural experiences.

This might include locally based activity that's tried and tested, outdoor festivals, theatre and music or live streamed events. They have a distinct preference for popular and mainstream artforms, especially live music.

They prefer rock and pop, but have a broad range of interest in most types of music, though are not particularly keen on contemporary or classical events. A significant proportion also go to musicals, pantomimes, craft exhibitions and carnivals. This indicates a leaning towards easily accessible, experiential events which may be free or low cost.

They are heavy and frequent viewers of TV, which is another of their chief pastimes. They enjoy occasionally going out for day trips. The numbers of people taking part in activities linked to classical or contemporary performing arts, such as playing musical instruments, singing, rehearsing or performing in plays, ballet or other dance performances is noticeably lower than levels seen nationally.

Many are employed in jobs, perhaps in skilled trade occupations for which an apprenticeship was undertaken, or in administrative or customer service roles. Most have lower to middle incomes.

They lead modest lifestyles, enjoying inexpensive hobbies and occasional treats. Up Our Street are mainly home owners who have worked hard to buy their own homes, live in older terraced or semi-detached homes, some bought from the local council.

They are mostly aged between 51-65 years old and heading towards retirement. There is a significant proportion of singles (44%) in this segment, along with older married couples and families with grown-up children and grandchildren.

Not an ethnically diverse group, over 90% class themselves as White British. There are, however, very small representations of people from non-British white backgrounds, as well as Irish, mixed White & Black Caribbean, mixed White and Asian, Asian and African populations.

Facebook families are younger families mainly living in city suburbs and on the edges of towns.

Despite low overall engagement, they occasionally engage with activities which meet the needs of their families and within their budgets and locality. Their choices are particularly family-oriented such as cinema, pantomime, live music, musicals, carnival, circus and plays/drama. Occasionally, maybe once or twice a year, a museum could be an easier option, or a trip to a local heritage site, if it is free.

They have limited leisure time, money and opportunity. They are therefore likely to do more home-based activities. Less than a third believe that the arts is important. A few play a music instrument and have participated in some digital creativity – films or animations made on their home computer inspired by YouTube and TV programmes.

They have low educational attainment, basic qualifications and therefore have lower job prospects or are employed in unskilled jobs. They live on a budget and many are claiming multiple benefits to make ends meet. Some may also be students living transient lives paying modest rents.

They have amongst the highest use of the internet and email. They are the most likely to use Facebook every day amongst other social media and make extensive use of texting and free messaging. Many do not have a landline, so their mobile phones are their communication channel and lifeline.

It can be hard for this group to access cultural activity from these areas, particularly if the public transport infrastructure is poor. Living mostly in terraced or semi-detached houses, many are rented from the council or housing associations, with some having saved enough over the years to be eligible to buy their homes. The ethnic diversity is characteristic of many suburban populations with established immigrant communities including Black Caribbean or African, Irish, Eastern European as well as South Asian families.

Kaleidoscope Creativity this group are of mixed age and have low levels of cultural engagement. The majority are council tenants, though some own their own homes in slightly more prosperous areas.

They are culturally diverse, but often economically challenged. Some see themselves as “arty”, but they do have a slight leaning towards participatory events, and arts and heritage from cultures other than the Western mainstream. A significant proportion enjoy carnivals. However, despite having very good access to other arts and cultural events and opportunities from the western mainstream they are amongst those least likely to attend, and this is most true of classical or contemporary events.

Artforms such as film and live music are popular, whilst musical tastes are wide ranging, from soul, hip-hop and R&B to more culturally specific music, reflecting the diversity of backgrounds from which they’re drawn. About a quarter will attend such popular events annually, which is much lower than average. They are more positively disposed to arts events than to museum or heritage offerings. An above average number feel that the arts is not for the likes of them; whilst at the same time an above average proportion see themselves as “arty people”.

A large proportion of this group do not own a car, which may contribute to low engagement levels at more rural or non-urban leisure sites for days out. Whilst they’re comparatively niche pastimes, there is also a relatively high propensity amongst Kaleidoscope Creativity to compose music or to write poetry.

The outdoors and community spaces provide creative platforms and are important. Their interest in attending festivals and events is reflected in their high propensity to participate in carnivals and streets arts as well, most likely with culturally specific themes – they’re in fact one of the segments most likely to do so.

Kaleidoscope Creativity however also contains a higher proportion of people who don’t participate in any cultural activity at all (31%). Household incomes tend to be lower for the majority.

Educational attainment is mixed with a quarter having completed a Higher Education course, but the majority of this group have not followed a further education path. Many are likely to have been in the same area for a long time and be settled in their communities.

However, lower levels of educational attainment and a reliance on public transport for travel may be factors that contribute to some facing limited employment options. They are to be found in inner city suburbs in flats and terraced housing, mostly in council accommodation. Kaleidoscope Creativity comprises people across a broad age spectrum, with the majority of the group between 35-65 years old. There is a mixture of

singles and generally older families, although approximately a third have children in the household.

Members of the Heyday group are older and less engaged. Where they are engaged it is likely to be participatory activities such as crafts, knitting, painting, reading and writing activities organised by their sheltered housing, church group or community library. Their current propensity to engage is very low. A small proportion may attend arts events once a year or less often, and when they do it is most often for popular or mainstream events.

Traditional offerings, like opera, ballet and classical music are less often attended. It is very seldom that they will be found at contemporary or culturally specific events. Almost a quarter go to the cinema to watch films, but they do so infrequently, most likely not more than once a year.

There are also a significant proportion who believe that the arts are simply not for them. Heydays are not very active at all in comparison with people generally. Life stage and circumstances dictate that most of their interests are centred on activities that can take place in and around the home. Watching television, listening to music, reading, doing crosswords and puzzles.